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Commission for Printing and Publishing State Papers

STATE PAPERS

Published

UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF

His Majesty's Commission.

VOLUME I.

King Henry the Eighth.

PARTS I. AND II.

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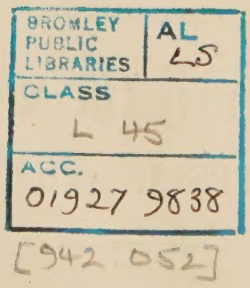

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CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

COMMISSION

FOR

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS.

10*th June* 1825.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the FOURTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c., to Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillors, Charles Manners Sutton, Speaker of the House of Commons; Robert Peel, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; and Charles Watkin Williams Wynn; Our trusty and welbeloved John Wilson Croker, and Henry Hobhouse, Esquires, Greeting. Whereas it hath been represented unto Us, that the Papers and Documents, deposited in the Office of Our Keeper and Register of Our Papers and Records, since its Establishment, on its present footing, in the Year 1800, have been, in great measure, arranged and indexed; and many of them are found to be of great value and importance, and to throw great light on various obscure parts of the History of this Our Realm, and it would be of public benefit that the same should be printed and published, in a style worthy of Our Royal Patronage; Now We, having great confidence in your Learning, Fidelity, and Discretion, do authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to examine the several Papers, now deposited and arranged in Our said Office, and to consider, which of them may be fitly printed and published, with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to Our Service; and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as shall be approved by the Commissioners of Our Treasury for the time being. Given at Our Court at Carlton House, the tenth day of June, 1825, in the sixth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

ROB. PEEL.

SECOND COMMISSION

FOR

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS.

14*th September* 1830.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM the FOURTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c., to Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillors, Charles Manners Sutton; Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, John Wilson Croker, and Henry Hobhouse, Greeting. Whereas a Commission, under the Royal Sign Manual of Our late most dearly beloved Brother, King GEORGE the Fourth (of blessed memory), bearing date the tenth day of June, in the sixth year of His Reign, was directed to you; whereby, after reciting that it had been represented unto His said late Majesty, that the Papers and Documents deposited in the Office of His Keeper and Register of His Papers and Records, since its Establishment, on its present footing, in the Year 1800, had been, in great measure, arranged and indexed; and many of them were found to be of great value and importance, and to throw great light on various obscure parts of the History of this Realm, and that it would be of public benefit that the same should be printed and published, in a style worthy of His Royal Patronage, His said late Majesty, having great confidence in your Learning, Fidelity, and Discretion, did authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to examine the several Papers, deposited and arranged in His said Office, and to consider, which of them might be fitly printed and published, with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to His Service, and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as should be approved by the Commissioners of His Treasury for the time being; and whereas We are informed that you have made progress in executing the said Commission; Now We do hereby authorize

authorize and empower you, or any three of you, to proceed in the execution thereof, and to examine the Papers deposited in the said Office, and to consider, which of them may be fitly printed and published, with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to Our Service, and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as have been approved by the Commissioners of the Treasury of His said late Majesty, or shall be approved by the Commissioners of Our Treasury for the Time being. Given at Our Court at St. James's, the fourteenth day of September, 1830, in the first Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

ROBERT PEEL.

ORDER.

AT a Board of Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers, held at His Majesty's State Paper Office, on the 7th day of February, 1829;

PRESENT,

The Right Honorable Charles Manners Sutton, Speaker of the House of Commons,

The Right Honorable Robert Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department,

The Right Honorable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn,

The Right Honorable John Wilson Croker,

The Right Honorable Henry Hobhouse;

Ordered,

That the Letters of Cardinal Wolsey to King Henry VIII., and also the Correspondence between that Sovereign and His Ministers, be forthwith printed, in the manner and form as they are at present transcribed, and submitted to the Board.

Robt Lemon, Secretary.

14

PREFACE.

The Commissioners appointed by the preceding Warrants of the late King, and of His present Majesty, deem it right to prefix to this first Volume of the Papers which they have been commanded to examine and publish, a brief account of the Collection, from whence they are principally drawn, and of the circumstances, in which they are published.

It is obvious that, as soon as the barbarous ages had passed away, and the intercourse of nations began to be carried on by other instruments than the sword, the Monarch must have had some civil servant to convey his commands. In the earliest ages of civilized Europe, this servant was the Chancellor, who drew up the commands of his Sovereign in a formal manner, and authenticated them with his Master's Seal, of which he was the Keeper. Notwithstanding the endless diversities of national institutions, a remarkable resemblance is to be observed in these formal diplomatic instruments; a resemblance, referable, no doubt, to this circumstance, that for the learning, requisite to the preparation of such documents, recourse was, of necessity, had to the Priesthood.

As civilization proceeded, a further necessity arose, for the Monarch to convey his instructions, in a less formal manner, to his Representatives at Foreign Courts, and to his Lieutenants in the more distant parts of his own dominions. For this purpose, he had recourse to an officer, who, in England, as well as in most of the continental States, obtained the appellation of the King's Principal Secretary, or Secretary of State.

The commencement of the office, in England, is lost in obscure antiquity; and as it's possessor was anciently appointed, without

Letters Patent, by the mere delivery of the King's Signet, and there is consequently no record of his appointment, the succession of officers of this denomination is not distinctly traceable, and we can only find casual notices of them among our ancient records. Thus we find John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, and Chancellor of London, to have been Secretary of State to Henry III. in 1253 [1], Francis Accursij, of Bologna, to Edward I. in 1278 [2], and John de Benestede, Clerk, to the same King, in 1299 [3].

We often meet with passages, creating a suspicion that the King had more than one Secretary of State at the same time; but this suspicion will generally, if not always, be removed, by knowledge of the fact, that besides the King's Principal Secretary, or Secretary of State, there were distinct and inferior Secretaries for the Latin and the French tongues, who were often loosely spoken of as the King's Secretaries, and are even sometimes so styled in official documents, particularly in appointments to foreign missions, in which a practice (persevered in to the present day) seems always to have prevailed, of loading the person employed with every appellation of distinction, to which he could possibly pretend. The suspicion above alluded to is also unduly increased by the circumstance, that, when the Secretary of State was absent, the King frequently employed some officer of the Household, who was in attendance, and enjoyed his confidence, to write his letters. But there is strong reason to believe that there never were, at the same time, two Secretaries of State, until after the Statute of Precedence, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10., which gives to the King's Chief Secretary (in the singular number), being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, or a Bishop, precedence above all other Barons, or Bishops, (with the exception of the four Great Officers who rank before Dukes, and the six others who rank before all others of their own degree,) and provides, that when the "Chief Secretary shall be under the "degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason "whereof he can have no interest to give assent or dissent in the

[1] Rymer, Fœd. Vol. I. p. 490.
[2] Rymer, Fœd. Vol. II. p. 118.
[3] Rymer, Fœd. Vol. II. p. 851.

"House

" House of Peers, he shall sit and be placed at the uppermost part " of the Sacks, in the midst of the Parliament Chamber."

Very soon after this Statute, passed in the Parliament which sat from the 28th of April to the 28th of June, 1539, a second Secretary of State was appointed. The Warrant under the King's Sign Manual is still extant, and is printed in the present Volume.[1] It is without date, but it must have been issued before the 14th of April 1540, on which day mention is made of Sir Ralph Sadleyr, as one of the King's two Principal Secretaries. So that the alteration may be considered contemporaneous with the disgrace of Thomas Crumwell, Earl of Essex, and perhaps it may have grown out of that event. Wolsey, for the first twenty years of Henry's reign, and Crumwell, for the next ten, had so engrossed to themselves all the immediate intercourse with the King, even in those branches of the public service over which a distinct officer presided, as the Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord High Admiral, that there was little necessity for any Secretary of State. But when Crumwell fell under the Royal displeasure, the King probably resolved not to admit another favourite to the same degree of ascendency, and then saw need for employing two Secretaries of State, one of whom he usually retained near his person, when he was out of London, leaving the other to act with those of the Privy Council, who remained in the metropolis.

Since that period, there have never been fewer than two Secretaries of State. In the last month of Edward VI.'s reign, there were three, Sir John Cheke being appointed on the 2d of June 1553, in addition to Sir William Petre, and Sir William Cecyll.[2] Again, we find that, in 1616, Sir John Herbert, Sir Ralph Winwood, and Sir Thomas Lake[3] were all Secretaries of State at the same time. These, however, were casual deviations from the usual practice. But soon after the Union with Scotland, the number was professedly increased to three. Queen Anne, on the 3d of February, 1708, declared in Council, that, the public business increasing, Her Majesty had thought fit to appoint a third Secretary of State of Great Britain, but that she

[1] P. 623. [2] Council Register, fol. 725. [3] Rymer, Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 783.

 intended,

intended, nevertheless, to continue the foreign affairs, for the present, in the course of despatch they were then in; and on the same day, James Duke of Queensberry was sworn one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.[1] He, and his successors, were esteemed Secretaries of State for Scottish affairs; but the practice of appointing such an officer was discontinued in 1746, when John Marquis of Tweeddale resigned the Seals; and there were only two Secretaries of State, till the 20th of January, 1768; when William Earl of Shelburne, being Secretary of State, and Mr. Seymour Conway having resigned that office, Thomas Viscount Weymouth, and Wills Earl of Hillsborough, were sworn Secretaries of State[1], the latter becoming a third Secretary, and being destined to act for the Colonies. But by the Statute 22 Geo. III. c. 82. "the Office, commonly called or known by the "name of Third Secretary of State, or Secretary of State for the "Colonies," was, among others, suppressed and abolished. And from that time, the number of Secretaries of State remained two, until the 11th of July, 1794, when William Henry Duke of Portland was made a Secretary of State[1], in addition to William Wyndham Lord Grenville, and Henry Dundas. And the number has, since that period, been constantly three.

They are still constituted, as in ancient times, by the King's delivery to them of the seals of office; but, in addition to this investiture, they have always, in modern times, received also a Patent under the Great Seal. This was certainly the case, as early as the appointment of Dr. Wilson in 1578, and probably earlier. Whatever be their number, they constitute but one officer, and are co-ordinate, and equal in rank and authority. Each is competent to execute any part of the duties of the Secretary of State, the ordinary division of those duties between them being merely matter of arrangement, for the more convenient despatch of business. From an early period to 1782, the two Departments were denominated the Northern and Southern. In that year a new distribution was made, and the Departments were styled the Home and the Foreign; of which the former attended to the

[1] Council Register.

Colonial

Colonial affairs, until the revival of the third Secretaryship in 1794; when the superintendance of the Colonies was taken from the Home Secretary, and conducted in the new office, which likewise carried on the correspondence arising out of the war, then in progress.

It will be readily conceived, how rapidly the mass of correspondence must have accumulated in the Office of Secretary of State, after the revival of letters in the sixteenth century; yet no provision was, for some time, made, for its being received into any certain depository. Each succeeding Secretary had it in his own custody; the apartments provided for him were extremely confined [1]; and the future destination of his official papers depended, in great measure, upon accident, upon the care or the negligence of the individual, or his clerks, and, above all, upon the good or evil fate which awaited the Secretary, when he resigned his seals. Even in the office of the Privy Council (the office, in which, in those days, and until the Revolution, all the affairs of the Realm were debated and resolved on,) no written record of the proceedings was preserved until 1540; when it was ordered that a regular Register should be kept, and two clerks (Paget and Petre) were appointed to keep it. This Register commences on the 18th of August in that year. The necessity of a repository for State Papers began soon afterwards to be felt; and, in 1578, an Office for keeping

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[1] This will be seen by the following extract of a letter from Sir William Paget, while Ambassador in France, to Sir William Petre, dated at Calais, 24th November 1545:

"I pray you move Mr Carden, or Mr Deny, for my lodging, and that I may have another "chamber, in stede of that His Majestie hath taken. For you knowe that the chamber over the "gate wil scant receyve my bedde, and a table to write at, for my self. The study you know is "no mete place to be trampled in, for diseasing His Majestie. I must nedes have a place to "kepe my table in. They sayd I shuld have [*the*] lodging over the gate, where Mr Baynton "lay, which [*I much*] want. I have no place, nother for my own clerkes, nor such others as must "serve His Majestie, as the Latyn Secretary, the French Secretary, the Clerkes of the Counsail, "the Clerkes of the Signet, to write in; and His Majesties affayres be not to be written in every "place, but where they may be secret, and where I may resort to se the doyng of the same. "I speke not so moche for myn own self, as for His Majesties service, as both I, and such as "must serve hym, may be redy at his hand. And his service, at this present, is gretter, then it "hath bene of many yeres before, and requyrith many handes. I pray you, rather then fayle, to "move His Majestie in it; whose pleasure, reason is, be accomplished in every thing. If I had "no more, but my chamber kepers, and thre or four of myn own men, the two litle rowmes wer "byg inowgh; but you know what a nomber we have alwayes, both of necessary ministres, and "also of suters, to be depeched in them."

Papers

Papers and Records concerning matters of State and Council, was established, and Dr. Thomas Wilson (who was then Master of Requests, and afterwards became one of the Secretaries of State,) was appointed the Keeper and Register of those Papers.

Before this establishment was formed, it is not surprizing that numerous papers of great importance should have been entirely lost, and others have fallen into the possession of private persons. Sir Robert Cotton, in the reign of James the First, and Sir Joseph Williamson, in that of Charles the Second, were most assiduous and successful collectors of those scattered papers. The collections of the former now form a portion of the Library of the British Museum. Sir Joseph Williamson placed his collections in the State Paper Office, where they still remain. Another mass of papers, consisting principally of letters addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, and to Crumwell Earl of Essex, remained in the custody of the Crown ; but, instead of being deposited in the proper place, found its way into the Chapter House at Westminster, and is there preserved. The three great receptacles, therefore, of State Papers, antecedent to the year 1540, and partially down to the year 1578, are, the State Paper Office, the Chapter House, and the Cottonian Library. And so entirely accidental seems to have been the preservation of many of the papers, that, of a series relative to the same subject, a part will frequently be found in each of these three libraries. Nay, of two letters, written by the same person, to the same correspondent, on the same day, one will be discovered in one of these receptacles, the other in another, and the answer in the third. And several instances will be seen, where one portion of a letter is found in one part, and the residue in another part of the same collection. A few are to be met with in the Lambeth Library, the Harleian Collection, the University Library of Cambridge, and in private hands.

Dr. Wilson was succeeded, as Keeper of State Papers, by Dr. James; and, on his death, Mr. Thomas Lake, then Secretary to Robert Earl of Salisbury, and afterwards Secretary of State, succeeded, and held the office till 1605, when he resigned it, on being appointed Secretary of the Latin tongue.

Lake

Lake was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Wilson, Clerk of the Signet, and nephew of the first Keeper. With him, in 1609, was conjoined Mr. Levinus Muncke, who was likewise one of the Clerks of the Signet, and Secretary to Robert Earl of Salisbury. They were appointed for their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And on Muncke's resignation, in 1614, a similar Patent was granted to Wilson and Ambrose Randolph (in the Patent called Randall), who was the son of Sir Thomas Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador in Scotland, and married Wilson's only daughter. Wilson, who received the honor of Knighthood in 1615, lived till 1629.

On his death, the office survived to Randolph, who surrendered it, and was, in 1633, joined in a new Patent, made to him and William Boswell, one of the Clerks of the Council Extraordinary (afterwards Sir William Boswell, and Ambassador at the Hague), for their lives, and the life of the survivor.

In 1640 the office was granted to Mr. Thomas Raymond, Sir William Boswell's nephew, in reversion, after the deaths or surrender of the two prior Patentees. How long Boswell lived does not appear; but Randolph survived the Restoration, and then sold his interest to Raymond, who, in 1661, prayed leave to sell the office, and probably obtained permission for that purpose, as he is found to have surrendered his Patent towards the close of that year.

Joseph Williamson Esq. was, on the last day of 1661, appointed Keeper of State Papers, for life, upon Raymond's surrender. He was afterwards knighted, and, in 1674, became Secretary of State, but he held the State Paper Office, till his death, in 1702.

John Tucker Esq. succeeded Sir Joseph Williamson. He received the appointment only during pleasure, but held it till his death, in 1714.

Hugh Howard Esq. was the next Keeper. He was first appointed during pleasure, but upon representing that the office had been usually granted for life, he received a new Patent to that effect.

On his death, John Couraud Esq. was appointed, in 1739. He was succeeded in 1741, by Andrew Stone Esq.; and Mr. Stone, in 1774, by Sir Stanier Porten, Knt. Couraud, Stone, and Porten were all Under-Secretaries of State.

On

On the death of the latter, in 1792, John Bruce Esq. succeeded. His first appointment was only during pleasure, but in 1799 he received a Patent for life. He lived till 1826, and was succeeded by Henry Hobhouse Esq., then an Under-Secretary of State, who was sworn, in 1828, of His Majesty's Privy Council, and is the present Keeper.

In the reign of James I. considerable attention appears to have been paid to this office. On the death of the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, in 1612, the King's commands were given to his successor Thomas Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Privy Seal, Edward Earl of Worcester, and Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, to take possession of the late Lord Treasurer's papers, and deliver them to Muncke and Wilson. The subsequent Patents expressly mention the office to contain the papers of Robert Earl of Salisbury.

At this period, the papers, which had been hitherto kept in chests, were reduced into the form of a library, and the King assigned certain apartments, in his Palace of Whitehall, for their reception. Wilson seems to have experienced difficulty in getting possession of some of those apartments, and has left a curious memorandum[1] of the presents

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1 "Imprimis, I gave to Mr Sadlier, my Lords Secry, to gett the graunt of it from his Lord, "a suite of satten and satten lace unto it, wch cost me 12li.

"Item, after I had obteyned it, I presented to my Lord himself divers bookes; one, of the "picturs of all the Princes and famous men of the world, cutt in brass, and verry fayrely bound "and guilt; and the King's works, bound in crimsen velvett; and Hackluitt's works of voyages, "in two vollumes.

"Item, I gave to my Lo: Chamberlaine, for obteyning his good will to assigne it unto me, "divers rare Italian bookes; as, Parallele Militare, fatti di armi famosi, from the begining of "the world tyll this tyme, in 2 volumes; Diodati his new Italian Bible, bound in black velvett; "and divers other bookes, verry fayrely bound and guilt; wherupon His Lo: sent Mr Maxwell "to putt me in possession of the roome.

"Item, I gave to Mr Leech, for procureing his Lords favour, a payre of gloves, worth 20s. and "divers books; as, Cor: Tac: with Lipsius his notes, and others.

"Item, I bestowed, in accom'odating my Lord of Worcesters kytchin wth dressers, and other "things, and makeing the dore and partition of pales in the passage, 20s.

"Item, I gave Mr Martin, my Lo: of Worcesters cooke, for his good will not to oppose, "20s. and promised to give him so much yearly.

"Item, I gave to the rest of the under cookes and kytchiners, amongst them, 20s.

"Item, I bestowed of the roome, in making upp the walls, doors and locks, and two parti-"tions, fowre pounds.

"So that I have paid out of my purse for itt, in all, 20li, besides the bookes, wch I would not "have given for asmuch more."

and

and douceurs, which he deemed it prudent to give to the Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Worcester, and their servants, to obtain one room, which had been the larder of the Lord Privy Seal. The part of the Palace, finally appropriated to this purpose, was the Tower over the gateway, which connected the eastern and western parts of the edifice, standing across the street, now known by the name of Whitehall. The apartments are described by Tucker, as consisting of two rooms, three closets, and three turrets. Of these Wilson did not get entire possession, till 1618; when he presented a memorial to the King, complaining that he had received no new papers, since Lord Salisbury's.

This Tower fortunately escaped the conflagration, which destroyed great part of the Palace on the 12th of January, 1619; an escape, which gave Wilson occasion to congratulate the King on his prescience in removing the papers, equal to that which led him to the detection of the Gunpowder Plot. But though Wilson boasted that the archives under his care had not, on this occasion, sustained so much hurt as the loss of a blank paper, Raymond, his successor, complained that they were thrown into great disorder, by having been hastily and confusedly cast into blankets, the better to preserve them from the fire.

The events of the succeeding reign were very adverse to the regular preservation of public archives. Sir Joseph Williamson states, that he had been told by Sir Edward Nicholas, that Secretary Windebanke's papers were, on his retirement, delivered to Sir Edward, and were, when the latter went to the King, from London, seized by the rebels, and disposed of, he knew not how, as were all Nicholas's own, up to that time. Some of them, afterwards, reached the State Paper Office, but probably in a very imperfect condition. Williamson further learned from Nicholas, that the papers, which he had subsequently collected, while the King was in the North, and till the surrender of Oxford, were designedly burnt by Nicholas, at that place, through fear that the rebels intended, notwithstanding the Articles of Oxford, to seize him, and his papers; and that he, at the same time, committed to the flames a cabinet of the King's, full of

papers of a very secret nature, which His Majesty had left there, upon his retirement to the Scots, with directions to Nicholas to burn them, rather than let them fall into the rebels' hands. Among these were thought by Nicholas to be all the Queen's letters to the King, and things of a very mysterious nature; but he looked not into one of them, in obedience to the commands of the King, who thanked him for that justice. Besides the destruction which is thus recorded, and much more, which must of necessity have occurred amid the disorders of civil war, the office is stated to have suffered spoliation, from papers, after being deposited there, having been taken from it, particularly by President Bradshaw, Secretary Thurloe, Scobell the Clerk of the Parliaments, and Milton the Secretary for the Latin tongue. And several warrants were issued by the King, in 1660 and 1661, requiring papers to be delivered up to Raymond, which had fallen into the hands of the three first of those officers of the Commonwealth.

Much pains were taken, after the Restoration, to lodge in the State Paper Office the documents relative to the affairs of the Usurpation. Thurloe is said to have destroyed some of them; but a large portion was secured, and now remains in the office; enough indeed to shew that, amid all the turbulence of that era, the transactions of the State were never more regularly recorded.

Williamson has left considerable traces of his assiduity, during the early part of the long period for which he held the office; but his successor, Tucker, made great complaint of its having been neglected in Williamson's later years; and it was found in a great state of neglect, when it was visited, in 1705, by a Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the method of keeping Records and Public Papers in offices. In consequence of a report from that Committee, compiled from a return made by Tucker, an Address was presented to the Queen, in which it was stated, that, with the exception of the papers of three Secretaries of State, viz. Sir Edward Nicholas [1], the Earl of Arlington, and Sir Joseph Williamson, and those left by Sir Leoline Jenkins, few papers had been delivered into the office,

[1] He was restored to the Secretaryship after the Restoration.

since

since the year 1670, and even those so delivered were not perfect, and many deficiencies are particularized. The Address observed, also, upon the deficiency of space, and the inconvenience arising from many papers being kept in bundles; and recommended the repair and enlargement of the office, and that the papers should be sorted, and digested, and bound in volumes. After a reference to Sir Christopher Wren, it was determined that the upper floor of the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings, at the Cockpit, should be fitted up, and appropriated to the State Paper Office. This work was accordingly done, and an apartment, of 80 feet long and 25 feet wide, which is known by the name of the Middle Treasury Gallery, was then added to the office.

In this state it remained, until the old gateway was pulled down, about 1750, when the contents were found to have greatly suffered from vermin and wet. The papers contained in the gallery, which was left standing, remained there, but the contents of the rest of the office were removed to an old house in Scotland Yard, where they remained, and suffered still further injury from wet, till 1819, when it became necessary to pull down the last-named house; and the papers were again removed to another old house in Great George Street, in which, and in the Treasury Gallery, they are now deposited. It will be readily believed that the various casualties, to which they have been thus exposed, have led to serious loss and injury.

In the last session of Parliament, a plan was approved, and a vote passed, for erecting a new fire-proof building for the reception of the State Papers, adjoining to St. James's Park, at the north end of Duke Street. This building is now in progress, and affords good hope, that these historical treasures will be rescued from further devastation.

In the year 1764, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Dr. Andrew Coltée Ducarel, and Thomas Astle Esq., all antiquaries of considerable note, presented to Mr. George Grenville (then one of the Secretaries of State) a memorial, representing the bad condition of the State Papers, and the want of indexes and calendars, and proposing to undertake the principal labour of methodizing, regulating, digesting, arranging, and binding them, and of making proper catalogues, calendars, and indexes.

Sir J. Ayloffe, Dr. Ducarel, and Mr. Astle received a Commission from the Crown, accordingly, which continued in force till 1800; with no other change, than that the vacancy made by Sir J. Ayloffe's death, in 1781, was filled by John Topham, Esq., and that caused by the decease of Dr. Ducarel, in 1789, was supplied by Thomas Astle jun. Esq. But though this Commission was thus in existence for thirty-six years, it cannot be asserted that there remain any great traces of the constancy of their labours, nor denied, that their arrangements were very superficially and incorrectly performed.

In 1800, this Commission was revoked, and a small establishment of clerks was allowed to the Keeper of State Papers, to carry on the necessary work under his control. Since that period, great progress has been made, in rendering the valuable documents of this Collection accessible to those, who have occasion to refer to them.

In 1825, His late Majesty issued the Commission, which is printed at the commencement of this Volume.

Under this Commission, it was found, that though much had been done, in arranging the papers in the office, yet those of earliest date had not been the first objects of attention; and that there remained a very large mass of valuable papers, of the Reigns of Henry VIII. and his three children, without assortment, without index, or any other means of reference, and many of them in a great state of decay. It was resolved to proceed chronologically, in the execution of the Commission; and the first step taken under it, therefore, was, to direct the assortment of the whole of the papers of those four Reigns, and the preparation of calendars (divided according to the subject matter), in the first instance, of those of the Reign of Henry VIII. The difficulty of this task can only be estimated by those, who know, that, before 1528, the instances are rare, of any letter bearing the date of the year[1]; and that it was not till the close of Henry's time, that the practice of giving such a date became by any means common: so that it was generally necessary to arrive at the dates, by inference,

[1] The earliest in this volume will be found at page 293. Sir Brian Tuke has the merit of being its author.

either

either from the subject matter of the letter, or from some extrinsic circumstances. And this difficulty was frequently increased by the errors committed by those, who had undertaken the task of arrangement, either in the reign of James I. or in that of George III. The difficulty has however been surmounted; and there is not now, in the office, a single paper of Henry's reign, which is not arranged, both chronologically, and according to the subject to which it relates. And it will be obvious, that in making this arrangement, for the first period, much has, of necessity, been incidentally done with respect to the subsequent reigns. The Table of Contents which will be prefixed to each Part of the work, will distinguish what portion of the date of each letter is fixed by the writer, and what is supplied either from inference, or conjecture; the latter being included between brackets.

The Commissioners, having determined to confine their publication, in the first instance, to the Reign of Henry VIII., next proceeded to consider, how the papers of that date could be best arranged. If they had been published in one chronological series, letters, on the same subject, would frequently be placed at such a distance from each other, and so intermixed with matter wholly irrelevant, as to perplex the general reader, and to offend one, who should be in the pursuit of information on one particular subject. It was therefore determined to classify the papers; and the following division was, after much consideration, agreed on, as that best adapted for this reign.

I. The Correspondence between the King and Cardinal Wolsey.
II. That between the King and his other Ministers at home.
III. That between the Governments of England and Ireland.
IV. That between the Government and the King's Representatives on the Scottish Border.
V. That between the Government and the King's Representatives at Calais and its dependencies.
VI. That between the Court of England and Foreign Courts, each forming a separate subdivision.
VII. Miscellaneous.

It was further resolved to select, under these heads, not only papers of historical interest, but whatever might throw light on the religion, the morals, the manners, the habits, the naval or military history, the commerce, or the literature of the day.

It was determined to preserve the ancient orthography, but to reject the abbreviations, which abound in the letters of many of the writers of the period. This rule has been uniformly adhered to, in the text; but in the Contents, the Notes, and the Indexes, the names of places are given (where they can be ascertained) according to the most approved modern spelling. So are Christian names. Surnames are spelt in conformity with the practice of the individual himself, if that practice can be discovered, and is uniform; and where he varies from himself (as is not unfrequently the case), the mode he most commonly adopts is followed. The greatest difficulty relates to foreign surnames, which are often exceedingly mutilated by even those who conducted the intercourse with other nations. Here recourse has been had, when it was possible, to historians of the same country; and where that resource has failed, the safest has been found in Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.; the author of which, besides the extreme care, which he has bestowed on his work in general, evidently possessed a far greater knowledge of the continental languages, than any other historian of the seventeenth century.

At a period, when not only orthography was so unsettled, but the plainest grammatical rules were perpetually violated, even in the holograph letters of the most eminent men, and of those who affected the greatest scholarship, it is often impossible to discriminate between the design, and the error, of the clerk. No attempt, therefore, has been made at such discrimination, nor has it been thought necessary to incumber the page with the usual notice, that an error exists in the original, unless where the word is of great importance, or some ambiguity in the sense arises from the mistake.

In writings of this period, punctuation was still more unsettled than orthography; in truth it was very little in use; and the points to be found in the text, have, therefore, been inserted in conformity with modern practice.

It

It is further to be noted, that in the text, the year is always given in the words, or figures, of the writer; but in the rest of the work, the year is computed to begin on the 1st of January. The difficulty of assigning the true date to papers, written in the three first months of the year, even where the date is given, is often great, from the uncertainty whether the writer ascribed these months to the preceding, or to the succeeding year; and with regard to some instruments, issuing from the Court of Rome, the doubt is still farther increased by the practice of computing the year, for certain purposes, from a third epoch, viz. from Christmas Day, while other instruments, from the same Chancery, bore the date of the old year, until the 1st of January, and others, until the 25th of March. Upon this inconsistency were founded many of the arguments against the genuineness of the Bull of Pope Julius II., allowing the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon.[1]

Though the King's Commission applies, in terms, only to the State Paper Office, yet the Commissioners thought they should leave their work very imperfect, particularly prior to 1540, if they had not had recourse to the public repositories before enumerated, for any papers which might be connected with, or illustrate, those in the former office. In this publication, therefore, many will be found to have been selected from each of those libraries. These are always noted with a reference to the collection from which they come.

Many documents from the State Paper Office have been, at various times, published by different authors; particularly by Lord Herbert, Bishop Burnet, Mr. Strype, and Lord Hardwicke, each of whom had access to the office. The general rule has been, in these volumes, to avoid a second publication; but this rule has not been adhered to, where the first publication has been incorrect, or where the document forms part of a series, or throws light on some other paper selected for this work.

The Commissioners of the Public Records being engaged in the publication of a new and enlarged edition of Rymer's Fœdera, no

[1] See Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., p. 273; and Burnet's Reformation, vol. I. p. 58.

treaties,

treaties, or other documents of that nature, falling within the scope of their design, will be inserted in this collection.

For the convenience of the reader, and to save him the necessity of recurring to voluminous genealogical works, three small Tables are subjoined; comprising only those personages who are mentioned in this work, and such others as are necessary for connecting them together. The two first will shew the connexion, subsisting, in the sixteenth century, between the Royal Family of England and the several Crowned Heads of Europe; the first applying to Scotland and France, and the second to Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark. The third will exhibit the alliances between the several branches of the Royal Family of France.

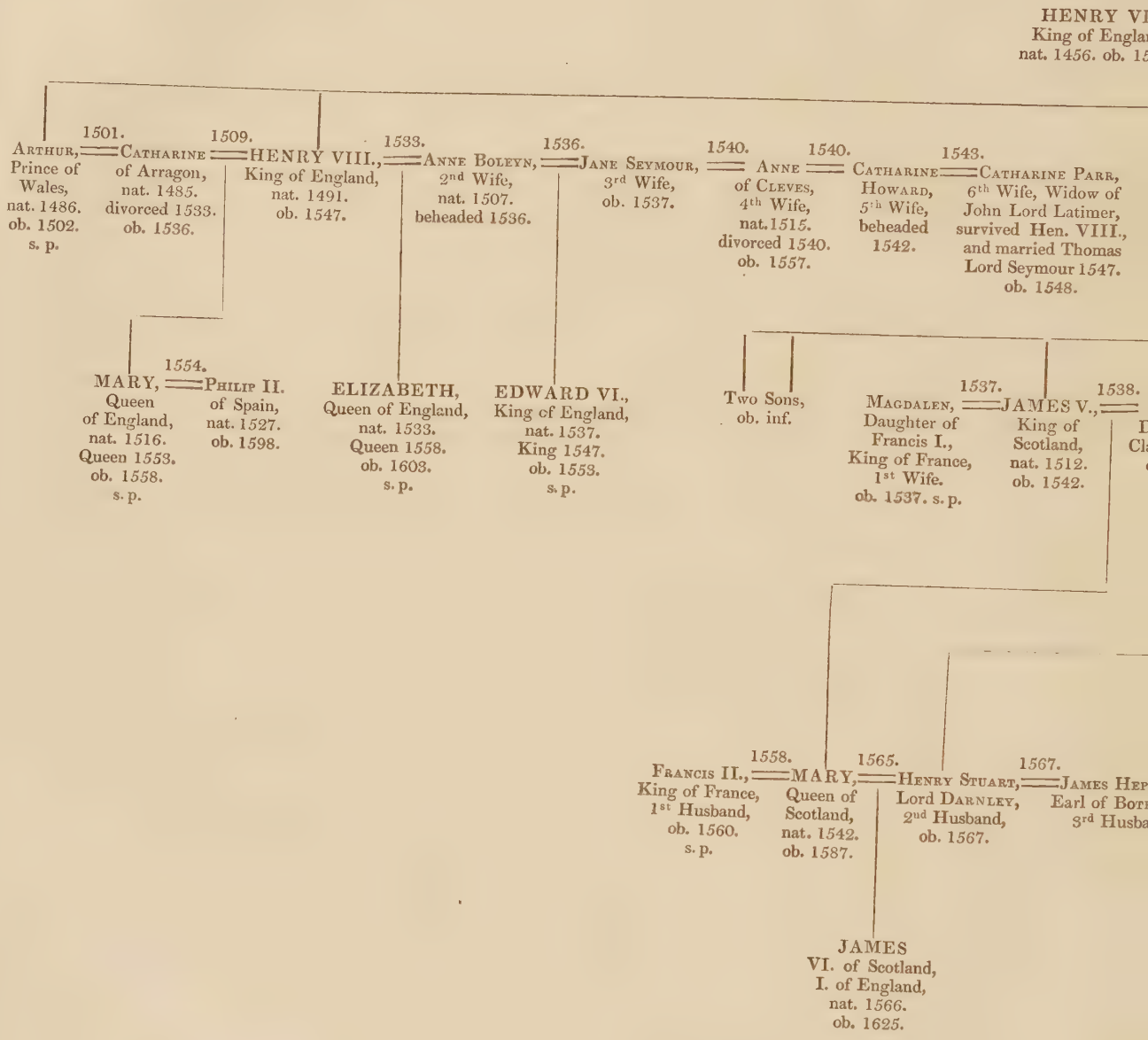
The work is also supplied with brief Notes at the foot of the page; and, at the end of this volume, a concise Vocabulary will be given, of words, occurring in it, which are either altogether obsolete, or are used in an obsolete signification; including some, which have, in process of time, merely undergone a grammatical change. Several, though scarcely less obsolete, are not inserted, because, being used by Spenser, or Shakespeare, they are found in Johnson's Dictionary, which is in every one's hands; and many are omitted, because they differ so little from the corresponding terms in modern use, as not to mislead any one.

When the reign of Henry VIII. is completed, the publication will be furnished with two Alphabetical Indexes, one of Places, the other of Persons; both which will contain references to all the matter contained in each volume; and the latter will also give a succinct chronological notice of the principal events in the life of each of the more remarkable personages.

1 *Dec.* 1830.

Table I.

Shewing the Connexion, in the Sixteenth Century, between the Royal Family of England, and those of Scotland and France.


HENRY VI
King of Engla
nat. 1456. ob. 1
ARTHUR, Prince of Wales, nat. 1486. ob. 1502. s. p.
1501.
CATHARINE of Arragon, nat. 1485. divorced 1533. ob. 1536.
1509.
HENRY VIII., King of England, nat. 1491. ob. 1547.
1533.
ANNE BOLEYN, 2nd Wife, nat. 1507. beheaded 1536.
1536.
JANE SEYMOUR, 3rd Wife, ob. 1537.
1540.
ANNE of CLEVES, 4th Wife, nat. 1515. divorced 1540. ob. 1557.
1540.
CATHARINE HOWARD, 5th Wife, beheaded 1542.
1543.
CATHARINE PARR, 6th Wife, Widow of John Lord Latimer, survived Hen. VIII., and married Thomas Lord Seymour 1547. ob. 1548.
MARY, Queen of England, nat. 1516. Queen 1553. ob. 1558. s. p.
1554.
PHILIP II. of Spain, nat. 1527. ob. 1598.
ELIZABETH, Queen of England, nat. 1533. Queen 1558. ob. 1603. s. p.
EDWARD VI., King of England, nat. 1537. King 1547. ob. 1553. s. p.
Two Sons, ob. inf.
MAGDALEN, Daughter of Francis I., King of France, 1st Wife. ob. 1537. s. p.
1537.
JAMES V., King of Scotland, nat. 1512. ob. 1542.
1538.
Cl
FRANCIS II., King of France, 1st Husband, ob. 1560. s. p.
1558.
MARY, Queen of Scotland, nat. 1542. ob. 1587.
1565.
HENRY STUART, Lord DARNLEY, 2nd Husband, ob. 1567.
1567.
JAMES Hep
Earl of Bot
3rd Husba
JAMES VI. of Scotland, I. of England, nat. 1566. ob. 1625.

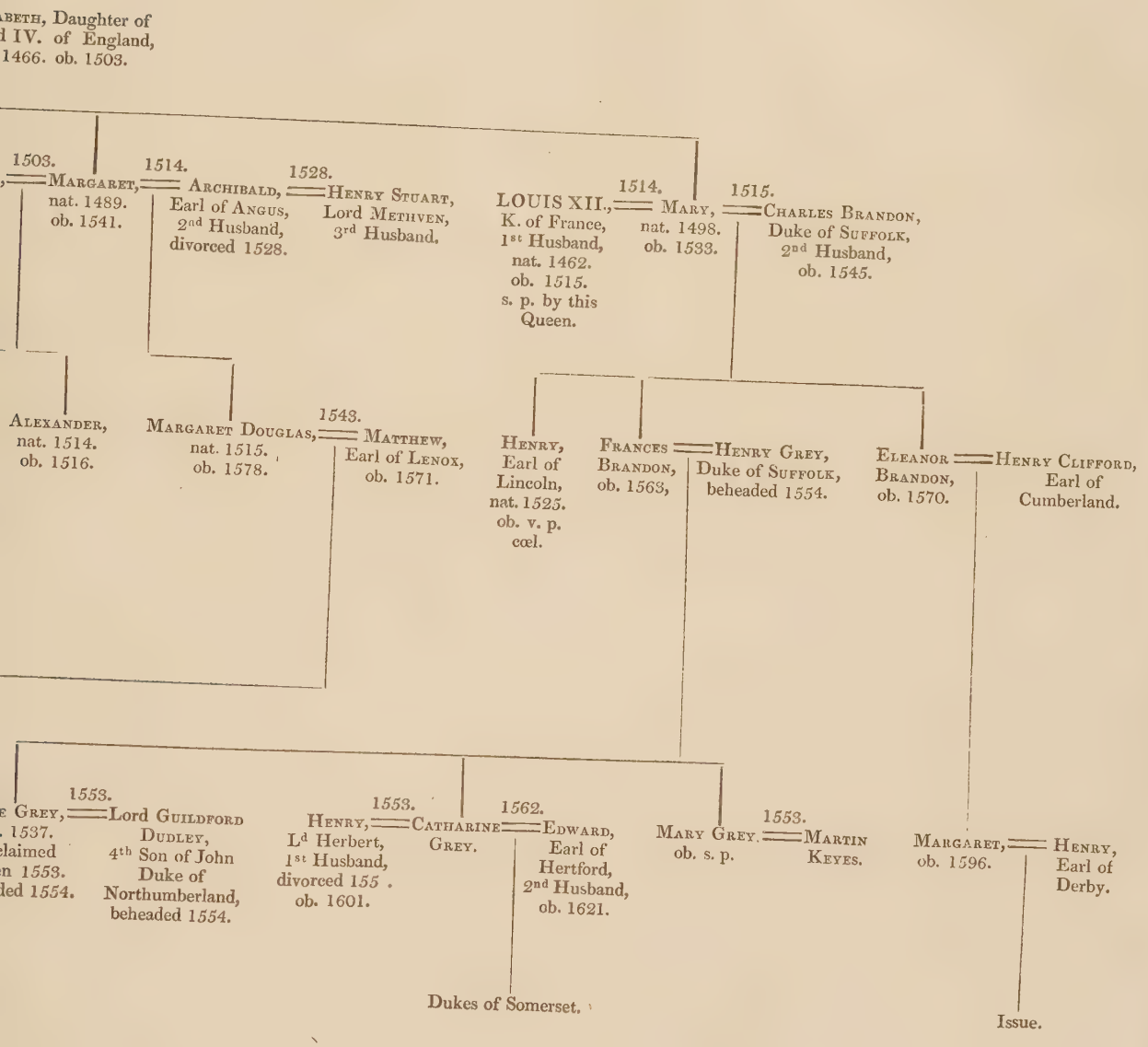
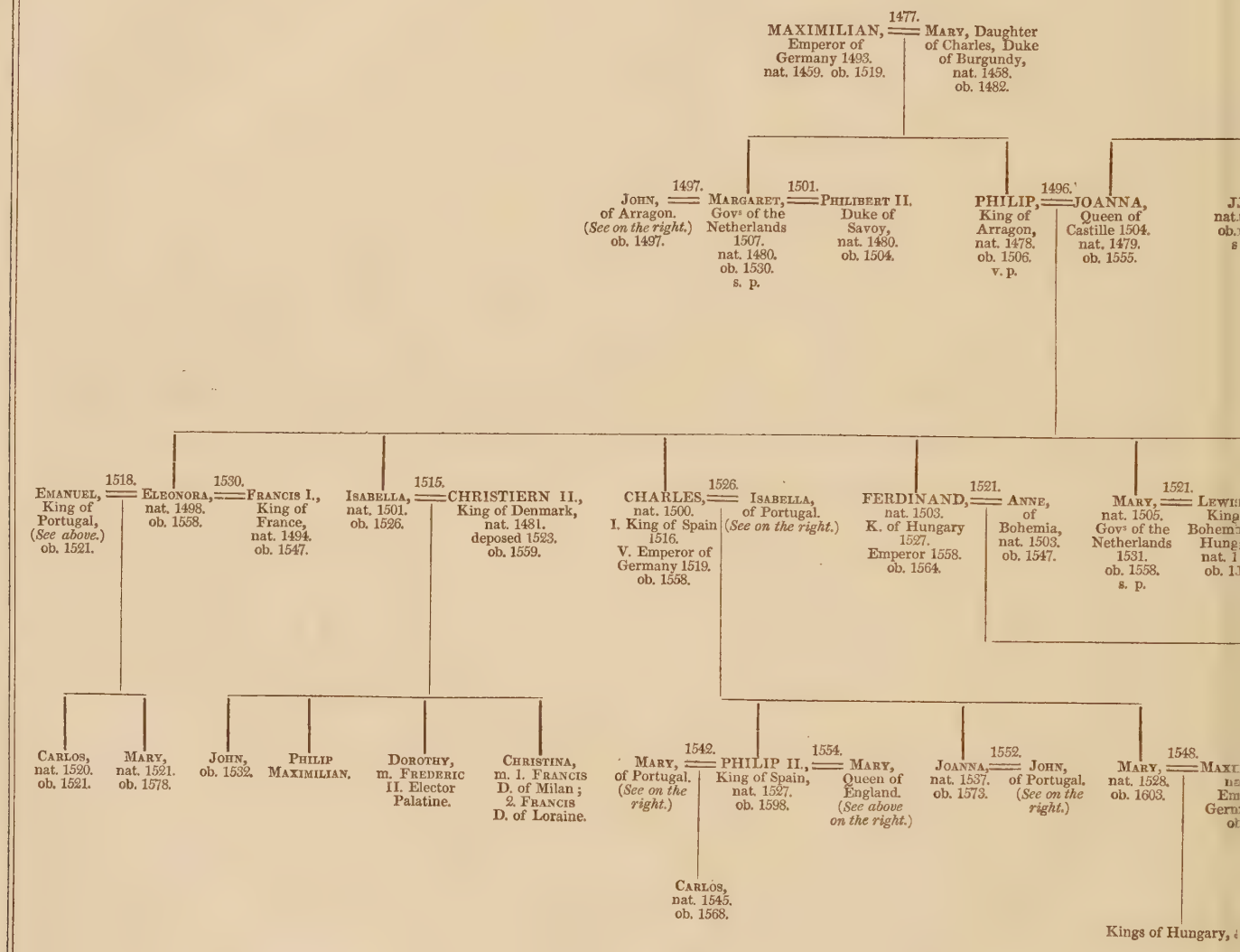

ABETH, Daughter of
d IV. of England,
1466. ob. 1503.
1503.
MARGARET, nat. 1489. ob. 1541.
1514.
ARCHIBALD, Earl of ANGUS, 2nd Husband, divorced 1528.
1528.
HENRY STUART, Lord METHVEN, 3rd Husband.
LOUIS XII., K. of France, 1st Husband, nat. 1462. ob. 1515. s. p. by this Queen.
1514.
MARY, nat. 1498. ob. 1533.
1515.
CHARLES BRANDON, Duke of SUFFOLK, 2nd Husband, ob. 1545.
ALEXANDER, nat. 1514. ob. 1516.
MARGARET DOUGLAS, nat. 1515. ob. 1578.
1543.
MATTHEW, Earl of LENOX, ob. 1571.
HENRY, Earl of Lincoln, nat. 1525. ob. v. p. cœl.
FRANCES BRANDON, ob. 1563,
HENRY GREY, Duke of SUFFOLK, beheaded 1554.
ELEANOR BRANDON, ob. 1570.
HENRY CLIFFORD, Earl of Cumberland.
E GREY, . 1537. elaimed n 1553. ded 1554.
1553.
Lord GUILDFORD DUDLEY, 4th Son of John Duke of Northumberland, beheaded 1554.
1553.
HENRY, Ld Herbert, 1st Husband, divorced 155 . ob. 1601.
CATHARINE GREY.
1562.
EDWARD, Earl of Hertford, 2nd Husband, ob. 1621.
MARY GREY. ob. s. p.
1553.
MARTIN KEYES.
MARGARET, ob. 1596.
HENRY, Earl of Derby.
Dukes of Somerset.
Issue.

Table II.

Shewing the Connexion, in the Sixteenth Century, between the Royal Family of England, and those of Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Denmark.

DENMARK.

AUSTRIA.


1477.
MAXIMILIAN, Emperor of Germany 1493. nat. 1459. ob. 1519.
MARY, Daughter of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, nat. 1458. ob. 1482.
1497.
JOHN, of Arragon. (See on the right.) ob. 1497.
1501.
MARGARET, Govs of the Netherlands 1507. nat. 1480. ob. 1530. s. p.
PHILIBERT II. Duke of Savoy, nat. 1480. ob. 1504.
1496.
PHILIP, King of Arragon, nat. 1478. ob. 1506. v. p.
JOANNA, Queen of Castille 1504. nat. 1479. ob. 1555.
1518.
EMANUEL, King of Portugal, (See above.) ob. 1521.
1530.
ELEONORA, nat. 1498. ob. 1558.
FRANCIS I., King of France, nat. 1494. ob. 1547.
1515.
ISABELLA, nat. 1501. ob. 1526.
CHRISTIERN II., King of Denmark, nat. 1481. deposed 1523. ob. 1559.
CHARLES, nat. 1500. I. King of Spain 1516. V. Emperor of Germany 1519. ob. 1558.
1526.
ISABELLA, of Portugal. (See on the right.)
FERDINAND, nat. 1503. K. of Hungary 1527. Emperor 1558. ob. 1564.
1521.
ANNE, of Bohemia, nat. 1503. ob. 1547.
MARY, nat. 1505. Govs of the Netherlands 1531. ob. 1558. s. p.
1521.
LEWI
King
Bohem
Hung
nat. 1
ob. 1
CARLOS, nat. 1520. ob. 1521.
MARY, nat. 1521. ob. 1578.
JOHN, ob. 1532.
PHILIP MAXIMILIAN.
DOROTHY, m. FREDERIC II. Elector Palatine.
CHRISTINA, m. 1. FRANCIS D. of Milan; 2. FRANCIS D. of Loraine.
1542.
MARY, of Portugal. (See on the right.)
PHILIP II., King of Spain, nat. 1527. ob. 1598.
1554.
MARY, Queen of England. (See above on the right.)
1552.
JOANNA, nat. 1537. ob. 1573.
JOHN, of Portugal. (See on the right.)
1548.
MARY, nat. 1528. ob. 1603.
MAXI
Em
Germ
ob
CARLOS, nat. 1545. ob. 1568.
Kings of Hungary,

SPAIN. PORTUGAL. ENGLAND.

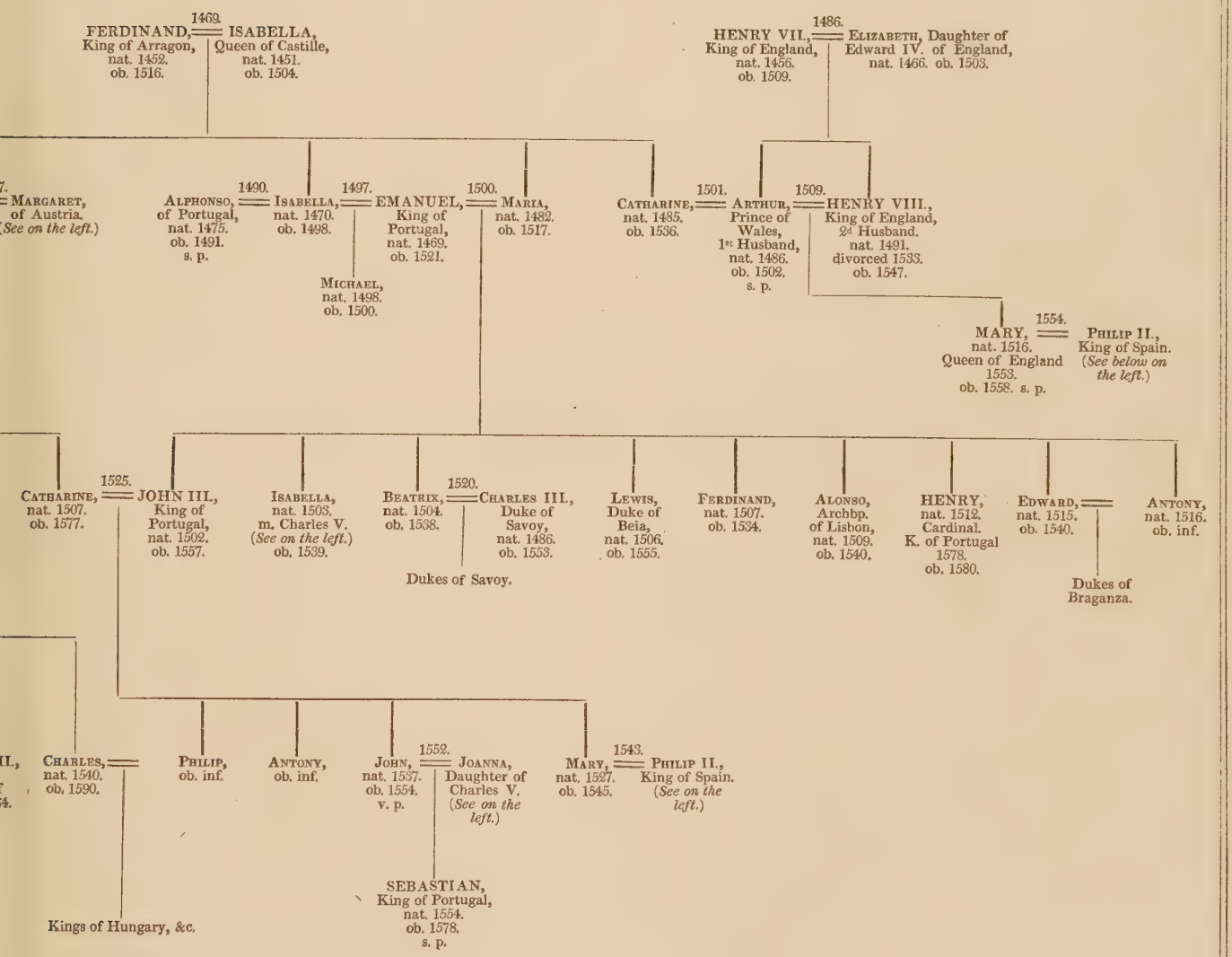
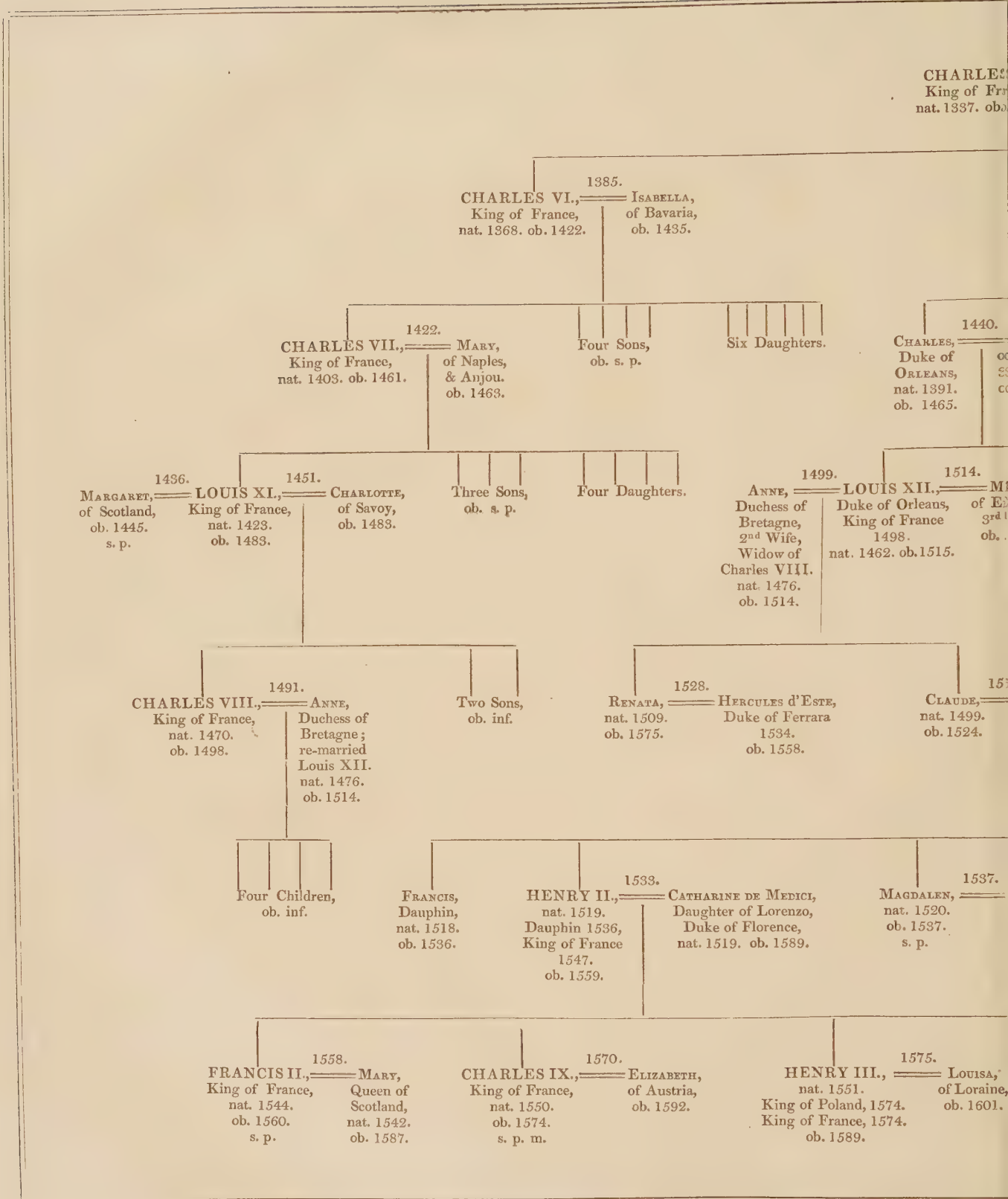
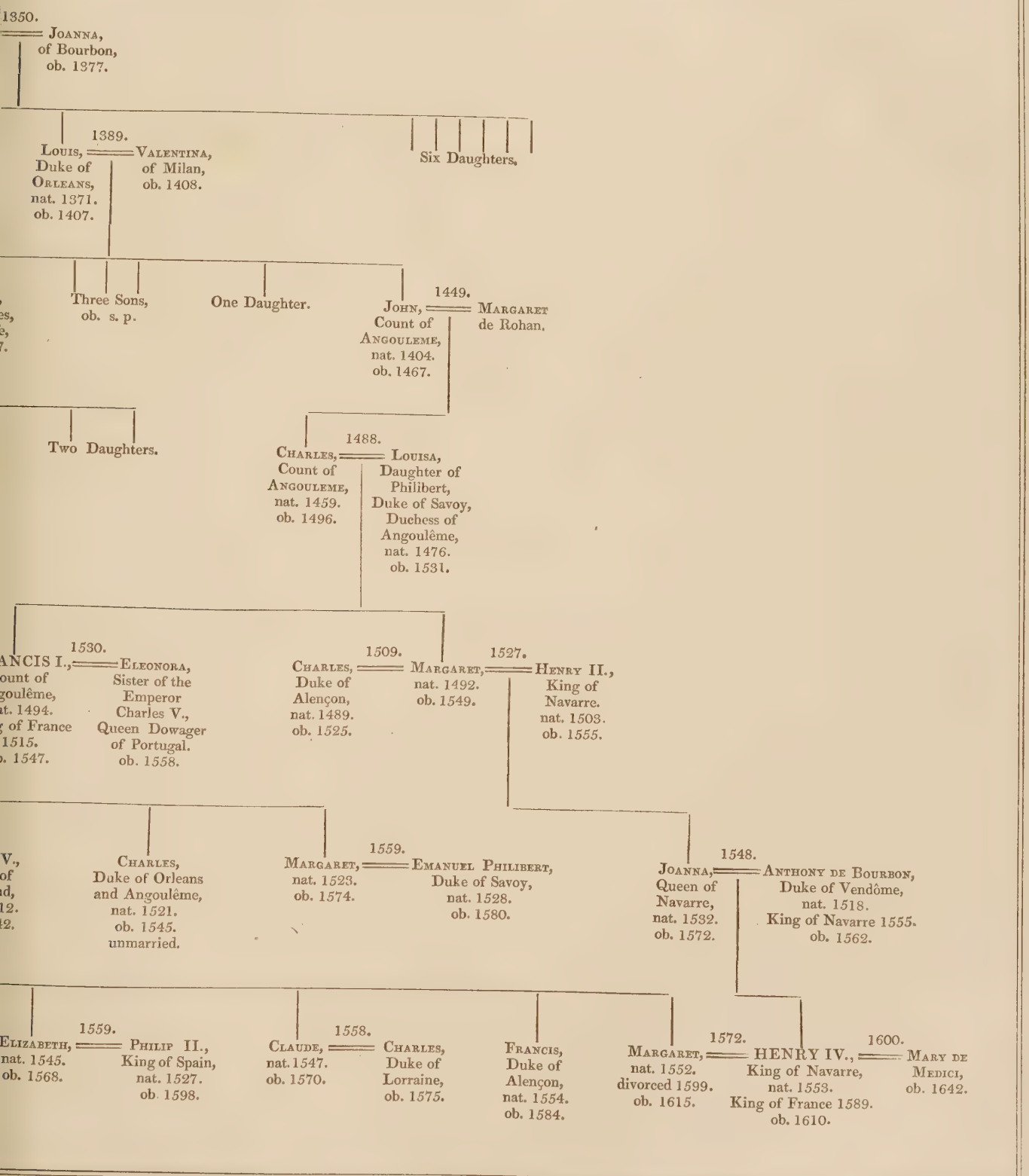

1469.
FERDINAND, King of Arragon, nat. 1452. ob. 1516.
ISABELLA, Queen of Castille, nat. 1451. ob. 1504.
1486.
HENRY VII., King of England, nat. 1456. ob. 1509.
ELIZABETH, Daughter of Edward IV. of England, nat. 1466. ob. 1503.
MARGARET, of Austria. (See on the left.)
ALPHONSO, of Portugal, nat. 1475. ob. 1491. s. p.
1490.
ISABELLA, nat. 1470. ob. 1498.
1497.
EMANUEL, King of Portugal, nat. 1469. ob. 1521.
MICHAEL, nat. 1498. ob. 1500.
1500.
MARIA, nat. 1482. ob. 1517.
CATHARINE, nat. 1485. ob. 1536.
1501.
ARTHUR, Prince of Wales, 1st Husband, nat. 1486. ob. 1502. s. p.
1509.
HENRY VIII., King of England, 2d Husband. nat. 1491. divorced 1533. ob. 1547.
1554.
MARY, nat. 1516. Queen of England 1553. ob. 1558. s. p.
PHILIP II., King of Spain. (See below on the left.)
CATHARINE, nat. 1507. ob. 1577.
1525.
JOHN III., King of Portugal, nat. 1502. ob. 1557.
ISABELLA, nat. 1503. m. Charles V. (See on the left.) ob. 1539.
BEATRIX, nat. 1504. ob. 1538.
1520.
CHARLES III., Duke of Savoy, nat. 1486. ob. 1553.
Dukes of Savoy.
LEWIS, Duke of Beia, nat. 1506. ob. 1555.
FERDINAND, nat. 1507. ob. 1534.
ALONSO, Archbp. of Lisbon, nat. 1509. ob. 1540.
HENRY, nat. 1512. Cardinal. K. of Portugal 1578. ob. 1580.
EDWARD, nat. 1515. ob. 1540.
Dukes of Braganza.
ANTONY, nat. 1516. ob. inf.
CHARLES, nat. 1540. ob. 1590.
PHILIP, ob. inf.
ANTONY, ob. inf.
JOHN, nat. 1537. ob. 1554. v. p.
1552.
JOANNA, Daughter of Charles V. (See on the left.)
MARY, nat. 1527. ob. 1545.
1543.
PHILIP II., King of Spain. (See on the left.)
SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal, nat. 1554. ob. 1578. s. p.
Kings of Hungary, &c.

Table III.

Shewing the Connexion between the Four Branches of the Royal Family of France in the Sixteenth Century.


CHARLES
King of Fr
nat. 1337. ob
1385.
CHARLES VI.,
King of France,
nat. 1368. ob. 1422.
ISABELLA,
of Bavaria,
ob. 1435.
1422.
CHARLES VII.,
King of France,
nat. 1403. ob. 1461.
MARY,
of Naples,
& Anjou.
ob. 1463.
Four Sons,
ob. s. p.
Six Daughters.
1440.
CHARLES,
Duke of
ORLEANS,
nat. 1391.
ob. 1465.
1436.
MARGARET,
of Scotland,
ob. 1445.
s. p.
1451.
LOUIS XI.,
King of France,
nat. 1423.
ob. 1483.
CHARLOTTE,
of Savoy,
ob. 1483.
Three Sons,
ob. s. p.
Four Daughters.
1499.
ANNE,
Duchess of
Bretagne,
2nd Wife,
Widow of
Charles VIII.
nat. 1476.
ob. 1514.
1514.
LOUIS XII.,
Duke of Orleans,
King of France
1498.
nat. 1462. ob. 1515.
1491.
CHARLES VIII.,
King of France,
nat. 1470.
ob. 1498.
ANNE,
Duchess of
Bretagne;
re-married
Louis XII.
nat. 1476.
ob. 1514.
Two Sons,
ob. inf.
1528.
RENATA,
nat. 1509.
ob. 1575.
HERCULES d'ESTE,
Duke of Ferrara
1534.
ob. 1558.
CLAUDE,
nat. 1499.
ob. 1524.
Four Children,
ob. inf.
FRANCIS,
Dauphin,
nat. 1518.
ob. 1536.
1533.
HENRY II.,
nat. 1519.
Dauphin 1536,
King of France
1547.
ob. 1559.
CATHARINE DE MEDICI,
Daughter of Lorenzo,
Duke of Florence,
nat. 1519. ob. 1589.
1537.
MAGDALEN,
nat. 1520.
ob. 1537.
s. p.
1558.
FRANCIS II.,
King of France,
nat. 1544.
ob. 1560.
s. p.
MARY,
Queen of
Scotland,
nat. 1542.
ob. 1587.
1570.
CHARLES IX.,
King of France,
nat. 1550.
ob. 1574.
s. p. m.
ELIZABETH,
of Austria,
ob. 1592.
1575.
HENRY III.,
nat. 1551.
King of Poland, 1574.
King of France, 1574.
ob. 1589.
LOUISA,
of Loraine,
ob. 1601.


1350.
JOANNA, of Bourbon, ob. 1377.
1389.
LOUIS, Duke of ORLEANS, nat. 1371. ob. 1407.
VALENTINA, of Milan, ob. 1408.
Six Daughters.
Three Sons, ob. s. p.
One Daughter.
1449.
JOHN, Count of ANGOULEME, nat. 1404. ob. 1467.
MARGARET de Rohan.
Two Daughters.
1488.
CHARLES, Count of ANGOULEME, nat. 1459. ob. 1496.
LOUISA, Daughter of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, Duchess of Angoulême, nat. 1476. ob. 1531.
1530.
ANCIS I., ount of goulême, at. 1494. of France 1515. . 1547.
ELEONORA, Sister of the Emperor Charles V., Queen Dowager of Portugal. ob. 1558.
1509.
CHARLES, Duke of Alençon, nat. 1489. ob. 1525.
1527.
MARGARET, nat. 1492. ob. 1549.
HENRY II., King of Navarre. nat. 1503. ob. 1555.
V., of d, 12. 42.
CHARLES, Duke of Orleans and Angoulême, nat. 1521. ob. 1545. unmarried.
1559.
MARGARET, nat. 1523. ob. 1574.
EMANUEL PHILIBERT, Duke of Savoy, nat. 1528. ob. 1580.
1548.
JOANNA, Queen of Navarre, nat. 1532. ob. 1572.
ANTHONY DE BOURBON, Duke of Vendôme, nat. 1518. King of Navarre 1555. ob. 1562.
1559.
ELIZABETH, nat. 1545. ob. 1568.
PHILIP II., King of Spain, nat. 1527. ob. 1598.
1558.
CLAUDE, nat. 1547. ob. 1570.
CHARLES, Duke of Lorraine, ob. 1575.
FRANCIS, Duke of Alençon, nat. 1554. ob. 1584.
1572.
MARGARET, nat. 1552. divorced 1599. ob. 1615.
HENRY IV., King of Navarre, nat. 1553. King of France 1589. ob. 1610.
1600.
MARY DE MEDICI, ob. 1642.

STATE PAPERS.

King Henry the Eighth.

Part I.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

The King and Cardinal Wolsey.

1518—1530.

This part of the work comprises the Correspondence between the King and Wolsey, whether the letters were actually written in their own names, or in those of their respective Secretaries; and whether they were addressed to themselves, by name, or to others, who were in immediate attendance upon them. It commences in the year 1518, and extends to within a short period of the Cardinal's death, when he was resident, and in truth a prisoner, in his Archiepiscopal Palace at Southwell.

In the case of a Minister, employed as Wolsey uniformly was, except in two instances (viz. in 1521, and 1527), within the Realm, many chasms must necessarily occur in his correspondence with his Royal Master, from their being on the same spot, and holding their communications in person. But the chasms, which exist in this correspondence, more especially in the early portion of it, are more frequent, and of longer duration, than can be accounted for on that principle, and must be referred to some of the causes enumerated in the General Preface. The only series of letters, in this division of the work, which approaches to perfection, is that, which passed in the period between Wolsey's setting forth on his splendid mission to France, in July 1527, and his return from thence, in the following September. This series is very nearly complete, and developes the secret objects of that mission, on which the official instructions are altogether silent (pp. 191, 195, 197, 230, 244, 254, 260, 261).

It will be seen from the letters published in this part of the Collection, that the predominant influence, which Wolsey is usually supposed to have exercised over Henry VIII., is considerably over-rated. The Cardinal was often under the necessity of stating, and even

even of restating, the grounds of his advice, before it was adopted; and it was, sometimes, finally rejected. As an illustration of the first position, a discussion between the King and his Minister, respecting the policy of allowing the wine ships to go to Bourdeaux, in the year 1521, (a subject of little intrinsic interest) is inserted at greater length than it need otherwise have been (pp. 47—68). And the King's ultimate decision, against Wolsey's advice, is seen in Lord Essex's being, in the same year, appointed to the command of the Corps of Archers, at the head of which Wolsey proposed to march with his Cross (pp. 22—32); and again, in Knight's mission to Rome, in 1527 (pp. 268—277), when the full extent of the Ambassador's instructions was concealed even from the Cardinal.

The first misunderstanding between the King and Wolsey appears to have occurred in 1525 (p. 154). This seems to have been soon forgotten. The Cardinal again incurred the royal displeasure in 1528 (pp. 314—316); and it may be doubted, whether this wound ever was completely healed. The Minister must certainly have conceived it to be so, otherwise he would not have ventured to ask his Sovereign for the lucrative preferment he soon afterwards solicited, not only for himself, but for Winter, his natural son (p. 329). But Wolsey knew little of the clouds of adversity; and it was the character of his mind to retrieve its innate presumptuousness, at the first instant after every such cloud had begun to pass away. This is strikingly exemplified in the tone of some of his letters to Crumwell, written after the first impression made on him, by his disgrace, had been a little softened.

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OF

PART I.

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II. Secretary PACE to WOLSEY; Woodstock, 5 July [1518.] Te Deum to be sung in St. Paul's, for the Queen's pregnancy. - - - - 2

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STATE PAPERS.

PART I.

I. KING HENRY VIII. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lord Cardinall, I recommand unto yow as hartely as I can, and I ame ryght glade to here of your good helthe, wyche I pray God may long contynu; so it is, that I have resavyd your letters, to the wyche (by cause they aske long wrytyng) I have made answar by my Secretary; tow thyynges ther be, wyche be so secrete that they cause me at thys tyme to wrytte to yow my selfe; the won is, that I trust the Quene my Wyfe be with chylde, the other is, the chefe cause why I am soo lothe to repayre to London werd, by cause aboght thys tyme is partly of her dangerus tymes, and by cause of that I wolde remove har as lyttyll as I may now. My Lord I wrytt thys unto[2] nott as a ensuryd thyng, but as a thyng wherin I have grette hoppe and lyklyodes, and by cause I do well know that thys thyng wyll be comfortabyll to yow to understand, therfor I do wrytt itt unto yow at thys tyme. No more to yow att thys tyme, nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finiri. Wryttyn with the hand off your lovyng Prynce.

HENRY R.

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[1] This letter was probably written a short time before Pace's of 5th July 1518. It is wholly in the King's hand, and though it is already in print, is here given in connexion with Pace's letter, which has not before been published, since it evinces the King's extreme anxiety for another child. The original is in the British Museum, Vespasian, F. III. leaf 34 b.

[2] Sic in Orig.

II. Secretary Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace; The Kyngis Highnesse arrivydde here thys nyght at 8 of the clokke, and the Qwean dydde meate wyth Hys Grace at hys chiambre dore, and schewydde unto hym, for hys welcum home, herre bely sum thynge grete, declaringe opynly that schee was qwykke wyth chylde; wheroff the Kyngis Highnesse commaundydde me immediatly to advertise Your Grace, in hys name, and to desyre the same to commaunde that Te Deum laudamus be solempnely sunge in Powlys, in lyke maner as Hys Grace wull commaunde to be doon here to morowe. Valeat felicissime, Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me humillime commendo et trado. Ex Wudstokke, quinta die Julij post horam decimam noctis.

The Kyngis Grace, at hys entrye off the gates, founde there all suche as be here off hys Counsayl, and sayde unto us all secretly, that assone as he hadde spokyn wyth us, we schulde all be mery.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ

Fidelissimus Servus,

(*Signed*) Ri. Paceus.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardinals Grace.

III. Clerk *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleasith it Yowr Grace. I have shewyd the Kyngis Hynes att large suche matters as Yowr Grace commandyd me to shew hym; and to be shortt, Master Pace is syknes and his febyllnes rynnyth mervellosly in his mynd, and in a maner he lykyth nothyng, that Yowr Grace shold send no man to Master Pace, unto suche tym as ye have word agayn; for he sayth then it wyll be to latte. He sayth also thatt my goyng to my Lady Margett[3],

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[1] Richard Pace was a priest in the service of Cardinal Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, and in 1515 became the King's secretary. This letter is preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. 3. No. 26.

[2] From John Clerk (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells), written in May or June 1519, while Henry VIII. was a candidate for the Empire of Germany, and Pace, his secretary, was at Frankfort, endeavouring to advance his master's pretensions with the Diet. This letter is preserved among Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. 3. No. 53.

[3] The Archduchess Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, Regent of the Netherlands.

and

and so from thens to Master Pace, hath in it selff so long a tracte, that in effecte it war as good I went nott at all. As towchyng his enterpryse of the Empyr, Yowr Grace may be assuryd that I have reasonnyd as depely as my poor wytt wold serve me, nott varying from your instructions, and that for myn own interest; but His Grace, as my thynkyth, consideryth no jupardyes. Notwythstandyng, His Grace wold not conclude wyth me this nyght, butt sayd thatt he wold slepe and drem apon the matter, and geff me an answer apon the mornyng. I shewyd His Grace iff he stode in soche dowt for Master Pace, ther myght be sent a commyssyon to Clarenceux, or to Tompson, on off the Clerkis of the Signett, the whiche be bothe wys men and well brokyn, and myght occupy and putt in execution the sayd commyssion iff need war, thatt is to say, iff Master Pace shold (whiche God forbed) do other wys then well. His Grace sayd he wold thynk apon it tyll to morow. As son as I shall have myn answer, I shall com to Yowr Grace wyth all diligence. This[1] Almyghty God preserve Yowr Grace. At Wyndsor thys Monday mornyng att on off the cloke.

Yowr Graces humbyll servant and chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Jo. CLERK.

To my Lord Cardynall is good Grace.

IV. MORE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

HIT may lyke Your good Grace to undrestand that the Kinges Grace hath commaunded me to advertise Your Grace, that the Embassiatour[3] of the King of Castile hath this present Wedynesday[4] spoken with His Grace, and declared un to hym such newis on the byhalfe of his maister, the King of Castile, as Your Grace knoweth of; for which the Kinges Grace requyreth Your Grace that there may be such lettres of gratulacion devised un to the said King of Castell, as your politique wisedome shall thinke moost convenient. The Kinges Grace hath also commaunded me to shew Your

[1] Sic in Orig.

[2] This letter of Sir Thomas More is holograph, and is in the British Museum, Galba, B. V. leaf 270. It is printed by Ellis.

[3] John de Hesdin, or Hédin.

[4] The 6th of July fell on a Wednesday in 1519. Charles, King of Castile, was elected Emperor of Germany, at Frankfort, on the 28th of June in that year.

Grace that thEmbassiatour hath requyred His Grace to send his advice to the King of Castile, concernyng the mater of the laste Diete, in which the Great Maister of Fraunce deceaced[1], in which thing thEmbassiatour desireth to have lettres of credence of the Kinges Grace, by which he myght hym selfe declare to his maister by mowth, the Kinges advice concernyng the premissis. Howbeit the Kinges Grace thinketh hit mych better that his hole advice be written at length by lettres devised by the prudent caste of Your Grace. The Kinges Grace commaunded me ferther to wrighte un to Your Grace that among other communications had with thEmbassiatour, His Grace remembred un to hym that he had allway been a very hartie frend un to the King of Castil, and during his life so entended to percever, and wold of none erthely thing be more loth than if eny occasion shold fall (which he trusted shold never fall) wherby he myghte be constrayned un to the contrary. For the avoiding whereof, His Grace advised thEmbassiatour that he shold in eny wise counsaile his maister, that he no thing attempted herafter that shold extend to the breche of eny article comprised in the amitee[2] concluded bytwen His Grace, and the King of Castil and the French King; which if he did, Hys Grace shold think hym selfe bounden to regard the frendship of none erthely man, so highly as his othe geven to God, for the observation of the said amite and liege. The Embassiatour is riden fro the Court now after diner, and I think he wilbe with Your Grace very shortely. And thus our Lord long preserve Your Grace in honour and helth. At Okyng[3] the 6th day of July.

Your mooste humble servaunt
and mooste bounden Beedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

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[1] Arthur de Gouffier, Seigneur de Boissy, Grand Master of the French King's household, died, according to Mézéray, at Montpellier, during his negotiation with Chievres, as Ambassador from the King of Castile, in 1518.

[2] The Treaty of London, concluded 2 Oct. 1518, between England, the Pope, the Emperor, France, and Spain.

[3] Oking or Woking in Surrey.

V. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII. [1]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understand; Aftyr the retourn of [2] Hed[*yng*] advise taken eythyr of me and your Counsayle, or any other a great nombre of Spanyardes, Duchemen, and other straungers Saynt [3] Thomas day, a solempne Masse to be songyn at the Fr fyrys to be made in certayn places of the strete nere adjoynyng to of wyne for such as schuld reasort to the sayd fyrys, in tokyn of [*the election*] of the Kyng his master to the dignitie Imperiall. Whereuppon su regardyng this greate assemble of straungers and not knowing thay[*r intent, but*] rather fearyng that eythyr thay myndyd the perturbaunce of the peax, or [*to be*] revengyd uppon such attemptates as were doon by the wyld per ayenst straungers on May Day was twelvemonethys, interuptyd the s[*ame*] aswell in makyng thayr fyrys, as also of thayr assemblees; which thing [*Hedyng*] takyth ryght displeasauntly, supposyng that it is doone for a dispite to the Kyng [*his master*] conjectyng also thereuppon that the subjectes of your reame berythe not so greate [*amity*] and favour unto hys said maister, as it hathe been heretofore declaryd and schewyd. And the more grevously he accepteth the same, forasmoch as the Frensche men h[*ere*] beyng, doo make dishonourable brutes therof, sownyng to the hynderaunce of thentier love and amytie establysched bytwyxt Your Hyghnesse and hys said maister. Howbeit for the easyng and pacifyeng of the said Hedynges mynd, uppon hys complaynt to me made this mornyng (I [*not*] having any maner knowlege therof byfor) was not a litle trowblyd with the same. N[*ever-thelesse*] for the tyme, I excusyd the mater in forme folowyng; Furst I schewid unto hym, that inasmoche as thelection of hys maister to the said dignitie was not yet publisched within the citie, but that thofficers and communaltie therof, kepyng the watch, were ignorant therein, therfore [*it could*] not justly be arrectyd [4] unto thaym that thay dyd it for any dispite or dishonour, but ra[*ther*] for keping of the paysible governaunce of the citie, whiche by suche assemblees [*might*] be disturbyd (specially the causes

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[1] This is published from a draft, which must have been written on the 8th of July 1519. It is in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. XX. leaf 112., and is much damaged by fire. A few of the lacunæ are supplied from conjecture.

[2] De Hesdin, ambassador from Charles V.

[3] July 7th, St. Thomas à Becket.

[4] Imputed. The word is used by Bracton, and other ancient law writers, as synonymous with indict.

of

of thayr gaderyng being to the citizens on[*known*]). I persuadyd also unto hym (though there were no such thing determyned or intendyd) inasmoche as I, by your commawndment, with other of your Counsayle here, purposid on S[*unday*] next cummyng to make demonstracions of rejoysing for this election, and that I had notifyed to thofficers of the citie; the seyd officers seeyng the prevencion of the and fearyng summe novelties to ensue by brennyng of howses, or otherwyse interrup put over the same for that tyme, wherefor the blame was to be arrectyd [*unto the said*] Hedyng, for that he reasortyd not to me for knowlege of the determynacion of [*your Grace*]; which if he had doone, such ordre and direction had been takyn there[*in as would not*] oonly have redoundyd to the greate honour of hys maister, but also manyfestly [*shewn the*] amytie, fraternall love, and perfect affection that Your Grace Princes. And inasmoche as by jelousie ceremonyes must now be schewyd and doone, thowgh none suche were byfor advise alwayes reservyd, we purpose if it may so stand with your gracious [*pleasure*] to assemble our selfes at Paulys, on Sunday next cummyng, there to have but also at nyght to cause fyrys to be made thorowt the citie for the rejoysyng of the said election; which shall sufficiently purge the suspicion of is raysid by meane of the said attemptate. The premisses we have reasonyd and by way of advise, remyttyng alwayes the determynacion therof to your high pleasure, [*whereof*] it may like Your Grace tadvertise me by this berer.

And to thentent the Frensche Kyng schall not take this doyng in il part, I purpose to make the Frensche [*Am*]bassadour pryvye to suche solempnities as schalbe made for this purpose; notifyeng unto hym, that, standyng the goode amytie bytwyxt Your Grace and the King of Castyle, ye can no lesse doo, and that ye wold have made semblable solempnities and congratulations for thonour of hys maister, if he had been advauncyd to the sayd dignitie; not doubtyng but the said Ambassadour woll take this overture and direction in goode part.

And in advoyding such ill brutes and reportes as mowght be made by letters or messingers to the said Archduchesse, of this foresaid businesse, byfore the solempnities be made here for thassumpcion of the Kyng of Castyle to this dignitie, I have not oonly stoppyd all maner of passages in your portes, but also provided thankefull letters of congratulacion to the said Archeduchesse, with an instruction to be declaryd to her, conteynyng the trewthe and playnesse, whereby all sinister reaportes shalbe put to silence;

silence; which within brief tyme I schall send to Your Grace to be signed, besekyng Your Grace, in the meane season, tadvertyse me of your pleasure in the premisses.

At the dispeching of this letter, I had byfor me and your Counsayle, the Mayr and Aldyrmen of your citie of London, not oonly to try by examinacion the cause and occasion of this disordre, and who wer the provokers and sturrers therof, but also, uppon knowlege of the same, condignely to punnysche suche as schalbe found culpable, accordyng to thayr demerites. Whereof I schall farther advertyse Your Grace by the next messinger.

VI. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to undrestand that the Kingis Grace hath commaunded me to wryte un to Your Grace, that he geveth you harty thankis for your diligent advertisement of all such thinges as Your Grace hath written un to hym in your latter letters; towching the contentes wherof His Grace hath commaunded me to shew you, that he wery well lyketh your politique ordre taken with Hedyng, the King of Castile his Oratour, which His Grace thinketh very good and honorable. And as towching the overture made by my Lord of Chevers[2] for the mariage of my Lord of Devonshire[3], the King is well content, and as me semeth very glad of the motion; wherin he requyreth Your Grace that it may lyke you to call my Lord of Devonshire to Your Grace, and to advise hym secretely to forbere eny ferther treatie of mariage with my Lord Mountjoy, for a while staying the mater, not casting hit off; shewing hym that ther is a farre bettre offre made hym, of which the King wold that he shold not know the specialtie, byfore he speke with His Grace.

As towching the demeanure of the Cardinall Sedunense[4] concernyng the truste that the Kinges Grace did put in hym, His Grace commaunded

[1] This holograph letter is in the Museum, Galba. B. V. leaf 269. It is printed by Ellis.

[2] William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, who had been tutor, and was then prime minister to Charles V.

[3] A volume in the Cottonian Library, Vitellius, B. XX., contains a letter from Wolsey to Sir Richard Wingfield, from whence it appears that Chievres had made proposals of marriage to the Earl of Devonshire's daughter. The volume is so mutilated by fire as to be nearly useless.

[4] Matthew Skinner, Cardinal of Sion or Settin (a town in the Valois), was employed on several missions to England.

me

me to shew Your Grace that he mystrusted the same hym self byfore, and that he so shewed Your Grace at Richemount. And though he be not glad of the Cardinallis delyng, yit is he glad, he saith, that Your Grace may se that he fore saw it; whereby he thinketh Your Grace will the bettre truste his conjecture hereafter.

I send un to Your Grace by your servaunt, this berer, certayn wryting which the Kinges Grace commaunded me to send un to Your Grace, to take such ordre in the same as your moost politique wisedom shall thynke convenient. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Oking this present Saterday the 9th day of July.

Your moost humble servaunt and
moste bownden Beedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

VII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kyngis Highnesse at myne arrivall hydre yistirdaye was playynge wyth the hostagis.[2] Assone as he hadde endydde his playe, Hys Grace admittidde me to audience, and acceptidde me lovingly, and harde me at large, declarynge unto hym all the busynesse off the late election of the Kynge off Romaynes, whyche declaration I orderydde precisely accordyng to suche communication as was hadde betwixte Your Grace and me, at my departure frome yow. And when the Kyngis Highnesse hadde well percevidde and ponderydde the grete chiarges and profusion of mony exspent bi the sayde Kynge of Romaynes for the obtent off that dignitie, His Grace dydde highly wundre therat, and sayde that he was ryght gladde that he obteignydde nott the same, and callidde unto hym the Duke of Southfolke[3], and schewede the same unto hym. His Grace was singularly well contentidde to here howe honorably I was recevidde in Almayne, and callidde the Duke of Bukkyngham[4] to here

[1] This letter is found among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 12.

[2] The French hostages, who were presented to the King at Greenwich on the 6th of March preceding, viz. Messieurs De Rochepot, De la Meilleraye, De Montpesat, and De Morette.

[3] Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, husband of the King's sister, Mary Queen Dowager of France.

[4] Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

that.

that. As touchynge the Popis Holynesse, I schewede unto Hys Grace, that of 3 his Orators, 2 undoubtidly were corruptidde bi the Frenche Kynge; expressinge the reasons and evident causis whye. Wherunto His Grace sayde thies wurdis formally, interrogative, "Bi the masse?" yevynge firme credence unto the same, so that I trust verrayly that all that matier schalbe layede unto the sayde Orators, and not to the Pope. Aftre thys communication, His Grace sportidde wyth me meryly off my jorneye, in most lovynge and familiare maner, and that doon, went to sopar, and spake of me many bettre wurdis than I have or can deserve. Othre thynge have I none to advertise Your Grace off, but that the Duke of Bukkyngham makyth unto the Kynge here, excellent chere. Thys nyght the Kynge schall lye at Otforde.[1] Your Grace schall receive wyth thiese my Lorde Stewardis byll, signydde. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Penshurste, thys 11 off Auguste. By Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.[2]

VIII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[3]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kingis Highnesse haith recevidde, thys mornynge, your letters[4] wyth the Frenche newes inclosydde in the same, and Hys Highnesse dydde rede hym selfe unto me all Your Graces sayde letters, excepte the last clause off the same, and commaundydde me, in hys name, to yeve unto Your Grace most harty thankes for your diligent advertisement off suche newes as cummyth to your knowliege; and further answere than thys Hys Grace sayde he neadydde nott to make to the forsayde newes, but at ony tyme that Your Grace shall signifie unto Hys Highnesse suche matier as shall requyre hys advise and counsayle, he wull make answere unto the same, bi goodde deliberacion, studye and diligence. Hys Grace schewede unto me that he dydde perceve, bi the sayde newes,

[1] Near Sevenoaks in Kent.

[2] The Bull appointing Cardinal Wolsey to be sole Legate à Latere, is dated 10th June 1519, after which he was constantly addressed by that title. The Bull appointing Wolsey and Campeggio to be Legates à Latere, jointly, is dated 6° Calend. Augusti (July 27th) 1518.

[3] From the British Museum. Titus, B. I. leaf 288.

[4] Not extant.

 that

that thEmperour was lyke utterly to be undoon, and to lose wythin bryffe tyme the realme off Spayne, and that he hadde many evyl counsaylors, and especially Monsr. de Chievers, whoo intendith for there owne private profectes to conveye hym in to Itali, affore the greate busynesse off Spayne be pacified. Hys Grace also schewede unto me that, bi the means of evyl counsaylors, hys owne affayris doith not succede wyth thEmperour accordynge to hys desyre, and that therfore he intendith schortly to revoke the M^r^. of the Rollys.[1] As touchynge Your Graces lettres directydde unto me, I do ingage my selfe most bounde unto your sayde Grace, that itt wolde pleas the same to take suche payne to wryte to me wyth your owne hande. And where as I do perceve bi the tenor off your sayde lettres, that my dayly wrytynge unto Your Grace is to your goodde contentacion, I shall nott fayle to continue the same, accordynge to my dewtie, quandocunque erit vel minimum quod dignum literis, et si nihil erit quod scribam, hoc ipsum scribam, nihil esse ad scribendum. I advertisydde Your Grace yistirdaye, what thankes the Vicare off Croydon hadde off the Kynge for hys prechynge; yff he hadde usydde M^r^. Almoners[2] waye (whoo prechydde the same daye in the mornynge in the Kingis Hall to the houseolde) he hadde departidde hense wythowte troble; for the sayde M^r^. Almoner, in hys sermone, broght in the balates off "Passe tyme wyth goodde cumpanye" and "I love unlovydde." I remitte unto Your Grace herwyth the sayde Frenche newes. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helthe and continuale prosperitie. Wretyn at Newehall[3] thys 5 off Marche, bi Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

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[1] Tunstall, Master of the Rolls, returned from his embassy to the Emperor in April 1521.

[2] Dr. Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York.

[3] Newhall was, by an act passed two years afterwards, 14 & 15 H. VIII. c. 18., made the chief place of the King's new Honour of Beaulieu, in Essex.

IX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. What myne opinion is that thEmperour shulde condescende unto, Your Highnes may partely perceyve, as well by my letters sent unto Your Grace yesterday, as also by suche instructions as I have goven to Sir Richard Wyngfild [1] and your Ambassadours [2] with the French Kyng, the copies wherof I sende unto Your Grace herewith, trustyng that the same be to your desired purpose. Howebeit, it shulde be right dangerous to Your Highnes, if ye had none other bande of thEmperour, then ye have of the French Kyng, for such consideracions as I doubte not Your Grace well remembrith. Wherfor I have instructed Mr. Wyngfilde, that he shuld not onely induce thEmperour to make semblable writyng as the French Kyng hath don, but also to require the bande of not treatyng with the Frenche Kyng, withoute your consente; wherin percase he may make difficultie, for as moche as no such bande is required nor agreyd unto, on the said Frenche Kyngis parte. And therfor the said bande, with lesse writyng on thEmperours parte, shul peraventure be better and more beneficiall for Your Grace, then to aggre to suche writyngis as the French Kyng hath made withoute the said bande. And this was myne opinion, that I desired Mr. Marney [3] shulde shewe unto Your Grace. Howebeit Your Highnes may perceyve by Sir Richard Wyngfildes said instructions, that I have omytted neyther the one, ne the other. And what awnswer I have made to Delabaty [4], Your Grace shall also perceyve by suche letters as I have written to Sir William Fitzwilliam. The said Delabaty desirith to comme to Your Grace, for declaration of his charge, whome I have appoynted to be at Wyndesor on Tuesday at nyght. It may like Your Grace to cause loggyng to be prepaired for hym acordyngly. And as touchyng the letter to my Lady Margaret [5], the same must be sent with all diligence; for if Mr. Wyngfild shuld arryve withoute the said letters, she shulde peraventure take displeasure, wherof no good may ensue. Your Highnes hath the said letters with your self, eyther to be signed, orels to be written with your awne hande, as shall stande with your pleasure. I

[1] Ambassador to the Emperor, then in the Netherlands. These instructions are probably contained in the mutilated volume, Vitellius, B. XX.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Jerningham.

[3] Sir Henry Marney, Captain of the Guard.

[4] Olivier de la Vernade, Seigneur de la Bastie, one of the French Ambassadors in England. See his instructions, in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 52.

[5] The Archduchess.

beseche Your Grace, though it shalbe to your payne, to do somewhat therin, ne noceat. Ye knowe well inough that women must be pleased. And thus Jhesu preserve your moost noble and royal astate. From Westminster, this mornyng, by your

moste humble Chapleyn [1]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Grace.

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

X. Pace *to* Wolsey. [2]

Pleasitt Your Grace. The Kynge advertisith the same, that yistirdaye, in the mornynge, arrividde here Montpezat [3] wyth Mons[r]. de Labbaty [4], and that aftre dyner he disclosydde hys chiarge to Hys Hyghnesse; and furst schewede that the Kynge, hys master, hadde suffrydde the losse and destruction off hys army in the realme of Navarre, for that he harkenydde to peax, and dymynnischydde hys sayde army there, at the Kyngis instance. Secundly, he declarydde howe the Kynge, hys master, schewede agaynst the Pope, that Hys Holynesse galys were in a redynesse for to take the citie off Gene [5], longe affore he attemptidde ony thynge agaynst the citie off Regio. Thyrdly, he notifiede to the Kyngis Grace that the Kynge, hys master, wolde sende none Orators to Calice, for treatie off peax, truxe, or abstinence off warre. And, finally, he demaundydde assistence off the Kynge agaynst thEmperour, pretendynge that the sayde Emperour hadde brokyn treaties, and not the Frensche Kynge. As to the furst article, the Kyngis Grace answerde, that the sayde Frensche Kynge conith not, with hys honor, impute unto hym the losse off hys sayde army by reason off dymynnischynge off the same at hys instance; for he nevyr desyrydde hym so to do, but he movydde hym, as a true and faythfull brothre confederate and alye, to begynne no warre, considerynge that the ende off the same was doubtfull, and that greate inconvenientes myght ensue therby. And

[1] Wolsey's habit appears to have been to write with his own hand the rough draft (or minute, as the contemporary phrase was,) of his despatches to Henry VIII., and forward to the King a fair copy, adding with his own pen, at the bottom of the page, the words "moste humble chapleyn T. Car[lis] Ebor." This will be understood to be the state of the Cardinal's letters to the King, inserted in this publication, where nothing is said to the contrary. It appears that he sometimes either dictated to his secretary, or had a fair copy made of his own first draft, and corrected, with his own hand, the letter so dictated or copied. There are very few instances of his sending to Henry a letter entirely written by himself.

[2] From the British Museum. Galba, B. VII. leaf 77.

[3] Antoine des Prez, Ambassador from France.

[4] See the last page.

[5] Genoa.

the

the sayde Mons[r] de Labbaty, herynge thys the Kyngis reason, was at a staye, and confirmydde the same, declarynge playnely that they hadde dimynnyschydde there sayde army, because they sawe the Spanyardys in none aredynesse to offende them, and that the sayde Spanyardys getherydde an army sodenly, and in haste incredyble. Then the Kynge sayde that yff itt so were, they myght more reasonably impute the losse off the felde to the greate capytanys, than to hym, whyche, in omnem eventum, schulde have kepte there army hole, and not dymynnischydde the same, unto suche tyme they hadde bin suer of theym selfes. To the secunde article, touchynge the Popis Holynesse, the Kynge answerydde, that not wyth stondynge Hys sayde Holynesse hadde preparydde hys galys, affore any interprice made for the takynge off the sayde citie off Regio, yitt the sayde Frenshe Kynge, affore that, hadde putt hym in suche fere off extreme subjection, that he wyst not howe to ordre and defende hym selfe, and that herby he was compellydde to do as he haith doon. As to the thyrde article, that the sayde Frensche Kynge wolde sende none Orators to Calice, the Kynge answerde that he marvaylydde gretly off that message, remembrynge that the Kynge, there master, hadde promysydde the same, not oonly by hys letters myssyvys, but also by hys othre letters patentes undre hys brode seal; and that by the reason theroff, Hys Grace hadde inducydde the sayde Emperour to do the semblable, and he was agreable therunto. Hys Grace sayde, also, that yff the sayde Emperour wolde sende hys Ambassadours to Calice, and the Kynge, there master, sende none, he myght peraventre lose thereby greate reputacion, and especyally in Itali, where all affayres doith muche hange uppon reputacion; for itt schulde then appeare to all men that the Popis Holynesse, thEmperour and he wolde joyne to gether agaynst hym. Fynally, as to the assistence demaundydde by the sayde Montpezat, the Kynge aunswerde, that in that cause he was compellydde to regarde Godde, his conscience, and honor; considerynge that he was bounde by oith and promise to yeve assistence to that Prince, alonely, that hadde[1] brokyn treatye concludydde betwixte hym and hys confederates; and that in so muche as the Pope and thEmperour also hadde demaundydde assistence off hym, he conith in nowyse determen to whome he schulde yeve the same, unto suche tyme he myght have perfecte knowliege, who hadde brokyn the treaties passydde, for the dischiarge off hys conscience to Godde, and savynge off hys honor in thys worlydde; and that yff he schulde yeve assistence, wythowte further deliberacion, reason requyreth he schulde yeve the same to two, rather

[1] Sic in Orig. (q. *not* omitted?)

than

than to oon; and that, in consideracion heroff, he sent Your Grace to Calice, as his Lieutenaunt, and as that person he trustydde as hym selfe, to thintent he myght be by yow informydde and instructydde off the troith and playnenesse in every thynge. Hys Grace sayde also, that yff the sayde Frensche Kynges querelis agaynst thEmperour were so playne as theye made them, yitt that conith not evidently appere unto hym, unlesse he wolde sende hys Orators to Calice, to meate with Your Grace [1], where boith parties myght be harde, and the troith there knowen, he wolde do lyke a juste and true Prince, as he was bounde to do in conscience.

I sende unto Your Grace, herwyth, the sayde Frensche Kyngis Letters, off hys owne hande, directydde to the Kynge, and Hys Hyghnesse desyrith Your Grace that an answeare maye be made in Frenche, to the same in convenient hast, and sent hydre, to thintent he maye wryte the same wyth hys owne hande, as he haith promisydde to do to the sayde Monsr. de Labatty and Montpezat; and in the same letters Hys Grace woll have oon clause, movynge the sayde Frensche Kynge to send hys Orators to Calice; for the sayde Orators sayde unto the Kynge, that hys reasons affore expressydde were so goodde and so princely, that they were well assurydde the Kynge, there master, wolde be gladde to here them, and especyally touchynge the cummynge off the sayde Oratours to Calice. Wherfore the Kynge is contentydde to wryte sum schorte letter in that matier, and wull committe all othre thyngis to Your Grace, to be wretyn in sum othre letters or instruction to hys Ambassadors resident in Fraunce. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 20 off Juli, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant.

I wolde have certifiede Your Grace off the premisses affore thys tyme, but the Kynge commaundydde me I schulde not wryte heroff, but by thys present messanger, by hym sent.

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

XI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. In my moost humble and lowly maner, I recommende unto Your Grace, ascerteynyng the same that I have receyved to my greate consolacion and comforte, by your servaunte, berer hereof, your moost honorable and bountuous remembraunce, with your gracious offres made unto me for

[1] This passage will be illustrated by the French correspondence.

my

my reliefe in this my voyage; which thinges moost evidently and manifestly shewith and declarith your excellent goodnes and favour towardis me, and the same hath, on my faith, Sire, so moche inwardly gladded my herte, not for your good, but for your kyndenes, that all the paynes, labours, studies and travailes, which I can take in your service, shall by the remembraunce hereof be to me singular pleasure and solace, and more joy in this life can not comme to my herte, then to perceyve that Your Highnes doth in so good parte accepte and take my poore service, whiche I truste in God shalbe so employd, as may be to your exaltacion and honour, and the weale of all Cristendome. And surely, Sir, the remembraunce of your said gracious goodnes shall, in all my labours and travailes, be my solace. Signifieng unto Your Grace furthermore, that by such letters as I have receyved from your Secretarie, Mr. Richard Pace [1], I have undirstonde the most prudent and discrete awnswere made by Your Highnes unto Mompesate, upon his charge, wherby may well be perceyved the intelligence, whiche, in one conformitie, is betwene Your Highnes and me in your causes & affaires; for the awnswere which I made unto the said Mompesate, afor his arryvall unto your presence, was so in every poynte agreable unto that of Your Highnes, withoute more or lesse, that he myght well see therby howe the myndis and undirstondyngis of us both were concurrant, and of one effecte, which must nedis cause your affaires prosperously to succede. Sens the commyng of which Mompesate from Your Grace, I have receyved newe letters, aswell from your Ambassadours resident with thEmperour, as from those resident with the French Kyng, whirby apperith that they both not onely be fully content to sende their Ambassadours to mete with me, as your Lieutenaunte, at Calais, but also be moche desirous of my spedie acceleracion thider; wherof I truste good effecte shall ensue, aswell to the pacificacion of the differencis bitwene theym both, as also for the straiter conjunction of Your Grace and thEmperour forever. And albeit both the said Princis shewe them silf difficile to an abstinence of werre, yet I am not in dispair but they woll, by good persuasions, be induced therunto; wherof, on the French Kingis parte, I se greate apparence, aswell by such clausis as be conteyned in Fitzwilliams letters, as also by such communicacions as I have had with Delabaty and Mompesate this mornyng; and semblably to be agreable, I trust to God, to induce thEmperour, wherin I shall omytte no thing that my pore witte can imagyne or divise, like as I have more amply shewed unto the Bisshop of Ely [2] to be by hym declared

[1] 20 July 1521.

[2] Dr. Nicolas West.

at

at length unto Your Highnes, who nowe commyth to take his leve of the same; to whom I have delyvered such letters as I have receyved from your said Ambassadours, which, after Your Grace have red, it may please the same to remitte to me again. And thus Jhesu preserve your moost noble and roiall astate. At my poore house besidis Westminster, this Seturday, by your

moste humble Chapleyn
(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kyngis Grace.

XII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge remittith unto the same agayne your letters herin closydde, and Hys Grace is well contentidde to have undrestonde, by the sayde letters, that boith thEmperour and the Frenche Kynge ar agreede to sende there Ambassadours to meate with Your Grace at Calice. And where as my Lorde of Ely haith schewede unto Hys Hyghnesse, by Your Grace's commaundment, (as the Kynge sayth) that boith the sayde Princes are contentidde to differre the diete of Calice unto the 8th daye off Auguste nexte ensuynge, he desirith Your Grace to certifie hym, whedre ye have recevidde ony wrytynge theruppon; whyche Hys Graces desyre procedith heroff, that there is no mencion made off that thynge in the sayde letters herin closydde. And as touchynge Sir Richard Wyngfeldis[2] and Sir Thomas Spynellys opinion, uppon the 4000 archars to be sende to the sayde Emperour, Hys Hyghness lyketh the same as Your Grace doith, and sayde to Sir Henry Marneye and me, at the redynge of there letters, "Beati qui "audiunt et non intelligunt." And we boith schewede unto Hys Grace that no suche ayde myght conveniently be sent, unto suche tyme as finall conclusion were takyn in suche matiers as Your Grace haith to treate at Calice; considerynge that itt were a manifeste derision to treate off peax, and to sende men, in the same tyme, to make actuall warre. The Kynge commaundydde to kepe thys messanger tyl fyve off the cloke, promisynge to sende by hym unto Your Grace the Frenche Kyngis letter, off hys owne hande, and now he haith differrydde the wrytynge therof tyl to morrowe.

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 4.
[2] Wingfield and Spinelly were Ambassadors with the Emperor, in the Netherlands.

Assidua

Assidua et miserabilis pluvia, et terribilis tonitrus, longo durans tempore, minati sunt hic hodie ruinam cœli. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. From Wyndesore, thys 21 off Juli; By Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. Even as I had made thexpedicion of Sir Richard Wyngfilde, arryved here Haneton, Audienciar to thEmperour, whois charge in effecte was not farre discrepant from the overtures heretofor made to Your Grace, aswell by thEmperours Ambassadour, as Sir Richard Wyngfilde; savyng onely that inasmoche as the Frenche Kyng, not contentid with the surprise of Navarre in hoc pendente, hath actually invaded the Realme of Castile, by layng siege to Lagroyne [1], and making greate excurses by spoylyng, burnyng and takyng marchantes, aswell Spanyardes as Flemynges, by the see, wherby the said Emperour is not onely nowe the lother to condescende to any truxe or compromyse, but also requirith of Your Grace, by vertue of the Treaties betwixt you concluded, to declare yourself ayenste Fraunce, and to geve hym assistence acording to the same, from the which declaracion, and gevyng assistence, I have in such wise (by my goyng to Calais under such forme and maner as was concluded by Your Grace at your last beyng with your Counsaile) contentid hym, that I do perceyve he shall not moche presse Your Grace for gevyng of the said assistence, but the same to rest in suspence, till straiter conjunction shalbe made betwixt thEmperour and Your Highnes, and upon a further deliberacion to be taken for the same; and though so be thEmperour doth fervently desire the acceleracion of my commyng to Calais, as above, for the said purpose, yet I have declared to the said Audienciar, that sens his maister allegith that with his honour he can not make letters of request or mediacion to Your Grace, for the heryng and pacifieng of the differences betwixt hym and the French Kyng, yet I have said that with your honour and suretie it shall not accorde, that I

[1] Logrono, a town of Old Castile, on the Ebro. It is remarkable that Du Bellay calls it by the same corrupted name of Lagrogne, which has also, even till modern times, been the corrupted name of Coruña in Galicia.

repare to Calais, except Your Grace myght be sure, by some promyse made by thEmperour, afore my commyng theder, that he shulde not, with oute your expresse knowlege and consente, conclude any thing with Fraunce, acording to a minute therof divisid, which I sende to Your Grace hereinclosed; wherunto, after long reasonyng, the said Audienciar thinkith that his maister wolbe agreable. Many other thinges ther be that I have divised with the said Audienciar, which Maister Wyngfild shall more at large declare unto Your Grace, whome I have appoynted to convey aswell the said Haneton, as also thEmperours Ambassadour here resident, to your presence; entendyng to morowe at nyght to be at Wyndesor, where it may please Your Highnes to cause loggynges to be prepaired for theym acordyngly. And thus Jesu preserve your moost noble and roial astate. At my poor house besides Westminster thes evenyng, by your,

Sir, I have worde from my Lord Barners[1] that your money as yet is not comme to Calais; the delay of payment wherof geveth me no litle suspicion.

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

To the Kynges Grace.

Post scripta. I have receyved letters from the Lord Dacres[2], which I sende unto Your Highnes herewith. And where as, amonges other thinges, it is mencioned in the said letters that the Duc of Albany, with the Lordes of Scotland, have concluded in ther Parliament to invade this your realme the seconde day of the moneth of September nowe insuyng, it shalbe right expedient therfor that Your Grace cause my Lord Stuard[3] to make all possible diligence towardes Yorke; the brute of whois commyng theder, with puttyng the countrey in a redynes, of likelihode shal stay the Scottes, causing theym to forbere the said invasion. Assuryng Your Highnes that I have had moche difficultie to induce my Lord Stuard, though it be but for a smale season, to take upon hym the charge of your Lieutenaunte in the North parties, as well for the indisposicion of his body, as for other causes, which I have by mouth declared unto Sir Thomas Boleyn, to be shewed unto Your Grace more at large.

And consideryng that the Duc of Albany hath nowe the yong Kyng in his handes, and that the Lordes of Scotland be unite and sworne to hym, it is to be doubted lest he woll not onely destroy the said yong Kyng,

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1 John Bourchier, Lord Berners, Lord Deputy of Calais.

2 Lord Warden of the West Marches of Scotland. These letters do not appear to be extant.

3 George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the Household.

takyng

takyng upon hym by usurpacion the Crowne thear, but also thear is greate apparaunce, that they woll invade this your realme. Wherfor it shalbe well doon that every thing requisite for resistence of the said invasion be put in convenient redynes, with all diligence possible, and that Your Grace, furnished with an Army roial, shuld be in semblable redynes for gevyng of rescues, if nede shulde require.

Minute of the promise to be made by the Emperor.

Nos Charolus &c promittimus, et in verbo regio per presentes nos obligamus, quod casu quo Rev^mus Dominus Cardinalis Ebor. S. D. N. de Latere Legatus, tractaturus nonmodo nobiscum super arctiore colligacione fienda inter nos et Serenissimum Regem Anglie, &c. avunculum nostrum charissimum, sed eciam pro litibus et discordiis, inter nos et Franciscum Francorum Regem nuper exortis, audiendis, Calisiam se contulerit, nihil omnino per nos vel alium quemcunque, directe vel indirecte, tractabimus vel concludemus, tractarive vel concludi faciemus, cum dicto Francisco Francorum Rege, seu alio quocunque, ejus nomine, sine expresso scitu, consensu, assensu & voluntate dicti Serenissimi Regis Anglie, donec et quousque dicta arctior colligacio inter nos conclusa et perfecta fuerit, modo illa fuerit conclusa infra tres menses a die applicacionis dicti Domini Cardinalis Calisiam numerandos. In cujus rei fidem presentes literas manu nostra subscripsimus.

XIV. Pace *to* Wolsey. [1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith commaundydde me to advertise the same, that forasmoche as Hys Grace intendith within bryffe tyme to departe hense to Estamestede [2], and to passe hys tyme nere here abowtes, in suche places as he schall have no convenient loggynge for my Lady Princes [3], he therfore desyrith Your Grace to study uppon sum Lady, that schalbe meate to yeve attendance uppon herre. And Hys Hyghnesse thynkyth that the olde Lady off Oxforde [4] schulde be most meate for that purpose, yff by

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 1.
[2] A royal residence in Windsor Forest.
[3] The Princess Mary, who was born 18 Feb. 1516.
[4] Probably Elizabeth, widow of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died 1512.

Your Graces wysedome sche maye be broght therunto; yff not, he juggith that my Lady Caltroppe schalbe meate for the same rowme, and herre husbande to be made Chambrelayne to my sayde Lady Princes; and off Your Graces mynde in the premissis, the Kynge is desirose to have schortly an answere. Furthermore the Kynge commaundydde me to wryte unto Your Grace, that where as ye latly advertysydde hym that ye hadde appoyntidde Sir Richard Sacheverell, Sir Wylliam Fitzwylliam, and M^r. Broke[1] and Lister[2], to be Commissioners, in the cause touchynge the forest of Walmer and the Newe Forest, he nowe undrestandith that Sir Thomas Lovell is put in the same commission, and sayth that he marvaylith ther att, thynkynge that the sayde Lister haith ben procurator heroff, because he is frynde to the sayde Sir Thomas Lovell, and also Clerke of the sayde Foreste, and wolde peraventure therfore do but lytyl agaynst the Erle of Arundell. Hys Grace sayth, also, that he presupposith that the sayde Sir Thomas Lovell will not cum there, thoghe he be put in commission; and heroff Hys Highnesse advertisith Your Grace, to thintent ye maye, accordynge to your wysedome, provide therafter. Finally, the Kynge signifieth unto Your Grace, that where as olde men doith nowe decaye gretly within thys Hys realme, hys mynde is to aqwaynte other yonge men wyth hys greate affayris, and therfore he desyrith Your Grace to make Sir Wylliam Sandys, and Sir Thomas More, priveye to all suche matiers as Your Grace schall treate at Calice. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 24th of July, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. After my moost humble and lowly recommendacions. It may please Your Grace to understonde, I have receyvid by the handes of thEmperours Ambassadour letters[3] from his maister, written with his awne hande, directed as well unto Your Highnes, as also other[3] unto me, of requisition and instance

[1] Probably Richard Broke, afterwards a Judge of the Common Pleas in 1521.
[2] Richard Lister, afterwards Lord Chief Baron and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
[3] Neither of these letters is to be found.

for

for my repair to your towne of Calais; which letters I sende unto Your Grace herewith, by the tenour wherof the same may perceyve howe desirous the said Emperour is of my spedie acceleracion thiderward, and howe greately he is inclyned to the straiter conjunction bitwene Your Grace and hym. I have also receyved, by the handes of the same Ambassadour, letters patentes under the Emperours Greate Seale, wherin he is bounden not to make any treatie with the French Kyng, duryng the tyme of the Diete nowe to be holden at Calais, or till the said straiter conjunction be parfited and concluded, withoute any such like bond by the said Emperour required of Your Highnes, by reason wherof he stondith now bounde, and Your Grace at large, which is not onely greately to your honour, but also therby Your Highnes hath the avauntage of your libertie in that bihalf. Ascerteynyng Your Grace that by such wordis as be comprised touching the Popis Holynes, it shulde seme that there hath passed some capitulacions and agrementes betwene hym and thEmperour, which as yet be kept to theym selfes secrete.

Over this, by such communicacions as I have had with the Frenche Ambassadour Delabaty, I do contynually perceyve the French Kyng to be glad and well mynded toward an abstinence of warre for a season; wherunto thEmperour as yet woll in no wise condescende. Neverthelesse I shall not faile, by all politique meanes and persuasions, continually to solicite thEmperour to be agreable unto the said abstinence, till such tyme as it may be seen what effecte shall comme of this Diete at Calais, and the said straiter conjunction be concluded.

Furthermor, I have, according to your commaundment, written aswell unto my Lady of Oxford, as to suche as be aboute her, to induce her to take upon her the governaunce of my Lady Pryncesse. And till I shall have awnswere, whither she wolbe contented to accepte the said rowme (wherin I doubte, for such contynuall sekenes as she hath, she woll make difficultie) I intende to forbere to write unto Sir Phelip Calthorp[1] and his wife. Howbeit in case she refuse to take the said charge, then, if it be your pleasure, I shall write unto the same Sir Phelip Calthorp acordyngly. Neverthelasse here is my Lord of Oxfordes mother, who as I am infourmed is a right discrete and wise woman, and of a good age. If it be thought good unto Your Highnes that I move her herein, she is nere at hande, and I may sone sende for her, and know her mynde in that bihalf, and at the leest she may be proved for a season, to se howe she can do, wherin your pleasure

[1] See Pace's letter of 1 Sept.

knowen,

knowen, I shall indevour me to thaccomplisshement therof, as shall apperteyn. And as touching the beyng of Sir Thomas Lovell in the commission of the Forestis, it is the opinion of your Juggis that, inasmoche as he is Chief Justice of the same, his name shuld, for the fourme onely, be put in the said commission. Neverthelesse it is determyned, and the said Sir Thomas Lovel intendith not to be any wise present at the sittynges, but that the residue of the Commissioners shall make the inquisicions, and do in every parte (nothyng omyttyng) as with Your Highnes I have concluded and appoynted. Besechyng Your Grace that after ye have red the said letters patentes, and the other letters directed from thEmperour, it may please the same to remitte theym to me again. And thus Jhesu preserve your moost noble and roiall astate. At my poore house besidis Westminster, the 25th day of July, by your

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Grace.

XVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. Albeit this mornyng I have instructed Sir Henry Marney at the length in dyverse thinges to be declared unto Your Grace, aswell of such newes as I have receyved from Sir William Fizwilliam, as also of the charge of Monsr. de la Baty the French Kinges Ambassadour, yet sythyns in divisyng with thEmperours Ambassadours upon the said newes, it is thought both to theym, and to me, right expedient that the Audienciar Haneton shulde furthwith departe with Sir Richard Wyngfild to thEmperour, by whome joyntly he shulde not onely bee advertised of such thinges as the French King is condescended unto, but also they shulde persuade the said Emperour to condescend unto semblable. Wherunto they have good hope that he wolbe inclinable, for seyng alweys that the bonde of promysse be made unto Your Grace, accordyng to the mynute lately sent unto the same. Wherfor, Sir, ther restith no more nowe, but the signyng of such letters as I sende unto the same, with Richemounte this present berer, and the letters of your awne hande to my Lady Margaret, which I have promysed to sende after theym with diligence. And thus Jhesu preserve your moost noble and roiall astate. At my pore house besides Westminster, this evenyng, by your

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Grace.

XVII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith concludydde, accordynge to your advise and counsayle, to put in a redynesse 5 or 6000 archiars, the same to be redy to do service as schall apperteigne, at suche tyme as Your Grace schall have concludydde hys affayris wyth thEmperour, accordynge to suche communications devisis and debatmentis as haith ben hadde betwixte yow boith in that behalfe; and Hys Grace trustith that every thynge betwixte the sayde Emperour and hym shall succede well, and be broght to the desyrydde effecte and conclusion by Your Graces wysedome, considerynge the greate towardnesse off the sayde Emperour therunto; whyche Hys Grace percevith by suche wrytyngis he last recevidde from hym. And in consideracion heroff, Hys Grace is the more stirridde to prepare the sayde archiars, and wull divise aswell uppon a greate capitane to conducte the army, as also uppon othre sadde and discreete Knyghtes, to attende uppon hym as Counsaylors, and suche also as be meate to make men. And herin Hys Grace desiryth to have Your Graces opinion by wrytynge. And in communication hadde with M^r. Marneye and me uppon the premisses, Hys Grace thoght that oon off thiese thre folowynge must be Generall Capitane, vizt. My Lorde Marquise [2], thErle of Shrewesbury [3], thErle of Wurcestre [4]; and the Knyghtes whoos namys ye schall se in the byll herin closydde, meate to attende uppon hym, and also to make men. The Kynge, over and above thys, signifieth unto Your Grace oon of hys owne secrete devisis, and desirith to here Your Graces opinion therin, wyth diligence. Hys Hyghnesse thynkyth that at suche tyme as all thingis schalbe concludydde betwixte thEmperor and hym, accordyng to hys mynde, and a resolution takyn for to invade Fraunce, then itt schalbe necessarie for them boith to provide for the destruccion off the Frenche Kyngis navye; and Hys Grace wolde, that, at tyme convenient, thys matier myght secretly be brokyn to the sayde Emperour, and treatidde in suche wyse, that thys interprise myght sodenly be made agaynst the Frenche Kynge. And the Kynge takyth thys for an highe and greate interprise, yff itt maye thus by wysedome and goode polycie be brought to passe. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 28 daye of Juli; by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

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[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 87.
[2] Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset.
[3] George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
[4] Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester.

XVIII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith recevidde and rede your lettres, datidde the last daye off July[2], and percevith, by the contentes off the same, Your Graces opinion touchynge Sir Wylliam Sandis to be chyffe capitane off the army off 5 or 6000 archiars, yff ony suche schalbe sent furth; and that ye intende to sende unto Hys Grace a substanciall boke for thappoyntynge of the sayde archiars, wythe there capitayns, and also the minute of oon letter meate to be sende fourth for preparacion off the same. And, finally, Hys Grace haith diligently notidde suche tydyngis as Your Grace haith sent unto hym frome Sir Richard Wyngfelde, concernynge thEmperours Ambassadours. As herunto the Kynge signifieth unto Your Grace, that because Sir William Sandys haith suche goodde qualities as ye have expressydde in your sayde lettres, he schall have more neade off hym at home, than of ony of the othre, whyche he intendith to sende fourth; and Hys Grace sayth, also, that itt can not stonde wyth hys honor to sende ony personage off lower degree than an Erle, owt off hys realme, wyth the sayde army. Furthermore, Hys Grace sayth that many goodde Knyghtes must off necessitie go wyth the sayde army, off suche as can geve goodde counsayle, and have also experience of the warris, and that thiese wull disdayne to be undre the sayde Sir William Sandys, beynge but a Knyghte, as theye be, thoghe he be of the Garter. As touchynge the sayde boke, wyth other Your Graces devisis concernynge the sayde army, the Kynge is desyrose to see them, and yevyth unto Your Grace harty thankes for your paynys takyn in the same. The Kynge is not contentidde wyth the variacion of thEmperours Ambassadors, in that theye do nowe recuse to treate junctly wyth the French Ambassadors, affore Your Grace, as itt haith bin devisydde and concludydde hertofore, for such respectes as be specifiede in Your Graces sayde letters. And Hys Grace sayth that bettre remedy for the emendement of thys error can not be founde, than that Your Grace haith usydde, in wrytynge to Sir Richard Wyngfelde for to persuade unto the sayde Emperours Ambassadors for to performe theire maisters furst determination. Finally, as touchynge the interprise for the destruction off the Frenche Kyngis navy, the Kynge doith not intende that itt schulde othre wyse procede, than by the commune assent off hym and thEmperor, at suche

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1 Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 14.

2 This letter, which is not preserved, must have been an answer to Pace's of 28th July.

tyme

tyme as hys affayris may have, by Your Graces wysedome and policie, the desyrydde ende wyth the sayde Emperour. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helthe and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys of Auguste, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

XIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Sir. Accordyng to my writyng, yesterday sent to Your Grace from Caunterbury, I have this day, demoryng at Dover, and stopped from passage by stormes and contrariete of wyndes, not onely dyvised a boke, conteynyng the nombre of six thousand archiers, with their capitayns, and the names of the persons by whome the said archiers shalbe prepared and put in redynes, but also conceyved the mynute of a letter to be sent to the said persons for makyng the said preparacion, and certifieng Your Grace of the nombre to theym, and every of theyme, appoynted by a certeyne day, like as by the contentes and tenure of the said boke and mynute ye shall perceyve more at large; remyttyng the further orderyng of those matiers to your high and greate wisedome.

And forasmoche as at my commyng to your towne of Calais, I suppose I shalbe greatly pressed to repair to thEmperours presence, which to do, withoute letters written with your awne hande, I can not conveniently do; therfor I have dyvised two schorte letters, the one to the said Emperour, and the other to my Lady; besekyng Your Grace to take the payne to write and sende the same to me by this berer, whome I purposely sende at this tyme to Your Grace, surely to bryng the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said letters in a redynes, yet I shall never the rather advaunce my journey towardes hym, till such tyme as I shall se oportunite, and that I have taken somme convenient ordre with the Ambassadours of Fraunce for advoydyng of all jelousie and suspicion. And as I shall procede with thAmbassadours on both parties, and fynde theym disposed, so shall I advertise Your Grace, with all diligence, from tyme to tyme. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and roiall astate. At Dover, the first day of August, by your

[1] From a contemporary copy, remaining among Wolsey's Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, without signature. Burnet prints the last paragraph only, from the original in the State Paper Office, where it is not now found.

XX. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. Rouge Crosse, berer heroff, arrividde here yistirnyght at 9 off the clokke, and immediatly aftre I hadde rede Your Graces lettres directydde to me, I brought hym unto the Kynge, for to delivre Your Graces lettres directydde to Hys Highnesse; and assone as he had rede the same, I sollicitidde the hasty wrytynge of hys lettres to thEmperour and my Lady Margarete, acordynge to Your Graces commaundment; and Hys Highnesse promisydde unto me that he wolde exspede them in the mornynge, as he haith doon[2], and wolde nother superscribe them, nor put waxe uppon them, because the French Kyngis lettres[3], off hys owne hande, was so latly sende unto hym, and itt was hys pleasure to use that maner as a president; sayynge that in whatt manner so evyr hys lettres went by Your Graces handys, theye schulde be well acceptidde. I have made an E uppon thEmperours lettre, and an M uppon my Ladys.

As touchynge the boke, and the minute off the lettres to be sent fourth for makynge off archiars, Hys Grace haith differrydde to see the same tyl to morowe, sayynge that certayne hartes were so toggidde for hym, that he must neadys hunte them. His Grace doith well approve your opinion in kepynge Sir William Fitzwilliam[4] in Fraunce, for so schorte a tyme, for such considerations as be expressydde in your sayde lettres, and Sir Henry Marneye and I were verraye gladde of that your opinion, for we boith, in communication hadde wyth the Kynge uppon the same thynge, affore the arrivall of Your Graces lettres, schewede unto Hys Highnesse, that we thoght itt convenient that the sayde Sir William Fitzwilliam myght remayne in Fraunce, for the same respectes as movith Your Grace so to thynke meate and necessarie. As touchynge Sir William Sandys, I have, in my former letters, advertisydde Your Grace off the Kyngis mynde, wherin he doith as yitt continue.

Where Your Grace commaundith me to[5] unto the Kynge all suche letters as I schall wryte in matiers off weght and greate importance, by hys commaundment, to Your Grace, I have continually so doon, and schall not fayle, in tyme to cum, to do the same; and Hys Grace is well contentidde to here

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1 From the Chapter House, Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. 9. No. 15.

2 There does not appear to remain any draft of either of these letters.

3 This letter was probably contained in a volume in the Cottonian Library (Caligula, D. 10), which is so much damaged by fire as to be useless.

4 He was Ambassador there.

5 Sic: the word "read" appears to be omitted.

them,

them, as he commaundydde me to wryte unto Your Grace in my last lettres. And I, by my wylle, wolde write no lettre of importance that schulde passe by my handys, not vewede by Hys Grace, for myne owne dischiarge, and especyally in suche causis as be nowe in hande. Wherfore I schalbe gretly bounde unto Your Grace, yff itt schall pleas the same, to move the Kynge by wrytynge, to be contentidde that all lettres of importance, touchynge thiese greate affayris, maye passe undre hys signe and seale, for the suertie off all those that schall medyl wyth them. I schall ordre my wrytynge unto Your Grace, acordynge to your commaundment, in all poyntes, in suche wyse that Your Grace schall have more cause to complayne of lakke off wytte, than off fayth and diligence in me. The Kynge hath appointidde the best trumpet that is here to yeve attendance uppon Your Grace. And thus Jesu preserve the same in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. From Wyndesore, thys 3 off August, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

XXI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. Like as I wrote unto Your Grace in my last letters[2], the daie following I had communicacion with thEmperours Ambassadours[3], and not oonely indevoured my self to fele their myndes towardes the perfiting of the aliaunce betwixt Your Grace and thEmperour, by meane of the mariage of my Lady Princesse your doughtier unto hym, but also how provision shuld be made for your indempnitie, if either by rupture of the spousailes with Fraunce, or by geving assistence to thEmperour, suche pensions, dueties, and dettes as be now yerely paide out of Fraunce, with the dowar of your sister[4], were restrayned and withholden from you. And albeit in the ali[*aunce*] by mariage they made noo difficultie, but shewed theym self mervelously desirous of the same, yet in the provision and bande to be made for your indempnitie, they thought summe straungenesse, alleging that by this meanes your amitie shulde be rather bought, then benevolently graunted; adding

[1] Fragment of a draft in the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 57. The date appears from the answer to be the 4th of August. Wolsey reached Calais on the 2d of that month.

[2] Not extant.

[3] The Count of Gattinara, his Chancellor, Monsieur de Berghes, and others.

[4] Mary Duchess of Suffolk, widow of Louis XII.

also, that whan oon Prince, being in hostilitie, shulde conclude with an other for redempcion of peax, this indempnitie were a goode and sufficient appoint . And finally they said, that inasmoche as taking respecte to the tenure and por of the treaties, ye bee bounde to geve aide and assistence unto thEmperour ay[*einst*] invasion, and that it is manifest and notorious to all the worlde that the invasion hath proceded on the Frenshe Kinges partie, whiche to justefie they brought furthe many evidences, and specially letters by theym intercepted, s[*ent*] unto Rome by the Frenshe King to the Counte de Carpye, signed with his hande, and subscribed by Robt. Tett[1], whiche I have seen, conteyning the hoole discourse of his intended enterprise, aswell by Robt. de la Marche[2] in those parties, as the commocion of Italie, and disturbaunce of Naples, wherby the invasion on his partie evidently apperithe, they thought [*your*] assistence ayeinst suche invasion shulde have bene yeven unto theym pr[*omptly*] and absolutely, without any demaunde to be made for your indempnitie, considering that in the treatie no suche capitulacion or provision is made. To whiche allegacions and reasons, being in the furst apparaunce right qwicke and pregnaunt, I made suche aunswer, that, after long debating and moche difficultie, I induced them to take sadde consideracion and respecte to the dammage and losses that ye shulde susteigne, in joynyng with theym in this strayte conjunccion, and taking their parte ayeinst Fraunce and all other for ever; in whiche and semblable perfite amities, honestie, with utilitie, or at the leest indempnitie, oweth to be alwaies concurrant and regarded, if it shalbe constaunt and permanent. Whereupon I summewhat molified their harde opinions, and induced theym to thinke reasonable, expedient, and necessarye to provide for your indempnitie; so that I have goode hoope, where as ye have now out of Fraunce the summe of £16000 or there aboutes, ye shall have yerely paide unto you fourty thousande merkes, till suche tyme as either ye have recovered your rightuous inheritaunce in Fraunce, or by summe composicion and treatie bee recompensed of as grete or greter yerely summe to be contented and paide unto you.

After whiche long reasonyng and debating, I finally desired to see and knowe what power, commission, and auctoritie they had brought with theym, to treate commune and conclude upon this grete and weighty matiers; offering to shewe suche commissions as were to me geven on your behalf. Wherupon they exhibited two commissions, the oon for the mariage, and

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1 John Robertet, the King of France's Secretary of State.

2 Robert de la Marck, Sieur de Sédan.

thoder

thoder for straiter amitie and entrye of the werres; in whiche commissions, at the furst reding, we founde summe errour and insufficiencye, with clauses contrary to the substaunce of the matier; and surely, after they had sight of your commissions, they recognised thairs to bee insufficiently made; offering to refourme their powers and procuracies, and to conceyve the same in semblable fourme and maner, worde by worde, mutatis mutandis, as your commissions bee made; not omitting contynually to labour the advauncement of my journey towardes thEmperour, whiche I refused to [*do*] for suche causes and consideracions as be expressed in my last letters to you addressed; shewyng unto theym expressely, that I wolde not departe from Calais, unto suche tyme as all matiers were concluded betwixt the Emperour and you, aswell for the aliaunce and straiter conjunccion, as for your suertie and indempnitie, soo that at my repairing to thEmperours presence, noo thing shulde remaigne, but oonely the declaracion of your assured constaunt and determinate mynde towardes hym, wherof noo erthely creature (Your Grace excepted) cowde assertain hym, but oonely I. Wherupon they condesc[*ended*] to fall to capitulacions, whiche with all possible diligence shall be ingroced, and made in the mooste advailible maner that can be divised for your honour and suertie; and as I shall spede in every bihalf, so shall Your Grace be advertised from tyme to tyme. This daie the Frenshe Ambassadours [1] entred this towne, whiche were honourably receyved, aswell at thentry of your Pale by the M speres and other horsemen of this towne, as also by my Lorde Chamberlain [2], and other Lordes of your Counsaile here, at their approching nere to your said towne, with whome as yet I have not spoken, and therfore at this t[*yme*] I cannot any thing write of their intended purpose.

Sir.[3] After the wretyng of this my letter, I receyved letters from your secretary writinges as I, from tyme to tyme, in this my progress And wher as amonges other thinges I declaryd that in for suche qualities as be to Your Grace well knowen, was appointed

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[1] Antoine du Prat, Chancellor of France, Jean de Selve, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Jaques de Chabannes, Marquis de la Palisse, Marshal of France.

[2] Charles Earl of Worcester.

[3] This paper, which is found in the Museum, Vitellius, B. XX. leaf 255, is manifestly a postscript to the preceding letter. Pace's answer shews that its date must have been the 4th of August, on which day Wolsey wrote two despatches to the King, of which one is not found, and the other is above printed. This draft has suffered much from fire. A few of the lacunæ have been supplied from conjecture.

as

as chefteyne to have the ledyng and conduyting furthe
to ayde thEmperour, if upon urgent groundes and ca
shulde be determined to be advaunced unto hym, I now perceyve
said secretarye, that for his said good qualities ye wolde have
self, thinking that ooneles the chiefteyn to lede the
said archers bee , suche Knightes as shuld be appointed
to procede in the said army w disdain to recognise hym for
their superiour, though the said Mr Sandes bee and a Knyght
of your Ordre. Thinking, therfore, oon of the personnages by Your G[*race*]
named to be mooste mete for that purpose; Sir, under your favour and
cor[*rection*], not intending to contrary your opinion, I shall beseke Your
Grace sumwhat my pooer advise in this case, for ther is noo
man living that after my per capacitie and understanding more
ponderithe your honnour suertie and utilitie, [*than*] I doo. And therfore,
as touchinge thErle of Shrewesbury, I judge hym to be [*as*] active a
capitain as can be chosen within your realme, mete, covenable and necessary
to be appointed for the leding of an armye ayeinst Scotlande, if they on
that side shall attempte any invasion ayeinst your realme, [*as*] undoubtedly
they will doo by procurement and incitation of the Frenche [*King*], if
Your Grace conclude your affeires with thEmperour, and geve assistence
unto h[*im with* 6000] archers, as it is divised; and furthwith upon declaracion
of that breche [*will sende the*] Duke of Albanye[1] thider. In consideracion
wherof, me thinketh right covena[*ble that the*] Erle shulde be reserved for
that purpose, remembring his strenght to be in arredinesse, by
your auctoritie, towardes those parties, and the alliaunce and intelli-
gence is betwixt the Lorde Dacres and hym b otherwise,
that all the hoole strenght on the Borders shall joyne
thider by meanes of the said Lorde Dacre; and for thies
Shrewesbury shulde be reserved. And as
touching thErle of Wourcestre I lately wrote to
Your Grace, he is mete, for his experience and activenes, [*to command an*]
armye royall, and therfore ye may in noo wyse lacke hym, but to kepe hym
. And albeit the Lorde Marques[2] be a right valiaunt and active
capitain, [*yet in cons*]ideracion that he shalbe more chargeable unto you
than a lower personnage [*would be, and in*] other respectes, whiche I coude
declare unto Your Grace, if I were with you, specially when fortune in actes

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[1] John Stuart, Duke of Albany, first cousin of James IV. of Scotland, who became Regent of that kingdom in 1515, during the minority of King James V.

[2] Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset.

martiall

martiall ha , me thinketh he mought be well forbourne at this tyme. And where as Your Grace supposeth that other Knights wolde disdain to goo under the leding of the said Sir William Sandes, I signifye unto Your Highnes, that at suche time as I divised the booke of retynue lately sent unto you from Dovor, summe of the best Knyghtes that bee appointed to passe in that voiage were present, as Sir John Hussey, Sir John Petchie, with others, who were the more benevolently mynded to goo, by cause that M^r^. Sandes was named to be their chefetain; and in myn opinion these be the beste, excepte Sir Richard Secheverell, and in hym I suppose noo disdain ne untowardnesse shalbe founde. Thus finally, Sir, I have declared my pooer opinion to Your Grace, remitting allweyes the same to your high wisdome and pleasure.

And Sir, if the case schall so require, duryng myne abode on thys syde the see, that for goode respectes and uppon sure groundes ye schall be movyd to send the sayd capitayns and archers hethyr, for defence and ayde of thEmperour, I assure Your Grace, thowgh I be a spirituall man, yet I woll not oonly enterprise to ordre and governe your sayd retynue at theyr hythyr cummyng, but also cause thEmperour personally so to sett forthe hys hole puyssaunce with thaym; and I my self actually to procede with my crosse with hym, that eythyr I schall the puyssaunce of thEmperour joynyd with thaym, to do summe grete exployte that your purpose schall not be disapoyntyd, ne your money spent in [*vain, or*] ellys I wold advise Your Grace in tyme not to send thaym hythyr finally if it cumme to that purpos.

XXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

[*Sir. By letters from your Secretary, bearing date at Windsor, the 4th of this instant month,*] I perceyve that Y[*our*] G[*race hath thoroughly viewed, perused and seen the book by me*] dyvised, for puttyng the nombre of 6000 archers in arredinesse, [*and albeit Your*] Highnesse doth alow the most

[1] This is the draft of Wolsey's answer to one of Pace's letters, (which is lost), written on the 4th of August 1521, after the King had considered Wolsey's book, which reached Windsor the 3d August. The probable date of this answer is, therefore, the 7th of that month. The postscript is corrected by Wolsey. It is damaged by fire, and is in the British Museum, Caligula, E. II. leaf 16. The lacunæ are supplied from Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 52., where the substance of this letter is (somewhat incorrectly) given under the year 1524, to which date it manifestly does not belong.

part

part of the said boke; yet as towchyng [*the deputing of Sir*] Wyllyam Sandes to be chiefteyn, ye thinke it not expedient, aswell [*for such*] causes and consideracions, as in other letters heretofore sent to me by your commaund-[*ment*] be expressid, as also for the sure kepying of this your towne of Calais; schewyng [*furthermore*] that in the lieu and place of the said Sir William Sandes, ye have namyd thErle [*of*] Essex [1]; thinkyng hym for hys hardinesse to be ryght mete for that purpose, having sad [*counsillors*] adjoynyd to hym.

Syr, when I dyvysed the said boke, thowgh I had little laysure in journyyng [*by*] the way to perfite a mater of so wayghty importaunce; yett, aftyr my best intendm[*ent, I*] applied my selfe in such wyse to direct and ordre the same, as schuld be [*to the*] contentacion of your pleasure. And albeit summe businesse and labour was in foreseyng and dyvising wh[*ere the said*] archers mowght be fownd, yet I fere me it schalbe mor difficultie to complete the no[*mber, when*] certificat shalbe made.

And inasmuch as by my last letters I have declaryed unto Your [*Grace the*] causes and reasons moving me to name the said Sir Wylliam Sandes to be chieftayne, rather than any of thothyr Lordes by Your Grace byfore namyd, therfore I can no m[*ore say*], but conforme my mynd to your gracious pleasure; and like as Your Grace th[*inketh*] thErle of Essex to be covenable and propice for that rome, so am I of semblable [*opinion*]; thowgh, the degre of hys person consydered, he schalbe mor costlier to Your Grace [*than the other*]. And as to any daunger that schuld ensew to thys your towne of Calais, by th[*absence of the*] said Sir William Sandes, I se none such immynent perill, by siege or otherwyse; for whan your archers schalbe joynyd with thEmperours puyssaunce, the army of Fraunce [*shall be*] in suche wyse occupied, that they schall have litle laysure eythyr to mynde [*or accept*] the siege of Calais, but rather be inforcyd to loke to the defence of theym self, thayr owne townys and [*holds*]. And for that cause the Knyghtes of Kent, beyng nere hand, and sonest in arredinesse, [*were*] thowght ryght mete, when thay, with thEmperours puyssaunce, procedyng in warre ay[*einst France*], schuld not nede to be sent to Calais, as above: neverthelesse as it schall stand with y[*our pleasure*], so I must and wolbe contentyd; thinkyng Sir Randolph Brereton, with thothyr Kny[*ghtes*] by Your Grace appoyntyd, to be convenient, in the lieu and places of the Knyghtes of [*Kent*].

And wher as Your Grace supposith that, after the ayde of 6000 archers were se[*nt to*] thEmperour, ye schuld soone after be dryven to prepare an

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[1] Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex.

other

other army to be sent after; Sir, I co[*nsider the*] tyme of the yere so farre goone, that, aftyr thexpirying of two or three m[*onths*], the warres for this yere must of necessitie cease; and therfore if more spedy pr[*ovision*] be not made for putting your archers in arredinesse, I suppose two monethys [*shall expire*] byfore ye may send theym to the see syde, and so theyr cummyng thedyr [*to give assistance*] wolbe to late; and thys fynally the tyme of the yere wolbe then [*passed to*] prepayre any other army to be sent after. And wher as Your Grace [*thought that*] so few halbardars with so many archers doth not well agre, Sir, if the [*halbardars had*] been by me appoyntyd to backe your archers, verylie it had been a proporcion [*full unmeet, and*] not equall; but inasmoch as your archers schalbe backyd and defendyd with the horsemen, and [*the Emperor's army*], this smale nombre of halbardars were appoyntyd [*not only to establish every captain of your archers, but also to conduct and keep the carriage and baggages. And therefore the cause, why the same halbardars were appointed, was well*] considered, the proportion [*of the number, and is convenient*].

And wher Your Grace, knowyng by experience of your last warrys, that [*so many archers could*] not schowt togedyr, onlesse oon schuld sle an other, thynketh therfore the nombre to be [*very large, thowgh ye*] be myndyd fully to furnesche the same; Sir, as in that, I confesse your opinion [*to be true. How*]beit, takyng respect to the sundry and many wardes and armyes, [*that*] thEmperour intendyth to sett forth, your archers schalbe alottyd and apoyntyd in goode nombre [*to every*] part, so that thay schall have rome and place inow to bestow thayr scho[*t without such*] daunger to kyll ether other. And, Sir, sory I am, that Your Grace doth differre the sendyng [*forth of your*] letters for puttyng your archers in arredinesse, tyll the receyte of thys my letters; [*for albeit*] ye mowght have respityd the directyng of your letters to such, as ye mynd schall not [*passe this*] voyage, yet to all other it had ben expedient to addresse your said letters with all dili[*gence. For*] the tyme so passith away, that your said archers can scant be made redy to passe the see within the same [*space of these two*] monethys. And then percas it wolbe to late to send thaym. For rememberyng the tyme [*of sending forth*] your letters, with the season that the parties must have to elete and put the [*archers in order*], considering the respite that thay must have to make thayr certificat, and the [*tract of time*], that is requisite to conceyve and sent forth your other letters unto thaym, and [*every of them*], for declaracion of your pleasure in sendyng up such nombre of archers as thay have preparyd, the tyme [*of two*] monethys wolbe sone spent and passyd. Wherfor, Sir, diligence wold be usid therein; [*and though*]

though] a more nombre than 6000 were put in arredinesse, it were none inconvenient. [*For percase*] every man, to whom your letters be addressed, schall not completely fournesche thayr nombre; [*and*] thowgh thay so do, yet whan musters schalbe taken of theym, [*they may*] be found insufficient, and not hable to be sent forth, besides other casualties by dethe [*or other*]wyse; wherby there schuld lack of the said 6000. And therfore it were ryght expedient to provide above your nombre, to serve for any purpose, by [*sea or l*]and, where the cas schal require.

Finally, wher as Your Grace reservyth Sir Richard Sacheverell [*for*] such consideracion, as is towchid in your Secretaryes letters, I signifie unto Your Grace, that [*one cause*] moving me to sett hym in the boke, was for hys discrete wysdome to be Treasourer [*of your*] Warrys; and thother, for that bytwyxt the Lord Hastynges[1] and hym a goode nombre of [*arch*]ers mowght be providyd; the orderyng wherof I now commytt to your hygh wysdome and pleasure.

XXIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleasitt Your Grace. The Kynge haith thys daye recevidde your twoe letters, datidde at Calice the 4th off thys present monyth; wyth dyverse extractes off newes frome Rome, Bonony[3], and Sir Thomas Spinelly[4]: and by the continue off oon your sayde letters Hys Hyghnesse furst percevith the seriose communications and disputacions, whyche haith ben betwixte Your Grace and thEmperours Ambassadors, for hys indempnitie and suertie off suche summys off money, as Hys Grace by lyklyhode schall lose, yff he breke wyth the Frenche Kynge and joyne wyth the Emperour, accordyng to hys desyre; and that Your Grace haith so substancially handylde thys matier, that your hope and truste is Hys Hyghnesse schall have yerly payede unto hym fourty thowsande markes, in place of £16000 payede nowe by the sayde Frenche Kynge, tyl suche tyme as eyther he haith recoverydde hys ryght inheritance in France, or by somme composition and treatie be recompensydde off as greate or greater somme yerly to be contentidde and payede to Hys Hyghnesse; and that the sayde Ambassadors ar agreable to reforme there commissions, whyche, at the wrytynge off your

[1] George Lord Hastings, who was created Earl of Huntingdon in 1529.
[2] From the British Museum, Galba B. VII. leaf 92.
[3] Bologna.
[4] See page 16, note 2.

sayde

sayde letters, were insufficient to treate uppon the premisses. For the high wysedome, fayth and diligence usydde by Your Grace, in thys greate and arduate cause, the Kynge yevith unto Your Grace as harty thankes as he can devise. Secundly, where as Hys Grace percevyth also by your sayde letters, that the sayde Ambassadors haith schewede them selfes marvalously desyrose off the aliance to be made betwyxte hym and the sayde Emperour, by mariage off my Lady Princesse, Hys Grace is verraye well contentidde and pleasydde therwyth; trustynge that the sayde mariage schalbe a goodde mean to brynge all the residewe off hys affayris to suche conclusion and ende as he desyrith. Hys Grace haith substancially markydde, in your sayde letters, the manifest declaracion off breche off amitie, uppon the sayde Frenche Kyngis partie, schewede unto Your Grace by the sayde Emperours Ambassadors, evidently apperynge by the sayde Frenche Kyngis owne letters directydde to the Counte off Carpe, hys Orator at Rome. Wherfore Hys Grace thynkyth itt verraye convenient and necessarie, that the same letters be suerly kept, consideringe that he, uppon that substanciall grownde, may breke wyth the sayde Frenche Kynge at hys pleasure (yff the case schall so require), and save hys wordlye honor, and also dischiarge hys conscience to Godde. As touchynge the entrie off the Frenche Ambassadors, and the recevynge off them in to hys towne off Calice, the Kynge doith right well approve the same, and trustith schortly to here frome Your Grace, howe well theye schall agree wyth the sayde Emperours Ambassadors. And the Kynge doith muche commende Your Graces wysedome in that ye wull not departe frome Calice, unto suche tyme ye schall have finally concludydde all hys affayris with the sayde Emperour. As to Sir Wyllyam Sandys, Hys Grace sayth he haith at large advertisydde you off hys mynde in my last letters, and further wull not commaunde me to wryte therin, tyl he schall have answere frome Your Grace agayne to my sayde letters. Hys Hyghnesse doith well allowe Your Graces opinion, in kepyng at home my Lorde Marquys [1], my Lorde Stewarde [2], and my Lorde Chiambrelayne [3], for suche causis as be expressydde in your sayde letters. And where as the Kynge undrestondith, also, by the same letters, that in case the army off 6000 archers schall, for goodde respectes and consideracions, and uppon suer growndys, be sende fourthe in ayde off the sayde Emperour, Your Grace then intendith to ordre and governe the same your selfe, at there arrivall to the sayde Emperour, and to procede actually wyth hym, and to provide that

[1] Thomas Marquis of Dorset.
[2] George Earl of Shrewsbury.
[3] Thomas Earl of Worcester.

Hys Graces mony be not exspent in vayne; Hys Hyghnesse doith remitte thys matier unto your wysedome, not doubtynge but Your Grace wull ordre the same, so as itt schall best stande wyth hys honor and suertie; et si ibitis parare Regi locum in regno ejus hereditario, Majestas ejus, quum tempus erit opportunum, sequetur.

As to Your Graces othre letters, berynge date the same daye, the Kynge percevith the confl[*ict*] hadde betwixte the Frenchemen and the Spanyardis uppon Thems mouth, and the takynge off the Spaynysche schyppe, laden wyth the gooddys off hys subjectes, and what ordre Your Grace haith takyn for the redresse off the same, and restitucion off the sayde gooddys. As herunto the Kynge marvaylith gretly off thys presumptuose attemptate usydde by the Frenchemen in hys streme, and takyth the same verraye displeasantly, and can in nowyse be contentidde therwyth, unlesse satisfaction be made to hys honor to all parties, acordynge to Your Graces wrytynge; and Hys Grace is the more movydde herwyth, because the sayde Frenchemen dydde latly, in lyke maner, mysordre them selfes in hys poortes, as I have at large advertisydde Your Grace in my former letters. By the newes comprisydde in the forsayde extractes, the Kynge seith that greate warre is towarde, and set forwarde, and that the Frenche Kynge (yff the sayde newes be all trewe) is at a greate fardredeal. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn att thys 7 off August, nere 12 noctis, by your Graces most humble and faythfull servant.

The Kynge haith commaundydde to greate hartes to be baken, and sent unto Your Grace, off suche as he haith kyllidde hym selfe.

(*Signed*) Ri. P[*ace.*]

XXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

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- - - - - . In which reasonyng he coldly and circumspectly usid hym self as a ryght discrete Prince ponderyng and reguardyng hys affeyrys; and to the same reasons I replied, and made such aw[*nswer*], that at that tyme he dyd forbere farther to debate the mater, tyll on the morow, at whych tyme he promysyd eftsonys to treate with me upon the

[1] Fragment of a draft of a letter, which must have been written from Bruges, before the conclusion of the Treaty there. It has suffered from fire, and is in the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 42.

same;

same; and so [*for*] that tyme I departyd from hym to my lodgyng, where I found an Archbyschop, and two [*other*] ryght discreete personages, sent unto me from the Kyng of Dennemarke[1]; schewyng that the same Kyng wold gladly speke with me, so that I wold mete with hym in the gardeyn, which is bytwyxt thEmperours lodgyng and myne. Whereuppon, I, considerynge that I was your Lieutenant, and [*from*] regard to your honour not intendyng to geve unto hym any advauntage in superiori[*ty*], made straunge to speke with hym, oonlesse he wold cumme unto my said lodgyng, wherein was made summe difficulties. Neverthelesse, forasmoche as the poursute to speke with me procedyd [*from*] hym, I, rememberyng that better it were to entertayne hym with goode maner, than so to entreate hym that he mowght take disdayn, I, having occasion eftsonys to reasort to the Emperour thorowt the gardeyn which was in my waye, showid my selfe agreable to mete with hym there; whythyr he came, and, after mutuell salutacions, declaryd hym self to be moch desirous to hyre and understand of your prosperous estate, schowing also, that inasmoch as I was your Lieutenant, he wold be glad to treate and [*commune*] with me, of and uppon such thinges as mowght tend to thentertaynement, corroboracion [*and*] augmentacion of such good peax and amytie as is bytwyxt you and hym. U I gave hym goode wordes and comfortable aunswer, schewyng that I wold be glad, at any tyme, to treate and commune with hym uppon the same, and that I was auctorised by [*your*] Grace so to doo; puttyng the said Kyng in choyse eyther to treate with hym selfe, in tyme and place convenable, or elles to send summe of your Counsayle for knowlege of hys mynd in that behalf; and so departyd for that season. The morow folowyng, the sayd Kyng came to my lodgyng, whom I receyvid and entertaynyd [*in*] the most honourable and comfortable maner that I cowd divise; and after rehersall of [*the*] communicacion had bytwyxt us the day byfore, I desiryd to know hys intent and my[*nde as to*] the corroboracion and augmentacion of the said amytie; whereuppon he aunswered, that inasmuch as he perceyvid this goode intelligence to be bytwyxt Your Grace and thEmperour, he [*was*] more inclined to contynew in goode peax and amytie with you, towchyng the y[*oung*] Kyng of Scotland, and trustyng that ye wold be good Uncle unto hym, without a[*ny*] attempting ageinst hym duryng hys mynoritie. To which hys overturys I made such [*aunswer*], that he was ryght well contentyd. Whereuppon he promysid to divise certayn [*articles*] in writyng, and to send the same unto me;

[1] Christiern II., who had married Isabella the Emperor's sister, was at this time on a visit to the Emperor in the Netherlands.

and

and s the day folowing he sent unto me the said articles. And forasmuch [*as I was*] busyed with thEmperour and hys Counsaile that day, I cowd not have laysure to mynd to the said Kyng, but differyd it tyll the morow; at which tyme he sent unto me [*one of*] hys Counsayle, schewyng that such newes[1] were cumme unto hym oute of hys [*Kingdom*], that of necessite he was inforcyd to spede hym thyder, intendyng that day to depart; like [*as he*] so dyd, leving oon of hys Counsayle behynd, to know my mynde uppon thartycles by hym dyvisid; wherein I schall take summe convenient ordre byfor my departyng from hens. And surely, Sir, the said Kyng of Dennemarke, thowgh in apparaunce, by owtward countenaunce, he schuld be judgyd to be a rasche manne, yet he is ryght wyse, sober and discrete; myndyng thestablisching of goode peax bytwyxt Cristen Princes, wherein he ryght substancially declaryd hys mynd at goode lengthe; in the circumstaunce wherof I schall advertise Your Grace at my commyng to your presence, which wer to long to commit to writyng.

XXV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

- - - - - - - - - - The same day, at afternone, thEmperour with my Lady[3] and diverse of [*the Council*] came to my lodgyng famylyarly; where, after thay were syttyn in , *my*] Lady, by a long circumstaunce, with many greate and urgent persuasions, [*and in a*] veray eloquent maner, persuadyd and requiryd the declaracion [*to be made*] forthewith by Your Grace ayeinst Fraunce, makyng accumulacion of [*divers*] reasons, wherof summe be byfore towchyd. To which persuasions and [*requisitions*] I made such reasonable aunswers and declaracions that, after long debatyng, both [*thEmperour &*] my Lady, and such of the Counsayle as were there, confessid the same to be ; sayyng that thay were venqueschid; and finally thEmperour said, according to said reasons and groundes, he wold be contentyd and agreable to differre the makyng of your declaracion ayenst Fraunce, tyll hys cummyng

[1] Gustavus Vasa was elected Administrator of Sweden, 24 August 1521. Vertot, Révolutions de Suède.

[2] Fragment of the draft. The date is ascertained by Pace's answer to have been Bruges, 19th August 1521. It is injured by fire, and is in the Museum, Vitellius, C. XI. leaf 191.

[3] The Archduchess Margaret.

in

in to England towardes Spayne: and, in the presence of my Lady, concludyd perpetually to joyne with yow above all Princes, and that he wold as effectually leane to myne advise therin, as to hys owne Counsayle; adding, farthermore, that he wold accept and take me as hys fader, with other many goode and lovyng wordes: so that the said declaracion is differryd tyll hys cummyng to England, at which tyme bothe ye and he may farther commyn uppon the same, so that convenient tyme may be had to put your selfes in goode arredinesse.

The Satyrday[1] folowyng, it was appoynted that communicacion schuld be had bytwyxt my Lady and me, with other of thEmperours Counsayle, uppon the marriage and the indempnitie, at which communication thEmperour wold not be; and after redyng, discussing, and debatyng aswell of tharticles dyvised at Calais for the mariage, as for the indempnitie, many difficulties and moch difficultyes[2] were made in both thos maters, and speciall in the traduction of my Lady Princesse; requiryng the same to be when sche is 10 yere of age; with manny persuasions and urgent reasons no lesse sticking in grauntyng to your indempnitie, the specialties of which reasons were to long to write. Neverthelesse, after long reasonyng by the space of 4 or 5 howrys, we, at the last, finally concludyd uppon the said marriage and indempnitie, respityng your dowghters traduction tyll sche be of perfite age; assignyd the dote of £80000 to be yeven with her by Your Grace, howbeit they demaundyd a myllyon of ducattes, schewyng that so moch was offeryd with the dowghtyr[3] of Portingale; and as towching the summe of £80000, so moch was grauntyd to Kyng Lewys for the mariage of your sister; and your said dowghtyr schall have assigned for her dower the summe of £10000, wherof the most part to be apoyntyd in thes Low Countrayes, of the best landes, and the residew of semblable landes in Spayne; which is larger than any dower that ever was assigned to any dowghter of England. And it is also specially provided, that owt of the said summe of £80000, such dettes as be owyng unto you by thEmperour schalbe deductyd, which schall dymynysche the said summe for the most part therof. [*And*] towchyng your indempnitie, it is concludyd that thay schall pay yerely to you the summe of markes, in cas the Frensche Kyng restrayne your paymentes, eythyr for concludyng [*the said*] mariage with thEmperour, or makyng your declaracion ayenst the same Frensche Kyng; [*all*] whiche treaties schalbe kept secrete, and in nowyse to be

[1] August 17.

[2] Sic.

[3] Isabella, whom the Emperor did not marry till 1526.

publischyd,

publischyd, tyll suche tyme as thEmperour schall speke with you in your reame of England.

The Sonday[1] folowyng, I, with thEmperour, reasortyd to Saynt Jamys Churche, where a solempne masse was songyn by my chapillain; and that day I dynyd with thEmperour, and after summe communicacion had with hym, after dyner I reasortyd to my lodgyng, whider thEmperour, with my Lady, that nyght came to sowper; and this day, Monday[2], we schall, God wylling, make perfect all thothyr treaties, aswell for the tyme, forme and maner how and when thEmperour shall cumme in to England, as for such schippes as ye schall lend unto hym for hys transportyng, with them that schalbe taken for entry of the warrys, and contynuaunce of the same. And thus, our Lord be thankyd, all your maters be deducyd to the desyryd end, moch redoundyng to your honour, utilitie and suertie; and for the contentacion of thAmbassadours of Fraunce now beyng at Calais, I trust to have Commissioners to be appoyntyd to treate with thaym, for a colour, thowgh percas hard woll it be to bryng thaym to any conclusion.

Finally, Sir, to declare unto you how thEmperour hath entreatyd me, with other the Lordes of your Counsayle, and the nobles attendyng uppon me, it wold requyre long laysure and greate circumstaunce to wrete; for surely, Sir, sens our arryvall here we all have been in the hyghest maner entertayned at hys proper costes and charges, and in such delicate plentuouse and sumptuouse maner that I never hard or say the like; in the specialties wherof I shall more at lengthe advertise Your Grace at my retourn.

XXVI. Pace *to* Wolsey.[3]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge recevidde yistirdaye your letters, datidde at Brugis, the 19th daye off thys present monyth, by the continue wheroff Hys Hyghnesse percevith, to hys greate rejoyse and comforthe, that all hys affayris, by Your Graces singular diligence and highe wysedome, be concludydde wyth thEmperour, accordyng to hys owne desyre in every poynte, in suche wyse that Hys Grace sayth he can not tell howe hys sayde affayris conith or myght have ben bettre handylde. And for the greate paynys

[1] August 18. [2] August 19.

[3] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 99.

and

and labors, whych Your Grace haith susteignydde, in the debatynge, concludynge and perfectynge off the same, Hys Hyghnesse yevith unto Your Grace as harty thankes as he can devise. And thowe Hys Hyghnesse doith presuppose that Your Grace will put nothynge in oblivion, that schall or maye touche hys suertie, yitt he desireth Your Grace to call to your remembrance, that the late promise[1] made by thEmperour, undre hys Letters Patentes, byndynge hym selfe to entre no treatie wyth Fraunce, schall nowe expire aftre Your Graces departure from the sayde Emperour. Wherfore [*His*] Hyghnesse thynkyth that itt schalbe verraye expedient and necessarie for hys suertie, to have [*the*] same promise and bonde confirmydde agayne, and prorogede unto suche tyme the sayde Emperour schall passe in to Spayne by thys hys realme. And Hys Grace wolde, yff itt myght be so obteignydde by Your Graces wysedome and polycie, have the sayde bonde in suche forme and maner as he nowe haith the same; that is to saye, to have the sayde Emperour bounde, and he to be at hys libertie, as he nowe is, as Your Grace knowith. But yff Your Grace schall perceyve any stykkynge heratt uppon thEmperours partie, then Hys Hyghnesse is contentidde that ye schall yeve unto hym semblable letters off lyke bonde and promise.

The Kynge is verraye sory for Your Graces dissease, expressydde in your sayde letters, and desyrith yow, above all othre thyngis, to regarde your helth, and to geve your selfe to quietnesse, settynge aparte all busynessis for the recovery off the same, wheroff to here Hys Grace is verraye desyrose, and trustith, by the helpe off Godde, schortly so to do.

When I hadde wretyn thys farre, the post arrivydde here wyth 2 othre Your Graces letters[2], the oon datidde at Odynborowe[3] the 14th daye of thys instant monyth, and the othre at Brugis the same daye; to the whyche the Kynge sayde, when he hadde rede them, he neadydde nott to make ony answere; because the furst comprysydde the preparacion off the 6000 archers, wherin nowe the case is chiangidde to the bettre, and the other nothynge but the greate honor whyche the sayde Emperour haith schewede, aswell in recevynge off Your Grace personally, as by othre hys nobles, and interteignynge off the same in most lovynge and sumptuose maner, to Hys Hyghnesse singular contentacion. The slownesse off the postes cummynge with the sayde 2 letters, whyche schulde have cummyn byfore Your Graces othre letters, datidde the sayde 19th daye, put

[1] See above, p. 21.

[2] Neither of these letters is preserved.

[3] Oudenburg, on the road from Dunkirk to Bruges.

the

the Kynge and us here in sum suspicion off interception off letters, sed omnia sunt salva. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Gylforde, thys 2 by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. According to your pleasure and commaundement, I have addressed my letters to your servaunt, John Hopton, willing hym not oonely to repaire to your presence with all diligence, but also to leve your barke in the custodie of Thomas Vaughan, to use the same, in his absence, for like purpose as it was before appointed. And where Your Grace is desirous that the said John Hopton shulde returne, to thintent he may ordre and putt a good numbre of your shippes in arredinesse, in advoiding all daungiers and uncertaintie, whiche mought succede by suspicion or jalousie to be taken by the Frenshemen upon my being with the Emperour; Sir, I moche commende your provident foresight in that bihalf. Howe be it and inasmoche as the Chauncelour of Fraunce[2], now being at Calais, hath caused proclamations to be made all along the see coostes under the dominion of the King his maister, that noo maner personne or personnes, undre pain of deethe, shall in any wise enterprise to committe any spoyles or depredacions upon the shippes of any maner nacions within the precincte of your stremes; and that the tyme of the yere now goeth fast awey for Your Grace to sett shippes to the see; I therfore suppose that ye shall not nede to prepaire any grete navie now to be sent to the see. Neverthelesse, if two other shippes were furthwith rigged, and sett furthe to joyne with your barke, being on the see, I thinke it shulde be right expedient, aswel for the garding of your passage bitwene Dover and Calais, as for my sure conduyting home, and suche nobles as be here of your Counsail with me; not omitting the putting of your other shippes in good arredinesse ayeinst all casualities; though Your Grace shall not nede to sende theym furthe tyll ye see cause, wherof, God willing, ye shalbe advertised in tyme. And upon this conclusion now to be taken with thEmperour, wherof ye shalbe assertaigned within brief tyme, I shall

[1] British Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 101.

[2] Antoine du Prat.

declare

declare unto Your Grace my pooer advise, aswell in the fourme and maner of the preparacions and setting furthe of your armyes, aswell by lande as by see, whan the caas shall require. And, Sir, where as your Secretary amonges other thinges writeth, by your commaundement, that notwithstanding the pickande wordes conteigned in thEmperours letters, ye doubte not but I woll loke to your honour and suertie, forbering therfore ferther to instructe me in that bihalf; Sir, if suche difficulties, argumentes and perswasions, as have bene used by thEmperours Counsaile, from daie to daie, were to Your Grace knowen, and the reasons by me sett furthe to the confutacion of the same, summe tyme with sharpe wourdes, and summe tyme in pleasaunt maner, with the labours, businesse and studie that I have taken therin, wherby, for lacke of slepe, I have bene inquieted with sundry diseases, Your Grace shulde evidently perceyve that I have omytted, according to my most bounden dutie, as ferre as my poore wit wol extende, nothing that myght redounde to thadv[*auncement of*] your honour and suertie. And, Sir, what ordre I have taken in the instructing of your Oratour[1] resident in the courte of Rome, aswell for deliveraunce of your bookes ayeinst Luther to the Popes Holynesse, as also in edifying the Poope to condescende to an abstinence of werre for the tyme, and to joyne hymself to entre the werres ayeinst Fraunce with Your Grace and thEmperour, whan the caas shall require, I sende unto you, at this tyme, the copies of suche letters as I have caused to be writen in zifers to your said Oratour[2], trusting that the same shall content Your Highness. At Bruges, the 24th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

XXVIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[3]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge yistirdaye recevidde your letters, datidde at Brugis the 24th and 25th[4] daye off [*this*] present monyth, wythe the copye off Your Graces letters directydde to hys Orator in Rome, and an extracte off Sir Wyllyam Fitzwylliams letters[5] owte off Fraunce; and Hys Hyghnesse furst percevith, by the contentes of Your Graces former letter, the sendynge

[1] Dr. John Clerk. [2] This letter is preserved in the Museum, Vitellius, B. IV. leaf 145.
[3] British Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 113. [4] The letter of the 25th is lost.
[5] Fitzwilliam's letter to Wolsey of 24th August 1521 is in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 87.

home

home of Jhon Hopton, acordynge to hys desyre, for the orderynge off hys schyppis; in the preparacion wheroff Hys Hyghnesse wull use suche ordre as is specifiede in Your Graces sayde letters, considerynge the proclamations made all alonge the see costes undre the dominion of the Frenche Kynge, by the ordre off hys Chiauncelar, for suche purpose as is at large expressydde in your sayde letters. And immediatly uppon the arrivall hidre off the sayde John Hopton, Hys Grace [*saith*] he wull commaunde two schyppis to be ryggede, accordynge to Your Graces desyre, aswell for the gar[*ding*] off the passage betwixte Dover and Calais, as [*for*] Your Graces suer conduytynge home; and he wull also see to the puttynge in redynesse hys othre schyppis agaynst all casualties.

Secundly, Hys Hyghnesse undrestondith by the same letters the grete troble, vexacion and inquietnesse off mynde, wyth sundry disseasys off your body, whyche Your Grace haith sufferydde in the debatynge and dysputynge off hys [*affai*]ris wyth thEmperours Counsayle from daye to daye, omyttynge nothynge that myght redounde to thadvauncement of hys honor and suertie. As herunto Hys Hyghnesse yevith unto Your Grace most harty thankes, sayynge that itt evidently apperith by your deadys, that ye have hadde as greate regarde to hys sayde honor and suertie as he hym selfe conith have, by ony maner off study, devisydde. And he desyrith Your Grace (as he dydde in my last letters sent by hys commaundement to the same) to sett aparte all busynesse, as muche as ye maye, for the recovery off your helth, wheroff Hys Grace is most desyrose to here.

As touchynge Your Graces sayde letters, directydde to hys Orator in Rome, he is verraye well contentidde and pleasydde wyth them, and accordynge to the note made by Your Grace, in the margent off the same, Hys Grace thynkyth that itt was expedient and necessarie so to certifie the Popis Holynesse playnely off hys mynde and intendydde purposes, aswell for the cause off dispensation in matrimonio nunc tractato, as also for the estabylyschynge off Hys sayde Holynesse in perfecte amitie wyth Hys Grace and thEmperour, contra communem hostem.

As to Your Graces later letters, the Kynge furst percevith that Your Grace doubtith lest Hys Hyghnesse schulde impute to yow any negligence or slaknesse in wrytynge, because ye hadde nott wretyn unto hym in 4 or 5 dayes before; that hys affayres be nowe in suche trayne (aftre many alteracions made by thEmperour and hys Counsaile, for that they have nott, ne yitt do, well undrestonde theyr owne affayris, and especially uppon the continuaunce off the warris), that Hys Grace haith cause to be mery and joyose, as he schall as large and more perfectly knowe by Your Graces nexte letters; and

and finally that hys venyson last sent unto Your Grace was well acceptydde there, well eten, and honorably distributydde. As herunto the Kynge sayth, that thowe he was desyrose to here frome Your Grace, when your letters were stoppydde frome hym by contrarietie off wynde by the space of 4 or 5 dayes, yitt he nother dydde nor coulde impute that to ony negligence. And Hys Hyghnesse also considerith that Your Grace maye sum[*times*] differre your wrytynge for lakke of matier [*con*]cludydde; so that Hys Grace arrectyth no blame, nor in wrytynge, nor in sendyng letters, to ony man, but oonly to the wynde and wedre, quibus solus imperat Deus. And for the grete comforte Your Grace haith put Hys Hyghnesse in, off the desyrydde ende and conclusion off all hys affayris, he yevith unto yow hys most cordiall thankes, ascribynge the same to Your Graces fayth, diligence and hyghe wysedome, and sayth that he conith not more have desyrydde by ony instructions, than Your Grace haith obteignydde by your owne wysedome. Et fatetur se plurimum debere Deo, quod talem habeat Capellanum, cujus consilio fide et industria possit majora assequi, quam omnes ipsius progenitores, tot bellis et prælis, consequi potuerunt. Hys Grace sayth he percevyth by the sayde extracte off Sir Wylliam Fitzwylliams letters, that there is boith fere and scarcytie off moneye in Fraunce, whyche 2 thyngis makyth muche for hys intendydde purpose. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Gylforde, thys 29. off August, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

XXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Syr. Thys present ower I have receyved newys from thEmperour, howe that Mowson[2], a very strong towne opon the ryver of the Masse, wych the Cownte of Nasso[3], with sayd Emperours army, hath besegeyd by the space of 12 days, ys now renderyd by appoyntment to the Emperor, lycke as Your

[1] This letter is printed from a minute, which, in the Cottonian Catalogue, Titus, B. I. leaf 86., is erroneously ascribed to Sir William Fitzwilliam. Its date is ascertained, from Pace's answer, to have been the 30th of August, from Calais. Burnet, in the collections subjoined to the last volume of his History of the Reformation, No. 6. p. 9., publishes a previous letter from Wolsey to the King, dated from Gravelines, 28th August, giving a character of the Emperor. It is not now in the State Paper Office, where he found it.

[2] Du Bellay says, "La Composition de Mouzon donna un merveilleux cœur aux ennemis." It was retaken by the French in October 1521. It is situated on the Meuse.

[3] Henry, Count of Nassau.

Grace

Grace shall more at the large perceyve by the copy of the Lorde Nassoo letters sent to thEmperor, wych Your Grace shall receyve inclosyd. And by the same Your Grace shall also perceyve how that Mesyres[1], a nother strong towne, ys lycke also shortly to be won. Sir, thys mater procedyth well, our Lorde be thanckyd, for your intendyd purpose, for ther ys no mo holdes betweyn the seyd two townys and Parys, but Reynys[2] onely, wych as I am credely informyd yn no thyng strong. Wherfor Your Grace, makyng your entry on that syde, shall have but a leyve wey to Parys, wych shalbe a mervelus fordell to your intendyd enterpryse. And by cause thEmperour ys destytute of powuder, by the reason wherof hys further procedyng for the wyning of Mesyrs mygth be impechyd, therfor he hath most instantly desyryd Your Grace to lend hym a good quantyte of powder, wych, by hys wryttyng, he wolbe bownden, at any tyme when ye shall demawnde, to restore the same agayn. Wherfor, Sir, consyderyng what gret benyffygt shall insue to Your Grace by the wyning of the seyd Mesyres, I have beyn so bold to grant onto hym 200 barelles of powder; wych to morowe, or the nygth, shalbe secretely shypyd, in suche wyse that no Frenchmen beyng here shall have any knowleg therof, and the same shalbe delyveryd at Andewarp, as a thyng bowgth of marchante strangers. Syr, as I was thus farre in wryttyng thys my letters, thEmperours Chancellour sente onto me the orygynall letters, sent onto hym from hys maister, wherin the forme and maner of wyning Mowson ys more partyculary towchyd, then ys conteynyd in the Lord Nasso ys letters, the copy wherof also I send onto Your Grace herewith. Your Grace shall also receyve with thes, an abstracte, owt of schyffyrs, of suche newys, as I have thys day receyvyd from Syr William Fyztwilliam, your Ambassador with the French Kyng. I have hard also newys owt of Ytally, that the Popys and thEmperors army procedyth very well agenst the Frenche Kynges army, wych hath beyn so hotly haundellyd by Prosper Colome[3], cheff capytuayne of the Popys army, that they have dryven bak the French men, and leyd sege to a gret cyte, kallyd Parma. And thus Your Grace may perceyve how the French Kyng ys humelyd on every parte, and how by the same, at your entry, he shalbe the les abble to make any resystens onto Your Grace.

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[1] Mézières. [2] Rheims. [3] Prospero Colonna.

XXX. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. Sute haith ben made unto the Kynge, by suche merchiantes as doith yerly passe by see to Burdeuxe, for to knowe hys mynde and pleasure, wither they schall so doo thys yere, or nott; allegynge that the Frenche schyppis, nowe beynge in the sees, doith nott spare to take there advauntage off every man, and puttynge grete doubtes wither the Frenchemen wull kepe perfecte amitie wyth us, or nott, by the reason off suche brutes as be sowede abrode. The Kyngis Grace is, in thys matier, at a greate staye as he sayth; furst, considerynge that his subjectes (as theye reaporte) have grete gooddys at the sayde Burdeux, and that expedient itt were to have the same at home, whyche can nott be, unlesse the flete off schyppis schall repare thydre, aftre the accustumydde maner: secundly, Hys Grace ponderith the grete losse off hys navy, and gooddys off hys sayde subjectes, yff the same navy or gooddys schulde be takyn by the Frenchemen, uppon knowliege or suspicion off suche thinges as Your Grace haith latly treatidde wyth thEmperour: thyrdly, Hys Hyghnesse considerith, that yff the sayde flete schall nott repare to Burdeux aftre the accustumydde maner, then the Frenche Kynge schall entre in to greate suspicion, and, uppon the same, peraventure denye the payment off Hys Graces pension. In consideration wheroff, Hys Hyghnesse desyrith Your Grace diligently and maturely to examine and debate the forsayde doubtes, and to advertise hym wyth diligence off your opinion and mynde therin.[2]

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 290.

[2] This command produced a prolix letter from Wolsey, at Calais, on the 4th September, the draft of which remains in the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 49. As it has been printed (though very incorrectly) by Strype, in his Memorials, Vol. I. p. 28., and after him by Fiddes, in the collection appended to his Life of Wolsey, p. 75., it is not deemed worthy of being republished entire. Wolsey says he has induced the Chancellor (Du Prat) to advise the French King to issue a placarde, assuring English subjects that they shall be favourably entertained, and suffered safely to return; and he argues, that the French King, while his ambassadors are at Calais, will not enterprize any thing at Bourdeaux against the goods or ships of the English, and that if, before the end of the diet at Calais, a truce shall be taken, the English will be in surety. The Cardinal, however, distrusts the French, and suggests two ways of more abundant cautele; first, that the ships passing to Bourdeaux this year shall be of small tonnage, and that few shall resort thither at a time; secondly, that licence shall be given to the English to import their wines in strangers' bottoms, and to the French and Bretons to import Gascon wines, whereby the customs shall be augmented, and Flanders and the Emperor's countries supplied with wines, of which they would otherwise be destitute.

The

The Kynge also advertisyth Your Grace, that Sir Philippe Calthorpe and hys wyffe ar cummyn to the Courte, and haith offrydde them selfes, accordynge to Hys Graces desyre, to serve my Lady Princesse, in suche rowmys as Your Grace knowith; wherfore Hys Hyghnesse desyrith, also, to knowe Your Graces opinion uppon suche fees as must be assignydde to them boith. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Gylforde, thys furst daye of Septembre, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servaunt.

Crebra fama pestilentiæ hinc inde pullulantis nos hic terret.

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XXXI. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge recevidde your letters yistirnight, datidde at Calais the 30th off Auguste, comprisynge the takynge off the towne of Mouson, wyth othre prosperose successis off thEmperours affayris, whyche tydynge was to Hys Grace so comfortable, that he hym selfe, wyth greate rejoyse, declarydde the contentes off Your Graces sayde letters oppynly to the Knyghtes and othre off hys secrete chiambre. And as touchynge the gunne powdre demaundydde by the Emperour, by waye lone, assone as the Kynge harde those in your letters rede, he swore by St Georgis the sayde Emperour schulde lakke none, affore he hadde harde the clause folowynge, declarynge what quantitie, and undre whatt maner and color, Your Grace hadde sent unto hym, wherwyth he was veraye well contentidde and pleasydde. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Gylforde, thys 2 daye off September, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

[1] This letter is among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 61.

XXXII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge recevidde yistirdaye your letters datidde at Calais, the laste daye[2] off Auguste, comprisynge the perfecte conclusion off all hys affayris wyth thEmperour; and whan Hys Grace hadde perusydde and diligently rede the sayde letters, he commaundydde me to yeve unto Your Grace moste harty thankes for your grete paynys and labors susteignydde in the bryngynge off hys sayde affayris to suche conclusion and ende, as most redoundith to hys honor and suertie; sayynge that every thynge, in effecte, is finyschydde according to hys owne desyre. Two thyngis Hys Grace markydde in your sayde letters, wheroff the oon touchyth the sayde Emperours suertie, and the othre touchyth them boith, in avoydynge off sum dissension whyche myght ensue, yff itt be not forseen. The furst is, that where as itt apperith by Your Graces sayde letters, that the sayde Emperour schalbe conductydde in to Spayne by 6000 men alonely, in suche forme and maner as is at large expressydde in Your Graces sayde letters; Hys Hyghnesse sayth that that numbre is to small to conduyte an Emperour, and that he can not have fewer than 10000 men for hys suertie, consyderynge that the Frenche Kynge makyth grete preparacion by see, and wull encresse and augment the same, to the sayde Emperours annoyance, when he schall see occasion. Wherfore Hys Hyghnesses desyre is, that Your Grace schall move thys matier othre to the sayde Emperour by wrytynge, or to hys Ambassadors attendynge there uppon yow, as ye schall thynke most convenient; providinge allwayes that the numbre that schalbe addydde to the sayde 6000 men, may be at the sayde Emperours coste and chiarge, as Hys Grace thynkyth schall stonde wyth goodde reason, because the thynge touchyth most hys suertie. The secunde is, that where as the sayde Emperour is bounde by suche treatie as ye nowe have concludydde at Brugis, and the Kynge, in semblable maner, the oon to restore to the othre all suche townys as maye or schalbe takyn in the tyme off warre made, conjunctis viribus, agaynst Fraunce, and off ryght belongith to the oon, and not to the othre; Hys Grace thynkyth that itt is verraye expedient and necessarie to have the namys of all suche townys or cities, castils, forteressis, placis, holdys, or signoryes, expressydde affore the entrie of the warre, ad

[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 116.

[2] This letter is not found.

tollendam

tollendam omnem dissensionem quæ in hujusmodi rebus sepissime oriri, et amicitiæ vincula solvere solet. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helthe and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Gylforde, thys 3 of Septembre, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

XXXIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. I have recevidde your letters[2], datidde at Dunkyrke the 28th daye off Auguste, sent to me by my felowe Wyse, whoo arrividde here yistirdaye: and by the tenor off Your Graces sayde letters I do perceve that suche poore service, as I do heere, in wrytinge frome tyme to tyme unto Your Grace, by the Kyngis commaundment, is to Your Grace thankfull and acceptable; whyche thynge is to my singular comforte: signifyinge unto Your Grace that thowe I do not wryte so well, so wysely, and so substancially, as your highe wysedome doith requyre, yitt I am, at all tymes, redy to move the Kyngis Grace to make answere, wyth all convenient diligence, to all suche letters as Your Grace sendith unto Hys Highnesse; to thintent ye maye dayly have perfecte knowliege of Hys Graces singular contentacion wythe the highe servyce ye have doon unto hym, in thiese late treaties concludydde and perfectydde wyth thEmperour. And I assure Your Grace of oon thynge, that the Kyngis contentacion wyth all your actes can nott be so well payntidde wyth a penne, as itt is imprintidde in hys harte, as I do perceve, and as ye schall manifestly knowe at your returne. And where Your Grace wrytith unto me that itt schulde be to your cumforthe to have sum wrytynge off the Kyngis owne hande, declarynge hys contentacion wyth your paynes and labors susteignydde there, in the bryngynge off hys affayris to the desyridde ende, and that your pleasure is that I schude move Hys Grace therunto, as off my selffe, I have so doon thys daye, in better maner than I wull declare my selffe; and the Kynge, in most lovynge maner, answerde me that he wolde so wryte unto Your Grace, and sayde to me that the tydyngis comprisydde in Your Graces letters, wretyn with your owne hande, contentith hym aswell or bettre than ony other he hadde before. And nowe that Hys Grace haith promysidde

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 40.

[2] Not extant.

unto

unto me to accomplysche Your Graces desyre, in wrytynge off hys owne hande, I schall not fayle to call uppon the same at tyme convenient. As touchynge Your Graces desyre for to have sum wrytynge frome me, as off my selffe, I have so wretyn unto the same, synse your departure, at oon tyme alonely, when I sawe sum cause whye I schulde so do; oftener have I not so wretyn, not for lakke of wyll, or remembrance off dewtie, but for lakke of matier. For every thynge in thys realme, synse Your Graces departure, haith bin in suche reste and quietnesse, wythowte ony maner of evyll brutes or murmuracion, that aftre my juggement nothinge conith be founde wurthye to be wretyn to Your Grace, over and above that was comprisydde in my letters wretyn by the Kyngis commaundment. And nowe I signifie unto Your Grace, that thowe the communaltie off thys realme, off every sorte, hadde no knowliege off suche secrete matiers, as Your Grace haith treatidde and concludydde wyth thEmperour, yitt theye do deme, by conjecture, that the cause off your goynge to the sayde Emperour was for to establysche goodde and perfecte amitie betwixte the Kynge and hym, and to knytte an indissoluble knott of love betwixte them; whyche thynge is to there inestimable contentation, rejoyse and comforthe, and redoundith to Your Graces grete honor & suertie, as itt evidently apperith by the commune voyce. And the sendynge fourth off the Kyngis letters, for the preparacion of the 6000 archers, doith sum whatt incresse thys matier, for every man juggith thereby that we schalle have warre agaynst Fraunce; wheroff they be most desyrose, thoughe peraventure theye wull schortly desyre to cum home agayne, when theye be there. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Gylforde, thys 4 daye off September, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

XXXIV. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. I advertise the same, as off my selffe, that the Kynge differrydde yistirdaye to write unto yow his letters off his owne hande, for the seyynge of hys matens in honorem Divæ Virginis; and, thys daye, hartes and howndys let Hys Grace to do the same: and herfore he commaundydde

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 22.

me wryte unto Your Grace the clause, in myne othre lettres, touchynge that matier. He gretly doubtith off the sendynge off hys navye and merchiantes to Burdeaux thys yere, and muche studyeth theruppon for the welth and suertie off his subjectes, as he sayth; and thys haith movydde hym so to dispute that matier wyth Your Grace, as he doith. Here arrivydde yistirdaye, ex improviso, a noble man of Spayne, namydde the Counte de Chiliars, and usydde verraye statly maner wyth the Kynge at hys furst meatynge, as Hys Grace notidde and sayde. Howebeitt aftre that he hadde communication wyth Hys Grace, interprete medico Hyspano, he was well contentidde wyth hym, and largely commendydde hys wysedome, and he the Kyngis maners and goodly personage, in the highest degree. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Okynge, thys 9 off September, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XXXV. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. Aftre the depeche off the post, yistirnight sent unto the same, arrivydde an othre post, wyth Your Graces[2] letters to the Kynge, datidde the 6th daye off thys instant monyth, havynge inclosydde in the same a copye off Monsr. Dorvalis letter to the capitane off Tornaye, and an extracte off newes touchynge the affayris of Itali, and the Cantons off Swycelande. And where it apperith, by your sayde letters, that provision sufficient is made by treatie, for the two materiall poyntes touchydde by Hys Grace, concernynge the transportynge of thEmperour in to Spayne, and the specifienge of suche townes, cities, forteressis, dominions and signories, as schalbe, by the helpe off Godde, recoverydde frome the Frenche Kynge, conjunctis viribus, the Kynge is verraye well satisfiede and contentidde wyth thys Your Graces advertisement; sayynge that thowe he dydde presuppose that Your Grace hadde forseen the sayde twoo poyntes, yitt because theye were not playnely expressydde in your letters, he thoght convenient to put Your Grace in remembrance off the same. Hys Grace sayth he wolde be verraye

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 58.
[2] This letter is lost.

gladde

gladde to here off the takynge off Tornaye, for suche cause as is mencionydde in your sayde letters. He percevith by the sayde extracte, that aswell in Swycelande, as in Itali, every thynge succedith bettre for the Pope and thEmperour, than the French Kynge, and thys is to Hys Graces grete rejoyse and comforth. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Okynge, thys 10 of September, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

XXXVI. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge, ponderynge the sure and indissoluble knott off love and amitie knytte betwixte hym and thEmperour nowe off late, and debatynge wyth hym selfe the grete daunger that myght ensue to hys person, yff he schulde be personally in the felde at suche tyme, as the Frenche Kynge schall stryke bataigle wyth hys army, as he haith promisydde uppon hys honor to do, signifieth unto Your Grace, that hys mynde and pleasure is that ye, immediately uppon the sight heroff, schall move and counsayle the sayde Emperour, by wrytynge, in hys name, to kepe hym selfe in suertie, and not to be present at the sayde bataigle, yff any suche schalbe; for Hys Grace sayth that the losse of hys person schulde be as grete, as the losse off hys hole army. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Okynge, thys 11 daye off Septembre, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.

[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 117.

XXXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

[*Sir.*] I perceyve by suche writinges as this daie came to my handes from y[*our Secretary*] that Your Grace hath lately received thre or fower letters fro me, of sundry dates; and forasmuche as in summe of theym oonely newes were conteigned, requiring no speciall awnswer, therfore ye gave unto me your gracious thankes, whiche I wolde be right glad to deserve, by all the industrie, labour and policie that I can use. And, Sir, as touching those newes, whiche, at that tyme, were writen by your Ambassadour, Sir William Fitzwilliam, touching the promise made by the Frenshe King, on his honour, that he wolde geve bataile to thEmperours armye within brief tyme, I verelie beleve that your said Ambassadour, as a faithful gentilman, reapourted noo lesse than the Frenshe King than spake. Howe be it, by the contentes aswell of suche other letters[2] as I have received this daie from hym, as by the newes sent from thEmperour to his Oratour, hereinclosed, Your Grace shall well perceive, that neither the Frenshe King is in suche arredines, within soo brief tyme, to geve bataile, though he promised on his h[*onour*] soo to doo, ne yet that the newes writen on either partie be soo true, that firme credence oweth, at all tymes, to be yeven unto theym. Nevertheles, by provident foresight, more credence is to be geven to the writinges of suche, as mooste commonly make true reaportes, than of other, whiche accustumably use to contrive newes upon untrue groundes, for thadvauncement of their awne affeires; wherin Your Grace, having had good experience, aswell by tymes passed, as by practises nowe occourrant and communely used, can best judge; specially whan the losses and damages of the Frenshe King be by hym causeles to you arrected; soo that I suppose neither this cruell bataile is so nere hande, ne yet suche reaportes, though they be spoken on his honour, [*be*] alwaies to be beleved, specially in thexperiment of batayle, the losse wherof

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[1] Draft, corrected by Wolsey, in the Museum, (Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 150.), injured by fire. The date is fixed, by Pace's answer, to be the 15th of September. The first part of this letter, down to the words "amonges your subgiettes," is published by Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 27., but apparently from a different minute, as many words, and some passages, differ. So far as his copy goes, the lacunæ are filled up from it; the rest from conjecture. Fiddes has republished it from Strype, p. 74.

[2] This is probably the letter contained in Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 89. in the British Museum. Leaf 99 of the same volume is a letter from Fitzwilliam to Wolsey, on the 4th of October, containing the French King's promise to give battle to the Emperor within 12 days.

Over

Over this, Sir, where as Your Grace, foreseing the daungiers, dammages [*losses and prejudice*] that mought ensue to your navie, and subgiettes of your realme, if in [*this suspect*] and casuall tyme they shulde reasorte to Burdeaux for the vintage, [*like as they have*] bene accustumably used to doo heretofore, required me, now of late, to [*declare unto*] you my pooer advise and opinion what was moost expedient to be done; I, calling to me your Counsailours being here on thisside the see, after reasonyng and debaiting of the said matier, we finally concluded, by [*one assent*], that suche remedies, as were expressed in my letters than to Your Grace [*sent, were the*] mooste covenable provisions to avoyde the said daungiers, losses and [*damage.*] And surely, Sir, if by our wittes and intendementes we coude have divised [*better*] remedies, the same shuld have bene intimate and notified unto Your Grace. But inasmoche as Your Grace soo moche ponderethe the daungiers and [*casualties*], that may ensue by repairing of your navie and subgiettes to Burdeaux, though [*you*] counte noon affiaunce by faire promises, treaties, placardes, proclamations, abstinence of werre, or articles, to be confirmed by the Princes on eythyr syde, to suffise for your marchauntes indempnities, but suppose suche writinges are to be lurys and allectives to bring your said navie and subgiettes [*into*] daungier; thinking, allso, that sending of a competent nomber of your small [*ships*] to Burdeaux, or license to be yeven for bringing Gascoigne wynes into Yn[*glond*] upon straungier bothoms, shulde raise a murmour amonges your subgiettes[1]; I therin, but confourme my mynde to your high pleasour. For whan goo[*d cause of*] mistruste and diffidence is exiled, and that noon of the remedies by us here [*devised*], ne yet any to be by Your Grace and your Counsail there excogitate, can be advailible, but oonely your subgiettes and shippes, forbering this furst vintage, to remaigne at home; in vain shall it be ferther to studie other remedies therin. And albeit, Sir, summe treux or abstinence of werre shuld be here concluded at this Dyet, (whiche is in goode apparaunce to be had) yet if as litle affiaunce for the suertie of your subgiettes shuld be yeven therunto, as to the residue, than the shote anker is [*for your*] subgiettes to remaigne at home, abiding the fortune to be provided for wynes, as the caas shall require. How be it, Sir, the matiers standing in soo goode trayne as [*they*] doo, and that noo suspicion or jalousie is yet impressed in the Frenshe Kinges mynde, but acceptith and takith Your Grace as his principall confederate and alie, reputing me, your humble

[1] This is the end of Strype's and Fiddes's publication; and here the former states the minutes of the letter to break off, so that he must have published from a different MS.

subgiett

subgiett and Lieutenaunt, as egall and indifferent in the hering, debating and discussing these grete differences and matiers of variaunce, depending betwixt thEmperour and hym, as can be divised; being also determined to have his Cha[*ncellor*] remaynyng here, for summe good conclusion, by abstinence of werre, or otherwise, to be taken at this Dyett in the said variaunces; if now, after the proclamations made for the placarde, for assuraunce deliverde, and tharticles confirmed by the Princes, noon of your shippes or merchauntes shulde reasorte to Burdeaux, they shall undoubtedly conject and determyn, that by the said abstinence, and the brute that is in your realme upon the musters, ye [*do*] purpose furthwith to make werre ayeinst theym, wherby ye shall not [*only*] prepare and inforce his strenght and power, aswell by lande as by see; [*but*] next yere he shalbe in the more arredinesse to impeche suche determinations [*as shall be*] divised, aswell for the arrivall of thEmperour in your realme, as his passage [*into Spain*], but also to restrain your pension, whiche shalbe within brief tyme paiable, [*and*] by goode policie it were better saved than loste. And surely, Sir, thEmperour cont[*ynuing*] his werres ayeinst the said Frensch King, as he doth, not intendyng to desist without Yo[*ur Grace*], I cannot beleve that the same Frensch King shall provoke your enmytie ayeinst him, but conserve your amitie, by all [*waies*] possible, as long as he can; ooneles ye provoke hym to the contrarye by such declaracions of distrust and diffidence. For albeit dyverse of your subgiettes h[*ave*] now [*been*] taken on the see by the Frenschemen, yet th[*ere have*] noon complayned here, but they have had plenarie and entier restitucion, with damages and interesse; and, in semblable maner, all other schippis taken with in your stremys be restoryd, whethyr they were appertaynyng to Flemminges, or other nacions. All whiche reasons and evidences induceth me to thinke, that your merchauntes may [*pass*] to Burdeaux this yere without daunger, under suche maner as it is expressed [*in my*] former letters, aswell now as at the second vintage. [*Howe*] be it, to make any assuraunce therof, whan Your Grace distrusteth all promises, conventions and bandys, I neither darre ne woll, but remitt all to your wisdome and noble pleasure. For in caas noo truste be in any of the said p[*romises*], that is to say, by thamities standing yet in vigour, without any declaration made of rup[*ture by*] proclamations, placardes, abstinence of werre, articles divised of newe confermyng other remedies, than your said merchauntes shalbe in as grete or more da[*nger, if*] they repaire thider for the secounde vintage, than they shoulde be [*for*] the furste; consideryng that it is to be thowght the suspicions schall more sprede, and be pub[*lished*] then, than they yet bee; and when goode faythe schalbe oones excluded and taken awey, I see no

no m[*ore*] remedy. But (by retayninge your subgiettes at home) distruste and jalousie schall folowe, where as by sending somme small vessailles thider, the suspicion mought be removed, and truste for the tyme entertaigned.

And, Sir, as touching the substaunciall divising and extension of the article for conservation of your jurisdiccion, territories, and dominions upon the see, freshe waters, and poo[*rts*], I shall indevour my self after my best power; whereupon a substanciall article is redy made, and agreed by the Chauncelours and Counsail on boothe parties; whiche article, with thoder divised for the suertie of the fisshers, shalbe concluded and confermed under the Greate Seales of the Princes with in brief tyme.

And where as Your Grace[1] willeth me to exhorte thEmperour to forbere his pers[*onal*] proceding in the werres, in advoiding the daungiers that may therof ensue; Sir, I assure you I laboured in that matier, whan I was with the said Emperour, by all the persuasions and meanes that I coude divise, aswell to hym self as to his Counsail, so that albeit before my thider commyng he was clierly determined to be continually with his armye, yet byfor my departyng I stayed hym therein. [*He*] is now determyned to make his abode at Lile, that in cas the Frenshe King shalbe so well fournished with menne of armys, and others, to geve batayle to his armye
mynd and doo, then thEmperour purposeth said
strongly as
oune
personne to lay siege to Tourney, with 10000 fote menne and 3000 horsemen, whiche he hathe in arredinesse; not doubtyng by the
rememberyng the pourvey of vitayle, the stoppyng of all passages, the murmuracion of the inhabitantes, geving up of Mow[*son*
sent for their relife. And albeit the said Emperour remayning
at Ly[*le* not the Frenshe men, if the cas requyre, and
absteyne

Ferthermore, Sir, I sende unto Your Grace at this tyme, letters divised and substauncially examined, for your confirmation, of and upon the hoole treatie passed and concluded betwixt thEmperour and me, your Lieutenaunt; the same to be subscribed with your gracious hande, in secrete maner; whiche doon, I [*shall not only*] seale the said letters with your Greate Seale, but also cause the[*m to be sent*] to the Emperour, receiving semblable letters confirmatories of hym [*under his hand*] and Greate Seale. And inasmoche as the 25th daie of this monethe [*is*] prefixed by the treatie for the said

[1] See Pace's foregoing letter of 11 September.

 interchaungeable

interchaungeable deliveraunce, the daye nere approcheth, I therfore desire Your Grace spedily this messinger, who is a trusty clerke of your Chauncery, oonly sent for that purpose, soo that the conventions may be observed in the therof accordingly.

XXXVIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith not oonly rede but also growndly ponderydde your letters, datidde the 15th daye off thys present monyth, comprisynge your opinion off the Frenshe Kynge, in strykynge bataigle with the Emperour, notwythstondynge the promisis by him made uppon his honor and fayth; and suche answere as Your Grace haith made to hys late wrytynge uppon the sendynge off his navye to Burdeaux; the extension of tharticle by His Grace desyridde for conservatyon off his jurisdiction and dominions in the see; and howe ye hadde forseen his late desyre, in exhortynge the sayde Emperour to forbere his personall tendynge in the warris. As herunto, the Kynge sayth that he is compellyde nowe, by experience, [*to*] approve your sayde opinion touchynge the Frenshe Kynge, because he percevith by Your Graces sayde letters that the sayde Kynge, not wyth stondinge hys hyghe promisis, hath taken as yitt a more religiose way than to stryke bataigle, and is goon in pilgramage to hys patrone Sancte Dionyse.

Secundly, as towchynge the sendynge off his navye to Burdeaux, His Highnesse doith sumwhatt marvayle that Your Grace haith founde so goodde fayth in the sayde Frenshe Kynge, and that the same fayth is by hys mystruste and diffidence exilidde, *not wyth stondynge your wrytynge affore, in the other syde off the lefe*[2], agaynst the sayde Kyngis fayth and breche off promise in strykynge bataigle wyth the Emperour. And Hys Hyghnesse supposith that Yo[*ur Grace*] doith well knowe that he haith as goodde [*faithe*] as an other Prince, and that itt is nott [*his*] acustumate maner to mystruste, wyth owte cause evident, but rather to trust, when othre men haith grete diffidence, seyng reason whye he schulde so do. And he do[*ub*]tith nott, but yff Your Grace, and othre his Counsailors there, hadde hadde so large knowlege off the juperdye off sendynge hys sayde navye to Burdeaux, at that tyme

[1] The date of this letter appears, by the answer, to be the 20th of September. It is in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 153.

[2] The words here printed in Italics are scored under in the original.

ye

ye debatidde the matier there emongist you, as he haith s[*ent*]unto you synse the same debatement, ye wolde all have agreede wyth hym in oon opinion; for Hys Grace doith dayly here and evi[*dently*] knowe, by the complayntes off hys poore subjectys, that theye ar nott oonly spoylydde of there gooddys in the see by the sayde Frenshe Kyngis subjectes, aswell men off warre as pirates, butt also cruelly handylde, and put in daunger off there lyvys, not wyth stondynge any fayre promisis, treaties, placardis or proclamations. And because Hys Grace doith dayly here off the demeanour off the Frenchemen, and playnly [*per*]ceve the same by actuall deadys, he sayth [*he*] haith no cause to trust hym that thus trobelith his subjectes, but is dryven to mistruste uppon goodde grownde and reason; and that the sayde Kynge can not, by ony maner off reason, have in Hys Grace suspicion or jalousie, because that nethre he hym selfe doith any harme to hym, or nethre suffrith his subjectes so to do, so that yff any occasion off suspicion, diffidence, or jalousie be gevyn, itt is yevyn by the sayde Frenshe Kynge, and nott by hym or hys subjectes; whyche hys subjectes, regardynge the dayly dammagis they [*have*] by the sayde Frenshe Kyngis subjectes in the see, and that they have hadde warnynge in the west parties, by an officer of the sayde Kynge in Britayne (as the Kynge lately certifiede Your Grace), that they schulde departe thense, have determynydde emongist them selfes, wythowte Hys Gracis commaundement or knowliege, to eschewe further daunger, and not to repare to Burdeaux. And when itt shalbe allegidde to the sayde Frenshe Kynge, or hys Ambassadors there, that nother the Kynge nor hys subjectes doith or intendith to do to hym, or hys subjectes, any harme or displeasure, but that they tary at home thys yere, for fere off depredacyons exercisyd dayly in the see in thys tyme of warre, not oonly by hys subjectes, but also the Spanyardis, he or they can not by any reason turne thys [*into*] diffidence and jalousie, but rather jugge [*that it pro*]cedith off wysedome; considerynge itt is [*the*] commune course off the worlde every man to kepe hym selfe owte off the warris, spoiles, robbaris, and depredacions, as muche as he may. And uppon thiese goodde and reasonable gro[*undes*], the Kynge sayth the furst vintage m[*ay*] be delayede. And as touchynge sum truxe or abstinence off warre to be hadde, wherin Your Grace haith hope, the Kynge sayth that the same truxe or abstinence schalbe concludyd, and itt schalbe finyschedde affore the tyme off the last vintage, and then all hostilitie ceasyng, his subjectes schalbe owte off doubte, and may repare at there pleasure to Burdeaux suerly, wythoute parill or daunger, or any suspicion off the same. And as to that Your Grace writeth, that as yitt no suspicion or jalousie is imputidde in the sayde Frenshe Kyngis mynde, Hys Hyghnesse sayth the contrari evidently

apperith unto hym, aswell by the dayly spoylynge off hys subjectes, as also by a clause off Sir Wyllyam Fitzwylliams last letters directydde to Your Grace, and interteignement there; in whiche clause, much markydde by the Kynge, he writeth that the Frenshe Kynge, and my Lady his modre, trustith [*Your*] Grace but litle, and that allmost no man wull kepe [*him*] cumpany; and that ye schall knowe more theroff, yff the Frenchemen schall wynne the bataigle off thEmperour. And Hys Hyghnesse doith gretly marvayle that hys Ambassadour is nowe so litle estemydde in the Frenche Courte, supposynge that thys can not othrewyse procede, but uppon mystruste off the sayde Frenche Kynge, hadde withowte cause gevyn by Hys Grace. And Hys Hyghnesse doith see and pondre suche actes as be in deade; he sayth he can have no confidence in proclamations, or any other maner off wrytyngis, consistynge oonly in wurdys, knowyng that the proclamations past be not observidde and kepte. [*And*] when Your Grace schall have rede suche letters as [*the*] Kynge lately sent unto yow, translatydde owte off the Spanysche tonge, and diligently consideryd the sayde Frenche Kyngis crafty dealinge in the interprise off Navarre, Hys Hyghnesse juggith that ye will have then as litle or lesse confidence and trust, than he haith nowe. And where Your Grace fearith that yff none of the Kyngis subjectes schall repaire to Burdeaux aftre the proclamations made, the placarde for the assurance delivrydde, and the articles confirmydde by the Princes, the Frenche Kynge, uppon conjecture and suspicion off the moustres made here, and abstinence off warre, shall not oonly prepare hym self and inforce hys strenght and power, aswell by lande as by see, for to [*impeach*] suche determinacions as be devisydde, aswell [*for*] the arrivall off thEmperour in to thys realme, as hys passage in to Spayne, but also to re[*strain*] the Kyngis pension payable wythin bryffe tyme, Hys Grace sayth that the sayde Frenche Kynge [*is*] nowe so straytly handylde in hys owne realme and othre hys dominions, that hee can not see [*how*] he schalbe hable to enforce hys power the [*year*] folowynge, by lande or see. For yff he coulde inforce the same, he wolde so do at thys present tyme, et exhausto thesauro deerit nervu[*s*] belli. And as to the non payment off hys sayde [*pen*]sion, Hys Hyghnesse sayth he haith not, nor intendith to geve any maner off cause, whye hys sayde pension schulde be denyede unto hym by the Frenche Kynge; and yff he wull restraine the payment theroff wythowte any cause yevyn, he maye so do at all tymes, and then the Kynge sayth he schall have the juster cause to invade hym, and yitt nothynge [*lose*]; the sayde Emperour in that case beynge bo[*unde*] to paye the sayde pension, by suche treatise as ye latly have concludydde betwixte the Kynge and hym. And

yff

yff the sayde Frenche Kynge, as Your Grace wrytith folowyngly, schall not provoke the Kyngis ennymitie, but conserve his amitie (as ye bileve he will do), then and in that case the Kynge sayth your doubte is absolvydde by your tynge touchynge the payment off the sayd pension; affirmynge that he nother provokyth, nor intendyth to provoke, the sayde Frenche Kynge to the contrarie, affore suche tyme he is bounde so to do.

As touchynge restitucion made to the Kyngis subjectes nowe off late, in suche maner as is more at large expressyde in Your Graces said letters, Hys Hyghnesse sayth that he hadde no suche knowliege, when he wrote unto Your Grace hys last letters in thys cause; and that sum off the Frenchemen were compellydde to make suche restitucion, because they were taken by hys barke, and conve[*yed*] to Your Grace by force, and that, notwythstondyng the same restitucion, Hys Grace haith suffrydde the losse off hys custumys. He sayth allso, that diverse off his subjectes off the west parties (as they saye) hadde never restitucion, not wythstondynge there longe sutes in Fraunce there fore; but aftre theye hadde sentence yevyn in there favor by dewe processe off the lawe, they were warnydde to departe owte off the cuntreye, undre payne off losse off there lyves, wythe the sayde sentence alone, and no mony. Furthermore Hys Grace sayth, that itt apparteignith to thoffice off a trewe confederate to commaunde and compelle his subjectes to absteigne from the spoyle and depredacion off [*his*] fryndes subjectes, rather than to compelle [*hys*] frynde to demaunde, every daye, restitucion; lyke as itt is bettre nevyr to committe synne, than to do penaunce for synne committed. And thowe sum restitucion be made, acordyng to Your Graces wrytynge, yitt the Kynge [*doth*] not thinke that hys sayde subjectes maye [*so*] suerly nowe, as at the last vintage, repaire to Burdeaux; for nowe the warre is mo[*re*] fervent, aswell by se as by lande, and for tyme is grete hope off peax; wherfore the Kynge thynkyth itt best to take the sure waye for hys sayde subjectes. And Hys Hyghnesse sayth, also, that thowe Your Grace doith marke, in diverse places off your sayde letters, hys distruste in promises, convencions, and bandis, yitt hee thynkyth he haith trustidde to muche, because he haith trustidde them, that haith broken the sayde promisis, convencions and bandis, made bitwixte hym and them, and that theye, and not hee, excludydde goodde fayth; in whyche opinion the Kynge sayth he lefte Your Grace at your departure, in so muche that ye thoght Hys Hyghnesse hadde goodde occasion to assiste thEmperour.

Thyrdly, the Kynge is verraye well contentid wyth the extension off the sayde article[1]

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[1] The conclusion of this letter is wanting.

XXXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. I understand by suche letters as your Secretarie, on your bihalf, hath directed [*unto me*] bering date the 20th daie of this monethe, how Your Highnes, after ye had [*read*] and groundely pondered the contentes of my letters than to you addressed, Your Grace did summewhat marvaile that I have founde so goode faithe in the Frenshe King, and that the same faithe is by your mistruste and diffidence exiled, Your Highnes supposing that I knowe well ye have as goode faithe as an other Prince, and that it is not your accustumable maner to distruste without cause evident; with other clauses, noting contrarietie in my said letters, whiche, if I did reherse at lenght, shulde cause my letters to be veray tediouse and long for Your Grace to rede; and therefore I shall hereafter not oonely touche the particular pointes, as succinctly as I can, but also, under your favour and correction, make aunswer to the same for my declaracion. Sory I am that Your Grace shulde arrecte unto me, that I noted goode by your mistruste, which thinge I never ymagined or thought; for [*if the*] wordes of my said letters be taken as they were ment, and the grounde wherupon they were writen, I trust Your Grace hath noo cause so [*to*] mervaile of the same.

For furste, Sir, Your Grace perceyving suche imminent daungers as mought ensue to your subgiettes, if they shulde repaire [*to Bourdeaux*] for this furste vintage, willed and required me to shewe myn opinion what was mooste expedient to be doon therin; wherupon I, by the ad[*vice*] of your Counsailours here, asserteigned Your Highnes by my letters, [*what*] remedies were thought mooste convenable for the advoiding of [*the said*] daungiers in our opinions; whiche remedies, whan I perceyved to be thought to Your [*Grace*] insufficient for the indempnitie of your subgiettes, than I wr insomoche &c. usque ad illum locum. And albeit not intending to lay [*mistruste*] and diffidence to Your Grace, but by sending of summe of your shippes [*and*] subgiettes to Burdeux, upon the said assurances, to exclude such suspicions and jalousies from the Frenshe Kinges mynde, as he mought take by keping your subgiettes at home more this yere, than at any other vintage heretofore; whereby not oonely the payment of your pension mought be stopped, but [*an*] inclination towardes the warres mought be in appar-

[1] Draft, corrected throughout: The date appears to be 28th September, by Pace's letter of 4th October. This letter is found in the Museum in two separate portions; viz. the first part, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 157., and the latter part (beginning with the words "at Candlemas"), Galba, B. VII. leaf 55. Both parts are damaged by fire.

aunce

aunce on your partie, whereof many inconvenientes mought ensue, considering that ye be not bounde to make any declaration bifore thEmperour shall comme into Englande: so that the wordes of my letter be otherwise rehersyd than thay be wretyn; for where as your Secretary recitith that the same fayth is by your mistrust and diffidence exiled, my letters purportyth that when good trust and exiled, no of your distrust

And, Sir, to say that I have founde better faithe in the Frenshe Kinge, than I had in hym at my departing from Your Grace, surely I have not; but I had not seen and perfitely understande that, for many grete and causes geven and shewed by the Frenshe King, ye had not bene [*at*] libertie to breke with hym, I wolde not for any thing erthly have taken [*part*] as a minister and mediatour in concluding suche convencions and trea[*ties, as*] be passed betwixt thEmperour and you; wherby it may evidently appere, [*that I*] have nowe as litle faithe in the Frenshe King, as I had at that tyme; like [*as I shall*] more largelie declare to Your Grace by mowthe, at my commyng to [*your*] presence, than I can now expresse by writing. Nevertheles having the said assuraunces (by the treatie not yet declaryd to be brokyn), placardes, saveconduytes, proclamations, abstinence of werre, and other articles, I thought that summe of your subgiettes shuld be sent to Burdeaux, for [*avoiding*] suspicion that, by thair restrainte, mought be taken by the Frenshe, [*rather*] than to kepe theym all at home. And as in this my supposell, it apper[*eth that I*] had summe truste in the promyses and writinges made by the Frensh Kynge, under hys seale, for the assuraunce of your subjectes, thowgh in the begynnyng of my letter it is alleged I wrote the contrarie by these wordes —" I suppose neither this cruell " bataill is so nere hande, ne yet suche reaportes, though they be spoken " on his honour, be alwaies to be beleved, specially in the experiment of " bataill &c." And thus, Sir, though in the Frenshe Kinges promises, made upon his honour, for striking of batail, wherby he myght put hys reame in daunger, I had noo maner truste, neither beleve; yet upon thoder bandes and suerties, passed under his signe and seale for the indempnitie of your subgiettes, I had summe affiaunce; soo that there is a grete difference betwixt a bare promise without writing or seale, wherin [*faithe*] is to be had, and promises made by oothe, signe, and seale, [*the*] commune assuraunce betwixt Princes; soo that this my writinges be though to oothes, signes, and seales, I have taken summe truste, where as to his bare [*word*], specially for thexperiment of werre soo sone, I toke never a dele. And [*where*] as Your Grace also writeth, that ye suppose I knowe well ye have

have as goode [*faith*] as an other Prince, and that it is not your accustummable maner to distruste [*without*] cause; as unto these pointes I suppose noon of your subgiettes, of whatsoever state and condicion they bee, knoweth better the integritie of your vertuous mynde, in the faithfull observaunces of your oothe, faithe, and promises, wherin surely, and without adulation, fewe Princes may be compared; for if all other Princes were as constant and scrupulous in keping their oothes, faithe [*and*] promise as ye bee, not oonely amities shulde remaigne inviolate [*and*] unbroken, but also restfull tranquillitie and peax established in Cristendome. And I knowe also that ye doo not distruste without a cause, resting in the taking and spoiling your subgiettes. Howe be it, inasmoche as suche spoiles and depredations be oonely attemptates committed by the subgiettes without the assent or consent of the Prince, whiche is noo breche of peax, but that it is ordred by the treatie, the same to be refourmed by waye of justice, like as the Chauncelour here daily ministreth justice, and causeth restitution to be made to your subgiettes complaynauntes, with dammage and interesse, I thought that Your Grace, having suche assuraunce for the indempnites of your subgiettes, was sumwhat precise theym all from Burdeaux; wherein your faithe in this your oune promises is no thyng touched, but oonely the distruste for the suertie of your subgiettes; doubting that the Frenshe [*King*], contrary to all the said assuraunces, woll violate his promise, [*to*] theyr hinderaunce, losse and dammage: whiche thing I wrote to Y[*our Grace*] as myn opinion, by waie of advise, confourmyng my mynde to Yo[*ur Grace*], expressly shewing in my said letter, that inasmoch as Your Grace distr[*usted*] the keping of bandes on the Frenshe Kinges partie, I neither durst ne [*would*] make any assuraunce, but remitted all to your grete wisedome [*and*] pleasure. Soo that, Sir, there is a grete difference in touching your faith, [*and*] keping of your promises, whiche I never did ne thoght, and distruste for the violacion of the Frenshe Kinges promises, wherin goode policie wold be usid, if it mought be remedied by any of the said assuraunces.

[1] And where as Your Grace doubteth not but if I, with your Counsail here, had had soo large knoulege of the daungier of your subgiettes being daily dispoiled on the see at that tyme, as ye have advertised me sens, boothe I and they wolde have agreed with Your Grace in

[1] A very imperfect and incorrect copy of that part of this letter which begins here, and ends with the word "unabsoiled" in page 67, is published by Strype, p. 31., and after him by Fiddes, p. 78. The lacunæ hitherto are supplied from conjecture; henceforward from Strype, so far as he gives the defective passages.

oon

oon opinion; Sir, treuth it is that I had certain knowlege of sundry dispoiles doon upon the see by Frensh men, before I advertised Your Grace of my said pooer advise and opinion for this Burdeaux voiage; whiche, upon their complaintes, had goode redresse and restitucion made unto theym by the Chaunceler of Fraunce, wherby I was the rather moved that your navie schould go thydyr; and sens that tyme I received an other letter from your Secretary, in whiche [*he writeth that two*] hulkes, wherin certain goodes apperteigning to Inglishmen were [*lately taken*] by Frenshemen, the oon being conveyed to Bullain, and thoder to [*Frith*] in Scotlande. And as touching the hulke conveyed to Bolain, s[*urmised*] to appertain to Birche, wherin oon Roche of London pretendith to h[*ave goods*], I have caused summe of your Counsail here to here the complaintes of the said Roche; and albeit the said Roche neither can ne woll justifie the said hulke to appertain to Birche, yet he chalengeth certain goods [*in her*], wherof I doubte not he shall have restitution, if he can duly prove theym to be his. And as unto thoder hulke conveyed to Scotlande, I [*see*] no remedy but letters to be divised and sped by Your Grace, to be sent [*to the*] Counsail of Scotlande by the parties dampnified, there to pros[*ecute for restitution*]; and if they be Frenshmen that have taken the goodes, then after certificate to me made of their names and dwelling places, with the specialties of the goodes taken, I shall indevour my selff with the Chauncelour of Fraunce for restitution to be made according to justice: and this, in effecte, be all the dispoiles that I know newly doon. How be it, summe other pursuytes have bene made here, for redresse of depredacions commyttid upon the see, aboutes Mydsomer and before, whiche shalbe also remedied in the countreis, where thoffendours dwell; for whiche purpose letters be deliverde by the Chauncelour to the parties complaynauntes. And this, Sir, like as we heretofore confourmed our opinions and myndes, touching the voiage of Burdeaux, to your high pleasure, soo we remitte the same to your grete wisdome; notwithstandyng, uppon our fidelities and duties towardes Your Grace, we persist in our former opinion for the passing of your subjectes to Burdeaux at this first vintage.

And, Sir, to inquire of the Frenshmen why they take the hulkes [*of the Esterlings*], it apperteyneth not to me, as your Lieutenaunt, except in your streamys. For if they [*will pretend*] enmytie to be betwixt the merchauntes of Danske and theym, [*Your Grace*] may not conveniently lett the same. Howe be it, to restore your subgiettes goodes being in theym, I have and wool effectually myself.

And where as your Secretary forther writeth that this furst vintage [*may be further*] respited and differred upon goode groundes, without distruste or

 [*jealousy*],

[*jealousy*], by declaracion of this manifolde dispoiles and cruell intreating [*of your*] subgiettes upon the see, aswell by Frenshmen as Spanyardes; by reason wherof it may be said they absteyne from the said vintage, and for none other, like as [*in*] goode policie it apperteigneth, for the conservation of theymselfes [*and*] suertie of their goodes: I thinke the same to be full goode considerations, [*if they*] be well takyn by the Frenshemen without distrust. How be it, Sir, to differre that voiage to the lat[*ter vintage*][1] at Candlemas, soo that by vertue of a treux to be taken here they may than reasorte thider in suertie; under your favour and correccion, your said subgiettes, in myne opinion, shalbe in more daungier going than to Burdeux, then nowe. For if summe suspicion and distrust be taken nowe by the Frenshe King, as Your Grace judgeth by the straunge intreatie of your Ambassadour in hys Courte, it is to be supposed that, by that time, it shalbe ferther sprede and increased. And to say that if, the treatie not yet declared to be broken, the plagarde, saveconduite, and all the oder remedies before touched, cannot nowe stande in stede; than the abstinence of werre, whiche may be assoone broken (if there be noo truste) as all thoder assuraunce, cannot than prevaile; specially considering that the amitie betwixt you and the Frenshe Kyng is not yet declaryd to be violate, and the same for the tyme so standyng in vigour, noo treux can be taken betwixt you and hym. For taking of a treux presupposeth a rupture of amitie; and therfore this treux must oonely be taken betwixt thEmperour and Frenshe King, for the indempnitie of their subgiettes, whiche cannot helpe your subgiettes; where as by tharticles concludyd by thEmperour and the Frensche, thay both shall be bownd by promyse of theyr Oratours made to Your Grace, and to me your Lieutenaunt, for the indempnitie of your subjectes and schippes: where as by the treux none suche assuraunce can be made, for as moche as Your Grace shall not be parties to the said treux; like as by a copie of the said articles[2], hereunto annexed, ye may perceyve at more lenght. In consideracion whereof, these remedies, nowe provided, may better serve your subjectes at this tyme, than the abstinence of werre may then; and specially the save conduyte comprised in the placarde, for the indempnitie of all your subgiettes reasorting to Fraunce, whiche is an habundaunt cautele, though the same, standing the amitie in force, nedith not to be graunted; which originall placard[2], contaynyng the said sauf conduyte, I also send unto Your Grace at this tyme. And, Sir, if Princes accustummably observe their save conduytes to

[1] Here begins Galba, B. VII. leaf 55.

[2] Neither the articles nor the placard are found.

their

their ennemyes, in tyme of open werre, it is to be supposed they woll not breke it, standing the colour of peax and amitie. And on thoder syde, the secound vintage is communely in February, aboutes the Purificacion of our Lady; in the later end of whiche moneth, it is concluded, by treatie, that thEmperour shalbe with you in Englande, and than the distruste and jalousie shalbe more largely impressed in the Frensh mennes myndes, than it is nowe. And albeit your subgiettes mought than goo surely, without impechement, yet it were not possible to bring wyne of the secounde vintage to serve your honourable howshold, and other nobles and estates of your reame, which shulde be a mervelous lack for thentertaynement of the Emperour and hys trayne; wherefore it wold be specially to be regardyd, for every citie and towne, whereby he schall passe, from hys arryvall in to your reame, tyll he schall to Fallmowthe, must be fournished with wynes habundantly.

And where as it is ferther writen, that by this treatie taken with thEmperour, it is sufficiently provided for your indempnitie, in the pension of Fraunce, to be paid by thEmperour, if the Frenshe King refuse to paye the same; Sir, that matier dependith upon your declaracion: and therfore goode it were to save this next payment to be made by the Frenshe King, if it mought conveniently bee. And to geve any certayn judgment, what the Frensch [*King*] schalbe able to do this next yere, in settyng forth any armye eyther by see or land, cum exhaustum sit errarium, as it is pretendyd, it is veray hard to determyne, when all the substance of hys realme is hooly at hys commaundement; which thing wold be well regardyd.

And where as it is alleged, that my doubte is solved by myn owne writing, by thies wordes, "I suppose the Frenshe King shall not provoke "your enmytie, but conserve your amitie;" Sir, if my letter be well regarded, I write that clause condicionally, under theis termys, that is to say, "I suppose the Frensch Kyng shall not provoke your enmytie, but conserve your amytie, ooneles he be driven therunto by distruste and diffidence;" and soo that doubte remaynethe yet unabsoiled[1], as it did byfore my writyng, being rehersid diminutèly, by taking part, and levyng the substance.

Sir, I have not wretyn the premisses to contrary your opinion, or to dispute ayenst Your Grace, but oonly to declare whatt was the mynd of me, and thother of your Counsayle here, and the veray intent of my said letters;

[1] The remaining part of this letter is in the hand-writing of a different Secretary. As Strype's copy of the letter terminates at this point, and differs from this in various parts, it seems probable that he obtained access to a rough draft, made before it had received the Cardinal's corrections.

whiche to be takyn in suche wyse as thaunswer to the same purportithe, I assure Your Grace is to myn and thayr no smale hevinesse. Neverthelesse both I and thay, as most humble subjectes, do and schall obeysantly conforme our selfes to your hygh pleasure. [1]

XL. Pace *to* Wolsey. [2]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kinge haith recevidde your letters, datidde the 25th [3]. 28th. and 29th [3]. off Septembre, wyth 3 letters off Sir Ri: Wyngfeldys and Sir Thomas Spynelly, a placarde undre the Frenche Kyngis seale, and articles devisydde for the suertie off hys schyppis and subjectes as schall use the see. And as touchynge Your Graces furst letters, the Kynge is verraye gladde to have undrestande by the same that ye have suche hope off your recovery, that he schall not neade to sende unto you any off hys physitians.

As to the secunde letters, concernynge the sendynge off Hys Graces subjectes and schyppis to Burdeaux [*for*] the vintage, Hys Hyghnes sayth, that [*in*]asmuche as, whils he and you were in disputacion by wrytynge, wither itt were meate they schulde or myght suerly repare thydre, or nott, by the reason off the evidente daungers of thiese warres, they ar departidde wyth the numbre off 20ti schyppis (as Hys Grace is informydde), he wull no farther dispute in that that is past.

The Kynge thankyth Your Grace for your manifolde newes comprisydde in your thyrd letters, touchynge the state off the siege at Mesyers [4], the progresse of the Popis army in Itali, and the uncertayntie off the resolution off the Swyces. And where as Your Grace trustith schortly to have more certayne knowliege off the premissis, Hys Hyghnesse is verraye desyrose off the same, and takyth grete pleasure in redynge and herynge suche newes as Your Grace sendith to hym, from tyme to tyme. Hys Grace is well contentidde wyth the sayde letters, placardis, and articles devisydde for the suertie off hys schyppis and subjectes; desyringe that the same may be truly observidde and kepte, for as yitt hys

[1] The King was fully justified in his opinion of the danger likely to ensue from allowing the ships to go to Bourdeaux; for, in March following, they were seized by Francis I. and confiscated.

[2] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 119. [3] The letters of the 25th and 29th are lost.

[4] The garrison of Mézières having been relieved in the latter part of September, by a supply of provisions, the Emperor was obliged, in October, to raise the siege.

subjectes

subjectes complaynyth styll, here, off grete losse and dammage suffrydde by the Frenchemen, whoo haith takyn an other schyppe off Danske, ladyn wyth hys subjectes gooddys, to the value off oon thowsande powndes, and conveyde the same in to the Lyth off Scotlande; and the Kynge, acordynge to the complaynantes sute, haith directydde hys letters to the Kynge off Scottes, for restitucion off the sayde gooddys, and hys sayde subjectes have goodde hope, that, by the helpe off the sayde letters, theye schall recover there gooddys. Yff theye schall not so do, then they intende to repare to Your Grace, wyth the Kyngis wrytynge for the same purpose.

The Kynge sendith unto Your Grace herwyth suche letters as he lately haith recevidde frome hys Leutenant [1] in Irelande, and desyrith yow to devise uppon sum othre personage to be sent in to those parties; signifyinge unto Your Grace that he intendith to have hym home thys nexte yere, knowynge that he schall have neade off hym; besydis that he wolde nott lose hym by sycknesse, wherwyth he is nowe sore troblydde. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 4th of October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(Superscribed) *(Signed)* Ri. Pace.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLI. Pace *to* Wolsey. [2]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge remembrynge that hys Leutenant in Irelande schalbe in daunger off hys lyffe, yff he schulde continue there, by the reason off suche dissease as he nowe suffrith, as itt is reaportidde unto Hys Grace by Musgrave hys servant, thynkyth itt verraye expedient and necessarie to revoke hym, aswell for the recovery off hys helth, as also for suche service as he can do in suche Hys Graces affayris, as ar lyke to ensue. And to thintent that Hys Graces lande off Irelande maye be, aftre hys departure thense, providydde off sum goodde and meate Governore, he desyrith Your Grace, and the residewe off hys Counsaylors there [3], to devise sum

[1] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. Among the papers in the Chapter House, is one from Lord Surrey to the King, dated at Dublin, 16 September, praying to be discharged of his office, being undone by the expence of it, and also sore vexed with the flux, to which he describes Ireland to be much disposed. Letters to King and Council, Vol. 5. No. 108.

[2] This letter is preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, Vol. 602. leaf 60.

[3] i. e. with Wolsey at Calais. There are many instances in these letters, where a relative pronoun or adverb is used, when the antecedent is not expressed, and is only to be collected from inference.

meate

meate personage for that purpose; and also to debate emongist your selfes, wither itt schal be more expedient to have an Englysche man ruler there, and the Kynge to be at the same chiarge he nowe berith, or els to make sum Irysche Lorde hys Deputie there, in suche forme and maner as the Erle off Kyldare[1] was; and so to save suche mony, as he nowe exspendyth there all in wast, and wythowte profecte, as itt is thoght. And the Kynge proponith unto Your Grace 2 persons to devise uppon, whyche he thynkyth meate for thys purpose, vizt. the Lorde Ferys[2] (yff Your Grace can induce hym therunto), and the Erle off Ormonde[3], yff he maye stande wyth the suertie off hys sayde lande. Howebeitt Hys Graces mynde is nott so fixidde uppon any off the sayde 2 persons, but he wylbe contentidde to admitte any othre person to the sayde rowme, as schalbe thoght to Your Grace, and hys Counsayle there, more meate. And Hys Hyghnesse desyrith Your Grace to certifie hym off your mynde in the premissis, wyth convenient diligence. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 8 daye off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[4]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge signifieth unto the same, that he thynkyth that the kepynge off the terme[5] nowe, in thys dewe tyme, schulde greatly be to the contentacion off hys subjectes, and also make muche for hys owne profecte, and especyally for the bryngynge in off his revenewes, whyche he sayth cumyth in verraye slowly; in so muche that M^r. Myklowe haith bin compellydde to borowe money for the payement of hys servauntes wagis. And Hys Grace sayth, that the sayde terme myght be conveniently kepte, yff Your Grace wolde sende home the Master of the Rollys[6], wyth the Greate Seale, for that intent and purpose. Hys Highnesse sayth, also,

[1] Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, was Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1515.

[2] Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, created, by Edward VI., Viscount Hereford.

[3] Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, by patent, 6 March 1522.

[4] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 16.

[5] Michaelmas Term began on the 9th of October, till it was abridged by the Act 16 Car. II. cap. 6.

[6] Cuthbert Tunstall, Dean of Salisbury, soon afterwards made Bishop of London, and finally of Durham.

that

that oon thynge maye lett the kepynge off the sayde terme, that is to saye, the greate plage, whyche doith dayly rather increase than cease in the citie off London. And in case the sayde plage schall so continue, then the Kynge thynkyth itt schalbe necessarye to proroge the sayde terme. And whatt ordre Your Grace schall take in the premissis, the Kynge is desyrose to knowe wyth diligence. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 9 off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLIII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge, thys mornynge, commaundydde me to wryte unto yow, that he fearydde ye were not well at ease, because he hadde no wrytynge frome Your Grace, synse the cumminge of Sir Richard Jernyngham[2]; wherfore he desyrith Your Grace to sende unto Hys Highnesse sum wurde off your helth, and also to advertise hym off your occurrentes there, wheroff he is verraye desirose to here. And where Hys Highnesse desyrydde Your Grace, in othre my former letters, to wryte unto Sir Philippe Calthorpe, and hys wyffe, to be contentidde wyth the summe of £40 for there fee, he desyrith Your Grace eftsonys to remembre the same letters, to thintent that they maye entre in to there rowmes, and yeve there attendance uppon my Lady Princesse, as necessitie requirith. The Kynge also sendyth unto Your Grace, wyth thiese presentes, your owne letters sent frome my Lorde Admyrall[3], whyche Hys Grace dydde open and rede hym selfe; and desyrith Your Grace to advertise hym off your opinion[4] touchynge my late letters concernynge the sayde Lorde Admyrall, and the orderynge off hys lande off Irelande. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 13 off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 38.
[2] He had been associated with Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, in the Embassy to France.
[3] Thomas Earl of Surrey, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
[4] See the next letter from Wolsey.

XLIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. Amonges other thinges conteigned in such letters, as your Secretary now of late hath addressid unto me, I perceyve that inasmoche as thErle of Surrey, your Admirall and Lieutenant in your lande of Irelande, is soo grevously diseased with sundry infirmities, that in caas he shulde long demore and make his abode there, he shuld be putt thereby in grete daunger of his lif; Your Grace, therefore, not oonely regarding his wisdome, activitie, and hardinesse, but also other goode qualities being in hym, by reason wherof he is right mete and hable to doo unto you acceptable service, in greter matiers than he hath now in hande there, and not willing to lose soo goode and valiaunt a capitain, is desirous to knowe the opinions of me, and other your Counsailours here[2], what order were best to be taken, aswell for his preservation, by his retorne to your realme, as also for deputing summe other convenient Lieutenant for governance and defence of that lande, in his lieu and place, namyng the Lorde Ferers, or Sir Piers Butler Erle of Ormonde, for suche hable personages as mought serve Your Grace in the said rome. Sir, in that Your Grace, like a ryght noble Prince and mooste kynde maister, soo graciously tenderith the conservacion of your said Admirall, for the groundes and considerations before touched, whiche be of trouthe, I, with other your Counsailours here, moche laude and commende your high wisdome and singuler providence; considering that in the grete enterprises, that be like to be sett furthwarde by Your Grace within few yeres, he may and shall doo unto you notable service. Wherfore, (after convenable provision made for a mete Lieutenaunt to be subrogate in his place) it is thought right expedient he shulde be lisenced to comme home accordingly. And as unto the Lorde Ferers, though he be a goode and right active gentilman, mete and hable to have the conduyting and leding of a good nomber of men in the werres (where other higher capitayns, having experience, shalbe governors above hym); yet to committ the hoole rule and governaunce of Irelande unto hym, as your Lieutenaunt, not being experte in waightie matiers, requiring

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[1] This letter must have been written while Wolsey was at Calais, and is probably that of the 14th of October 1521, acknowledged by Pace on the 27th of that month. The Museum contains not only the rough draft of the whole, Titus B. XI. leaf 424, but also a corrected copy of the first part, ending with the passage respecting the minute to Lord Surrey, in the same volume, leaf 351. The publication has been made from the latter, as far as it extends, and the rest from the former paper.

[2] i. e. at Calais.

sadd

sadd advise and good counsaile, specially amonges such brittle people as they bee, in whome is moche crafte, and litle or noo faithe and trouthe, it is thought daungerous, though he were charged noo thing to doo but by thadvise of your Counsail there; and yet, in that caas, he shulde rather be ruled than rule. And, Sir, remembring the mervelous grete charges that ye shall susteigne by entring the werres, according to the conventions made betwixt you and the Emperour, it were good policie to save such money, as is yerly imployed upon the defence of that lande, whiche cannot be, if ye make an Inglisheman your Lieutenaunt. For rememberyng aswell the nobilitie of bloode, with the degre and auctoritie that he is of, as also hys wysedome and actife towardnesse, hard woll it be to fynd any other Englisch capitayn to do more, or asmoch, as he hath doon in that rome. And therfore, if the said Erle of Ormonde, now being the gretest personnage, and of mooste power amonges your obeisaunt subgiettes in that land, mought be induced to take upon him to be your Lieutenant, under such service and maner as thErle of Kildare occupied the same, it shuld be right expedient and mooste benificiall for Your Grace; wherby your Admyrall, and other in his retynue there, being revoked, ye shulde clierly save all suche extraordinary charges, as ye now yerely disburse for that purpose. And it is supposed that your Lieutenaunte, being advertised of your mynde in that bihalf, and knowing your pleasure for his retorne, (if he can induce the said Erle of Ormonde to take that rowme upon hym) rather than to remaigne lenger there, woll not faille to indevour himselfe, by all the waies and meanes possible, aswell to know where the said Sir Piers Buteler, for hys wysdome and puyssance, be mete and hable to serve Your Grace in that rome, under suche fourme as thErle of Kyldare did; as also to cause the said Erle, if he fynd hym hable, to take it upon hym accordingly, aftyr he schall have made certificat unto you of hys habilitie. For whiche purpose I have divised the minute of a letter[1], to be sent by Your Grace to your said Lieutenaunt, if it may soo stande with your pleasure, whiche ye shall receyve hereinclosed.

Over this, Sir, your said Secretary hath, by other two sundry letters, advertysid me of your pleasure in two maters; the oon towching a gyft and graunt to be made unto Your Grace of Ard by thEmperour, lately interceptyd and takyn by hys subjectes and menne of warre; so that the Frenche Kyng mowght be agreable to the said graunt, and geve hys assent thereunto; and thothyr, concernyng the keping of your terme in Westmynster Hall, by

[1] See Pace's letters of 27th October and 4th November.

sendyng of the Maister of the Rolles, with your Greate Seale, if the plage of mortalitie, which daylie increacyth more and more, were seasid. As unto the fyrst, Sir, if eythyr the gyft to be made unto Your Grace by thEmperour mowght be to you effectuall or advaylable, or yet the mocion to be made to the Frensche Kyng, or hys Chauncelor, for hys assent to be yeven thereunto honourable or covenable, I wold not fayle but, accordyng to your advertisement, endevour my self with all effect for thaccomplischement of your pleasur in that behalf; but inasmoch as thEmperours graunt cowd not stand you in stede, thowgh ye had the same, when hys subjectes, not beyng in possession therof, have abandonyd and forsakyn the said towne, and that the demaundyng of the Frensch Kynges assent therunto, which uppon thEmperours graunt he woll never geve, schuld rather provoke enmytie and suspicion, than do any other good; for thies, and othyr urgent causes and considerations, beyng to long and tedious for Your Grace to rede, if thay wer commyttyd to wretyn, which I have declaryd by mowth to your ryght trusty Counsaylours, Sir Thomas More your Undre Treasourer [1], and Sir William Fitzwilliam, I have hythyrto forborn to make any overture of the said mater, eythyr to thEmperours or Frensche Kynges Ambassadours. To which your Counsaylours it may like Your Grace not oonly to geve ferme credence, aswell therein, as in myne opinion towching the kepyng or prorogacion of the terme, but also to geve unto thaym your gracious thankes for such thayr laudable acquitaylis and diligent attendaunce, as thay have doon and takyn in this journey, for thadvauncement of your honour, and contentation of your pleasure.

XLV. Pace *to* Wolsey. [2]

Pleas itt Your Grace. The Kynge yistirnyghte recevydde your letters [3], berynge date the 11th of thys instant monyth, and percevith by the contentes off the same, the Emperours intendydde purpose to laye siege to the citie off Tornaye, wyth suche othre newes as ar cummin to Your Graces knoweliege owte of Fraunce, and off the warrys in Itali, Spayne and Hungarye. And as touchynge the layynge off the sayde siege, the Kynge is off contrari opinion, as Your Grace is; nott oonly for the fortificacion off the

[1] Under-treasurer of the Exchequer.

[2] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 123.

[3] Not in existence.

contramure

contramure by hym made in the sayde citie, as is mencionydde in Your Graces sayde letters, but also because the sayde Emperour schalbe compellydde to devide hys army, by reason off the rivere, into 2 parties, and that the Frenche Kynge, cummynge to levye the sayde siege, schall commodiosly invade wyth hys hole power, whyche parte schall pleas hym off the sayde Emperours army, [*and*] overthrowe the same, bifore any succour maye be sent itt. In consideracion wheroff, the Kyngis mynde is, that the sayde Emperour, yff he wull neadys go to Tornaye, schall not besiege the same, but, by thadvise of hys most wyse and experte capitanes, chose for hym selfe a meate grownde, affore he schall arrive thydre, there to abyde the sayde Frenche Kyngis cummynge, and in nowyse to refuse bataigle, yff the sayde Frenche Kynge, as he sayth, wull fight, but rather to provoke hym to the same. For Hys Grace sayth, that yff the sayde Emperour schall refuse to fight wyth the sayde Frenche Kynge, offerynge bataigle, he schall, durynge hys lyffe, suffre greate reproche and dishonor therby, considerynge that all Cristiandome schall note and take for an example thys hys furst acte. Hys Grace sayth, also, that by refusall off bataigle all the sayde Emperours affayris in othre parties (whych as yitt be in meatly goodde trayne) schall decaye, by the losse off hys reputacion in thise parties; wheruppon diligently to loke, itt is to hym verraye necessarie. Furthermore Hys Hyghnesse sayth, that the sayde Emperour (hys owne person savydde) can in nowyse lose by strykynge off bataigle; for thowe the sayde Frenche Kynge schall wynne the felde, whyche is in the hande off Godde, yitt he can nott wynne the same wythowte grete losse off hys army; and that the sayde Emperour schall, at all tymes, be more hable to repare hys puyssance agayne, than the sayde Frenche Kynge; to whome the losse of oon felde schalbe a totale perdicion off hys realme, and the wynnynge off the same (whyche can nott be wythowte grete losse) litle or none advauntage, yff the thynge be growndly ponderydde.

As to Your Graces newes of Itali and Spayne, the Kynge sayth that yff the Cardinal Sedunensis [1], wyth hys 9000 Swyces, be joynydde wyth the othre army off the Pope and Emperours, in Lumbardy, and the Admyrall off Fraunce [2] so nere Pampilion [3], as the sayde Frenche Kynge reaportith, Hys Grace wull hourely loke for sum tydyngis off grete weght owte off thoose parties, as by all lyklyhode must neadys ensue. The prosperose successe off the Turkes in takynge Belgrado, is verraye displesant to the Kyngis Hyghnesse.

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[1] See p. 7. note 4.

[2] Guillaume de Gouffier, Seigneur de Bonnivet, Admiral of France.

[3] Pampeluna.

Finally,

Finally, the Kynge is verraye desyrose that Your Grace may schortly have a resolute answere whatt they intende to do, in makynge peax, or takynge truxe or abstinence off warre; for Hys Hyghnesse wolde gladly see Your Grace at home, all thyngis well concludydde there. The Juggis, by the Kyngis commaundment, haith devysydde certayne wrytes, touchynge the adjournynge off the terme, in case the greate plage schall continue in the citie off London (as itt doith not yitt cease, but rather increase), whyche wrytes Your Grace schall receve wyth the nexte bagge; and the Kyngis pleasure is to have the same sealydde, and sent to hym selfe agayne, to thintent he maye use them, as the case schall require. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 15 off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) R. PACE.

XLVI. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith recevidde your letters, bering date the 14th and 22th daye off thys present monyth, wyth an extracte off the Dean off hys Chiapellis[2] 2 letters, 5 letters sent frome Sir Ri: Wyngefelde[3], 2 frome Sir Wylliam Fitzwylliam[4], 2 comprisinge the affayris off Itali, a letter sent frome Moye, directydde to the Counte off Nassowe, and hys answere to the same, wyth the wrytes off the adjornement off the terme, and a minute by Your Grace devisydde to be sent by the Kynge to hys Lieutenaunt in Irelande. And as to Your Graces former letters, touchynge your opinion in the orderynge off hys lande off Irelande, Hys Grace is verraye well contentydde wythe the sayde minute, intendinge to chiange no parte theroff, save oonly thys, that he wull hys sayde Leutenant schall, as off hym selfe, in secrete maner move Sir Piers Butlar to be to hym Deputie, for a tyme, (whyls he schall cum in to thys realme for to speke wyth Hys Grace), and to have the same interteignment, or lesse, than the Earle off Kyldare hadde, yff he can induce hym therunto. And, in the meane season, whyls hys sayde Leutenant schall move and procure hym to accepte that rowme, in

[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 133.

[2] Dr. John Clerk, Dean of Windsor, and of the King's Chapel, was, at this period, the King's Orator at Rome.

[3] Sir Richard Wingfield was on a mission to the Emperor.

[4] One of these remains in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 119.

forme

forme and maner affore expressydde, Hys Grace sayth hys licence maye be made to hys sayde Leutenant for to make a Deputie there; whyche autoritie he haith nott, as Hys Grace thynkyth, in hys Patentes: and for knowliege off the truith to be hadde therin, he haith committidde to Sir Thomas More to peruse the sayde Patente in the Rollis. And at hys sayde Leutenantes returne, Hys Grace wulbe by hym, in ample maner, advertisydde and informydde off the qualities off the sayde Sir Piers Butlare, withere he be meate to occupye that rowme, affore he schalbe made Hys Graces Deputie there, by hys royale autoritie. And off thys hys mynde and pleasure, he intendith to directe hys letters to hys sayde Leutenant.

As touchynge Arde, the Kynge sayth, that yff he can nott conveniently obteigne the gyfte theroff, for suche respectes and consideracions as be expressydde in Your Graces sayde letters, he wolde, accordynge to hys former mynde, itt myght be by sum goodde polycie cast downe and utterly destruede; not doubtynge but the Frenche Kynge, havinge any advantage off the Emperour, by bataigle, peax or abstinence off warre, schall make the same stronger than ever itt was affore, to the dammage off Hys Graces Marchis there, under colour off recoverynge the same owte off the Burgonions handys. And Hys Hyghnesse sayth, that where as he desyrydde to obteigne the sayde towne, by the gyfte off the sayde Emperour, or Frenche Kynge, or boith, he intendyth nott that the demaunde theroff schulde so be handylde, that itt myght appere unto them he dydde gretely esteeme the same, but rather to aske itt as a lyght thynge, and off small importance, in familiare maner.

To Your Graces later letters, comprisynge the greate perplexitie the Emperour is nowe in, by reason off the diminucion off hys army by syknesse, and stealynge awaye off the Almayns, thys tydyngis was to the Kynge verraye displesant; remembrynge and growndly ponderynge whatt daunger maye ensue to the sayde Emperour therby, nowe that the Frenche Kynge haith so puyssant an army agaynst hym, and is so gretly elevate in hys mynde by the decaye off hys ennymys. And, in consideracion heroff, the Kynge is verraye well contentidde wyth such ordre as Your Grace haith takyn, in sendynge Ambassadors to boith the sayde Princes, for sum truxe or abstinence off warre to be takyn betwixte them; in estabylyschynge and concludynge wheroff, Hys Hyghnesse desyrith Your Grace (as he doubtith not ye wyll do) so to see to the sayde Emperors honor, profecte and suertie, as the sayde Frenche Kynge maye have none advantage therin off hym, yff itt maye be: whyche thynge Hys Hyghnesse thynkyth Your Grace schall the more easyly obteigne, puttynge the sayde Frenche Kynge, or hys Ambassadors, in remembrance, that thowe there affayris do sumwhatt prosperosely succeede in thyese parties, yitt

yitt the contrarie is lyke to ensue in the Duchy off Milen, as itt apperith by the sayde Sir Ri: Wyngfeldys and Sir Thomas Spynellys[1] letters, datidde the 9th and 15th daye off thys present monyth.

The Kynge haith diligently markydde the sayde Moyes letters, sent to the sayde Counte of Nassowe, for peax to be hadde betwyxte the sayde Emperour and the Kynge hys master, wythowte Hys Graces mediacion; and percevyth therby the litle truste the sayde Frenche Kynge haith in hym, when he goith abowte to make peax wyth hys ennymys, in secrete maner, wythowte hys advyse or knowliege, beynge frynde and mediator betwixte them boith. And Hys Hyghnesse wull (yff itt schalbe so to Your Grace thought convenient) ye schall, in goodde manner, cast owte sum wurde heroff to the sayde Frenche Kyngis Chiancelare, there attendynge uppon yow; declarynge to hym that the Kynge takyth thys thynge strangely.

As touchynge Your Graces longe demore there, the Kynge sayth, that thowe he be verraye desirose to have and see you at home, yitt considerynge that your abode there is for so goode, so godly, and necessarie purpose, Hys Grace is well contentydde and pleasydde therwyth; prayynge God to brynge the same to the desyridde effecte and ende. Albeitt yff Your Grace schall perceve that the 2 Princes intende to make delaye, and not to cum to any goodde and honorable conclusion, then Hys Graces mynde is, ye schall returne home; considerynge that he haith greate neade off yow here, aswell for the administracion off justice, as the orderynge off hys rea[*lme*] otherwyse.

Itt is to Hys Graces grete contentacion and comforte to have undrestonde att large, by the sayde Deane of hys Chiapellis letters, howe lovingly the Popis Holynesse haith acceptidde hys bokes wretyn agaynst Luther, and howe he estemyth the same, wyth the honorable ordre that schalbe taken in the publicacion and confirmacion theroff, in pleno Consistorio, solempnely.

Finally, as to residewe off all Your Graces newes sent to the Kynge, at thys tyme, Hys Hyghnesse thankyth Your Grace for the same, sayynge that theye require no further answere, and that he haith touchydde all suche poyntes as, by hys juggement, requirydde any answere. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore, thys 27th off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

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[1] Spinelly was in Flanders.

XLVII. Pace *to* Wolsey. [1]

Pleas itt Your Grace. I undrestonde, by the relacion off Sir Thomas More, to my grete discomforte, that ye are displeasydde wyth me for 3 causis; wheroff oon is the rehersall off your letters, directydde to the Kyngis Grace, diminutely, and that I do nott well informe the Kynge off the same; the othre, the obtente off the Kyngis letters in favor off a Chianon off Yorkeschire [2]; and the thyrde, a byll, signydde by the Kynge, for a servant off the Master off the Rollys to be preferrydde, by my procurement, to an office in the Chiancery, latly vacant. In the sorowe that I have for this Your Graces displeasure, I have also thys comforthe, that the troith playnely knowen in all the premisses, ye nother can, nor wull, off your honor and wysedome, persevere in your sayde displeasure; for I wull evidently prove that I have, in no parte off the same, offendydde Your Grace, in deade or thoght. And as to the furst, I nevyr rehersydde Your Graces letters, diminutely, or fully, but by the Kyngis expresse commaundement; whoo redyth all your letters wyth grete diligence, and myne answeres made to the same, nott by my devyse, but by hys instructions. And as for oon off my letters, whyche was unto Your Grace verraye displeasant, as itt apperydde by your answere to the same, I hadde, att that tyme, devysydde a letter in the same matier, farre discrepant frome that ye recevidde; but the Kynge wolde not approve the same, and sayde that he wolde hym selfe devyse an answere to Your Graces letters, sent to hym at that tyme; and commaundydde me to brynge your sayde letters in to hys Pryveye Chiambre, wyth penne and inke, and there he wolde declare unto me what I schulde wryte. And when Hys Grace hadde your sayde letters, he redde the same 3 tymes, and markydde suche places as itt pleasydde hym to make answere unto, and commaundydde me to wryte and to reherse, as lykede hym, and nott further to medyl wyth that answere. So that I herin nothynge dydde, but obeyede the Kyngis commaundment, as to my dewtie apparteignyth, and especyally at suche tyme as he wolde, uppon goodde growndys, be obeyede, whoo so evyr spake to the contrari. As touchynge untrue informacion, to be made by me to the Kynge, off Your Graces letters, I am sory ye do laye that to my chiarge; for yff I

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[1] From the Chapter House, Wolsey's Letters, Vol. 9. leaf 45. The date seems to be in 1521.

[2] In the same Volume, leaf 43. is a letter from Pace to Wolsey, recommending to the Cardinal's favour, by the King's desire, a Canon of Marton Abbey in Yorkshire, to succeed to the vacant Priorship.

dydde

dydde untruly informe Hys Hyghnesse off any parte off the same letters, whyche be off so grete weght and importance, I schulde not oonly deale unkyndly and falsely wyth Your Grace, but also be a manifest traytor to the Kynge; whyche cryme in me, by the grace of Godde, schall nevyr be founde: for thowe I lakke wytte, yitt for fayth and troith, I dare compare wyth any servant the Kynge haith. Furthermore, yff I wolde informe the Kynge othrewyse off Your Graces letters than the troith is, I conith nott so do wythowte grete schiame, and to myne owne evident ruine; for Hys Grace doith rede them all hys selffe, and examine the same at laysor, wyth grete deliberacion, and haith better wytte to undrestonde them, than I to informe hym.

As to the sayde Chianon, he suede here to the Kynge, by a byll putt uppe unto Hys Grace, wythowte myne assent or knowliege, the contentes wheroff Hys Hyghnesse commaundydde me to declare unto hym; and when I hadde so doon, he sayde hys peticion was reasonable, and commaundydde me to make hym a letter, directydde to Your Graces Dean off your Cathedrale Churche off Yorke, conformable to Your Graces owne letters, the copy wheroff he schewede here; comprisynge nothynge but that he, or oon off the same House, beynge hable and meate, and nott othrewyse, myght be preferrydde, affore a stranger, in the newe election off a Prior there. For whyche letters I nevyr made sute, for the sayde Chianon is to me utterly unknowen; but the Kynge hys selfe, because he made sute to Hys Grace, as foundare, grauntidde unto hym hys peticion, approvynge the same to be juste and honeste. I perceyve by your said Deans letters to me directydde, in thys cause, that he haith bun untruly informydde that I schewede grete favor to the sayde Chianon, at hys beynge here; and, uppon suche informacion, he haith othrewyse wretyn unto you than the troith is: whyche I am sure he wolde nott have doon, yff he hadde recevydde myne answere, affore he hadde to Your Grace so wretyn.

Finally, the Master off the Rollys Chiaplayne came latly hydre to me, in hys masters name, and schewede unto me off the vacation off an office off litle value, vacant in the Chiancery, and that hys sayde master was desyrose to preferre oon of hys trusty servantes, meate for the same, therunto, as 4 off his predecessors hadde doon successively by the Kyngis graunte, and desyrydde me, as frynde to hys sayde master, to move the Kynge herin. And uppon the sayde informacion I dydde so, and Hys Grace was contentidde to yeve the sayde office to the sayde Master of the Rollys servante, and signydde hys byll. And where as I nowe undrestonde, by the sayde Sir Thomas More, that the sayde office is in Your Graces gyfte, that was to me utterly unknowen; and the contrari

contrari apperydde, by the Kyngis graunte off the sayde office, made to hym that last hadde enjoyede the same, whyche graunte is fourthcummynge; and he, beynge in lyffe, reaportidde that he obteignydde the signature off hys byll by Your Graces ayde and procurement, then beynge Almoner. And thus I have nothynge doon in thys cause, but uppon sum substanciall grownde, at the instance off my faythfull frynde, in hys absence, whoo haith deservidde off the Kyngis Grace, for hys longe and acceptable service, as greate favor as hys predecessors haith hadde in that rowme, affore tyme.

And for to returne to relacion and informacion made by me to the Kynge, off Your Graces wrytyngis and actes there, I have so orderydde my selfe therin, that I have deservidde thankes, and no blame, as the Kyngis Grace can well testifie, and I conith and wolde particulerly declare, yff the matier touchydde not my selfe. And as I have doon, so I wull continue; desyrynge Your Grace to accepte my pore but faythfull service, as itt is in deade; settynge aparte all othre mennys untrue relacion made to the contrari, and also your owne suspicion, yff any suche be; for ye have no servant or frynde lyvynge, that conith have servidde Your Grace more faythfully than I have doon, durynge thys your absence, wyth continuall studye to do and procure, wyth all diligence, that that myght be to your contentacion and pleasure. And thys, in most humble maner, I desyre Your Grace to accepte and take in goodde parte thiese my rude letters, wretyn in the defence of my selfe, and comprysynge nothynge but playne truth. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 29 off October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLVIII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge sendyth unto the same, herwyth, the copy off his letters, directydde to hys Leutenant in Irelande, and orderydde acordynge to hys owne mynde; and advertisyth Your Grace that he haith sum what chiangydde hys mynde (as ye schall perceve by the contentes off

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. No. 2.

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the sayde copy), synse my last letters wretyn to Your Grace in that behalfe. And the sayde chiange off hys mynde haith movydde Hys Hyghnesse to chiange also, and transpose, the minute by Your Grace latly devysydde there, and sent hydre for that intent and purpose; and the cause heroff is, as he saith, that hys sayde Leutenant maye the soner returne home, for the recovery off his helth.

Where as the Mayer off London haith latly sent to Your Grace a transumpte, wretyn boith in the Spaynysche tonge and Laten, I advertise Your Grace that he therin haith negligently doon, for he schulde have sent the same to me, and I to Your Grace, declarynge the Kyngis pleasure touchynge that matier; whyche is thys, that Hys Hyghnesse desyrith Your Grace to speke effectually to thEmperours Chianceler, to move the sayde Emperour to be contentidde and suffre the Kyngis subjectes to enjoye there privilegis, comprysydde in the sayde transumpte, grauntidde unto them by the late Kynge off Spayne. And the Kynge, for thys intent, at hys last beyng at Okynge[1], grauntidde hys favorable letters to the sayde Emperour, at the sute of 3 honest merchiantes hys subjectes, whyche letters schulde have cummyn to hys handys at Your Graces beynge wyth hym. And, as I nowe undrestonde, theye have bin latly sent to Calais, and no man knowith howe theye schulde be orderydde; wherby itt apperith that our merchiantes be verraye negligent in theire owne matiers. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. From Wyndesore, thys last daye of October, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLIX. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. The Kynge haith recevidde your letters[3], datidde the 29th of the monyth last past, wyth 2 extractes off letters sent frome the Dean[4] off hys Chiapell, wyth the copy off hys oracion hadde in the Consistorie, a minute of Your sayde Graces letters directydde to my Lorde Admyrall, wyth 3 wryttes for the adjornynge off the terme. And for an

[1] In the preceding month.
[2] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 292.
[3] Not extant.
[4] Dr. John Clerk, Orator at Rome.

answere

answere to Your Graces sayde lettres, Hys Hyghnesse sayth that he is verraye sory for the perplexitie, wherin he nowe seith thEmperour; and thowe itt be in apparence most meate for hym to put the residewe off hys army in garnisons, acordynge to Your Graces counsayle to hym yevyn, yitt Hys Hyghnesse sayth, that hys so doynge schallbe off small effecte, yff hys townys be nott verraye well vytaylydde for that purpose, as Hys Grace supposith theye be nott, consyderynge that the necessitie heroff is arrysen apon a subitane chiance. The deth of the bastarde Emery[1] is verraye displeasant to the Kyngis Grace, and every man here. Hys sayde Grace gretly rejoysith in the sayde Dean off hys Chiapelles letters, declarynge the Popis singulare contentacion off hys boke wretyn agaynst Luther, and howe honorably and lovyngely itt was acceptidde by His Holynesse, and howe itt schalbe confirmydde by the auctoritie of the See Apostolyke. Hys Grace is nothynge contentidde wyth the sute off the Qwean, hys suster, made in the Courte of Rowme, for suche cause as be expressydde in the same letters.[2] As [*for*] the minute of Your Graces letters, sent by Ap to my Lord Admirall, the Kynge ryght well approvith your opinion touchynge the castell of Monasterover, and wul that my sayde Lorde Admirall schall folowe the same, and so haith commaundydde me to wryte unto hym. Hys Hyghnesse haith also commaundydde me to certifie Your Grace, that he haith yevyn the reversion off suche landys, as Sir Jhon Pechy hadde, and haith (yff he be not dedde) off hys gyfte, to my Lorde off Devon[3], and haith commaundydde hym to sende the warant made upon hys graunt to Your Grace, for thexpedicion of hys Letters Patentes, and desyrith the same to expede them. And thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 4th of Novembre, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Signed*) RI. PACE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

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[1] He was killed in a skirmish before Tournay.

[2] Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, sued at Rome for a divorce from her second husband, Archibald Earl of Angus, but did not obtain it till 1528.

[3] Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, afterwards Marquis of Exeter.

L. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Sir. By letters [2] of your Secretary, dated the 12th day of this instaunt moneth, I perceyve and well understand, that albeit tharticles by me indifferently divised for the treux and abstinence of werre to be taken and concluded betwixt thEmperour and the Frenshe King, with the large and ample instruccions by me sent to your Ambassadours, conteignyng ryght many grete and urgent reasons to induce boothe the parties to condiscende therunto, were by Your Highnes right agreably and thankefully accepted; yet Your Grace, providently considering the manifolde impedimentes, being incident and emergent by the mutable and uncertain chaunce of the werres, with suche alteracions as therby daily insuethe, putting, ofte tymes, thinges upon probable groundes determined, in ambiguite, perplexitie, and dispaire, thinketh that my lenger abode here, for thexpectacion of the said treux, is without hoope, ooneles it be atteigned by ferther contynuaunce and tracte of tyme: supposyng that my lenger demore here, without taking of summe substanciall conclusion in these weightie matiers betwixt soo grete Princes coude not be to Your Grace, ne yet to me your mooste humble Chaplayn, representing the rowme off your Lieutenaunt, honourable: being therfore moche desirous of my retorne, aswell for ministracion of justice, and for the politique ordering of your affeires within your reame, as for preservyng my self from infirmyties, which in this contagious aire wolbe harde to doo, like as, in the firste parte of your said Secretaries letters, it is more at large extended.

Sir, to geve unto Your Grace soo condigne thankes as I am mooste bounden to doo, for thaccepting and taking my pooer labours, service and divises, susteyned, studied and made here, with vigilaunt care, aswell for your honour and suertie, and for thadvauncement of thaffeires of thEmperour, your mooste dere frende, confederat, and alie, as also in desiring my retorne for conservacion of my healthe; veryly, Sir, I in noo wise can ne may soo doo: neverthelesse, in mooste obeisaunt and cordiall maner, I thanke Your

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[1] This letter is published from the fair copy in the Museum, (Galba, B. VII. leaf 45.), corrected, in two or three places, by the same Secretary who wrote the rough draft, and made considerable alterations in a second draft; so that there were three drafts before the letter itself was despatched, (Caligula, D. VIII. leaves 143 & 149.) It must have been written about the middle of November 1521.

[2] Not extant.

Grace

Grace for the same, assuring Your Highnes that I have omitted noo thing after the poore capacite of myn intendement, that mought in any wise tende to the advauncement of your honour, or furtheraunce of thestablishing of this treux betwixte these grete Princes; making the lenger myn abode here to perfite the said treux, rather for keping Your Grace out of the werres, till ye mought be sufficiently furnished for the same, than for any other intent, cause, or occasion. And, Sir, I truste your high honour and reputacion, thorowght all Christendome, is and shalbee soo estemed, by this your vertuous and charitable mediation to reduce the said grete Princes to unitie and concorde, that though obstinacye, sensuall appetites, and untowardnes have hiderto geven impedimente therunto, yet your gracious and noble intent cannot be interpreted, or taken by any sinister construccion, in ill parte, but rather to your exaltacion, lawde, and renoume; arrecting the blame to suche as have refused to folowe your holsome counsaile and advertisementes. And God knoweth, Sir, it had bene more for my comforte, pleasure, and ease to have had the sight and fruicion of your noble presence, than to be here in suche corrupte ayre, with daungier of my liff, intollerable labour, and excessive charges, if the urgent causes before touched had not constreyned, and in maner infourced me therunto. Neverthelesse now have I brought the said matiers to a narrow pointe, abiding oonely an aunswer from thEmperour; whiche had, wheder he shalbe agreable to the treux, or refuse the same, I purpose, God willing, furthwith to repaire to your presence, for thaccomplishment of your noble pleasure, in suche matiers as it shall please Your Grace to committ unto me, with all my wytt, industrie, and power.

Over this, Sir, your said Secretary, in the secounde parte of hys letter, declaryth and shewyth, that after Your Highnes had thorowtly perused, substauncially marked, and ripely debated with your self the hoole purpourte and contynue of the said articles by me divised for the treux and abstinence of werre, ye providently noted oon pointe, that in apparaunce toucheth you veray straitely; that is to say, where as, by oon of the said articles, Your Grace, by mutuell consent of the parties contrahentes, is named conservatour of the said treux, so that it shalbe lieful for you to declare your self enimye to the infractour and violatour of the same, ye thinke your selfe gretely perplexed, if a corporall oothe shuld be demaundyd of you, for thobservaunce of the said article. For, remembring the furste oothe by me made for Your Grace, and in your name, at Bruges, at the concluding of the straiter conjunccion, amitie, and aliaunce betwixt you and thEmperour, taking also respecte to thys secounde oothe, for declaryng your self ennemy

to

to the violatour of the said treux, ye suppose your self to be soo involved and coarted by these two oothes, that ye shall, of necessitie, be driven to breke either the furste or laste of theym; consideryng the surprising and losse of Fountraby[1] to be of suche weightie impourtaunce, that eyther the Emperour or the Spanyardes, being greately incensed with cruell enimytie ayeinst the Frenshe King for intercepting the same, woll undoubtedly attempte or doo summe enterprise or exploite ayeinst the said Frenshe King, duryng the tyme of the said treux, to the violacion of the same. In whiche caas, if Your Highnes shulde be bounde to thobservaunce of that article by an oothe, ye must, of necessitie, be constreyned either to declare yourself enemy to thEmperour, contrary to your furste oothe, or ellys violate the secounde: willing and desiring me, therfore, soo to loke to your honnour in that bihalf, that ye be not bounde with any suche oothe, thowgh it be demaundyd; like as it is more at lenght conteigned in your said Secretaries letter.

Sir, I cannot expresse with my penne the inwarde joye, consolacion, and comfort that I accepted and toke, whan I perceyved your high prudence and vertuous determinacion, soo profoundely marking suche ambiguities as mought insurde[2] of and upon the said article, if ye shulde be sworne therunto, tending to the violacion of your oothe and blemysshing of your conscience; wherin surely, if all your hoole Counsaile had bene assembled to geders, they coude not have more depely perceyved or spoken therin. Howe be it, Sir, it was never intended that the said article shuld be corroborate with an oothe for your partie, ner it is not soo expressed in the same; for as moche as the parties contrahentes shalbe oonely bounde, and not Your Grace, being noo contrahent, but oonely a conservatour and a judge, elected by their mutuell consent to determyn upon thobservaunce or violacion of the said treux; soo that, inasmoche as ye bee noo contrahent in this treux, noo maner oothe coude have bene required or demaunded of you.

And over this, Sir, whan I consider the wordes cowched in tharticle, "Quod licebit Majestati Vestre vos hostem declarare contra violatorem treugarum," I see not howe ye shuld be bounde by those wordes, though ye were sworne therunto, to declare your self, ooneles ye wolde so doo voluntarily; nam licere aliquid facere, vel non facere, dependet ab actu voluntatis, et non necessitatis, in tantum quod si jurejurando Majestas Vestra illum articulum vallasset[2], ad nil aliud esset adstricta, quam quod liceret

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[1] Fontarabia was taken by the French, under Bonnivet, 18th October 1521.

[2] Sic. vobis

vobis declarare vos hostem contra violatorem induciarum. Sic quod voluntati vestre committitur hoc agere, vel non agere, necessitati igitur non subjicitur. Cum verba potestativa non inducunt necessitatem, eciam jurejurando corroborata; nam jurare hoc michi licere facere, non implicat me ad hoc teneri, cum situm sit in mea potestate id agere, vel non agere. Sed si fuisset expressum in articulo, quod teneretur conservator declarare se hostem contra violatorem induciarum, et ad hoc se astrinxisset jurejurando, tunc non potuisset evitare perjurium, nisi se hostem declarasset, conscito sibi de violatione &c. In whiche article there be noo suche wordes conteigned. Neverthelesse, Sir, after the Frenshe King and his Counsail had vieued and thorowtely seen the said articles, they not oonely qualified the same with suche addicions and appostilles, that the mooste substanciall clauses therof were clierly taken and wyped awey, like as by the copies of the said articles, so refourmed, with appostilles, whiche I sende to Your Grace, at this tyme, ye shall more amplely understande. And though thEmperour was and is agreable that ye shuld be conservatour of the said treux, in such ample maner as it was couched in the said article furst devised, yet the Frenshe King hath putt oute all those clauses wherby any auctoritie shuld be yeven to you, either for cognicion or triall to be had upon any suche breche, or to declare your self enimye to and ayeinst the violatour of the same treux; wherby the doubte, by Your Grace founde, is clerely removed and aunswered. To whiche articles, in fourme above specified, refourmed with the appostilles, the said Frenshe King woll agree, and elles not. Nevertheles he is contented to take a simple treux merchaunt with thEmperour, under suche fourme as I also sende unto Your Grace with thies presentes; being soo megre and bare, that almooste noo thing is lefte therin. Nevertheles I have sent boothe those bookes to thEmperour, for knowlege of his resolute mynde, wheder he can be agreable to accepte any of theym, or noone; upon thaunswer wherof I purpose, God willing, furthwith to retourne to Your Grace: for I knowyng the Frenshe Kinges determinacion, that otherwise he woll not take treux, than under oon of the said fourmes before specified, in vain shall it be lenger to demore here.

As I was thus ferre goon in this my present letter, the Emperours Chauncelour and Ambassadour brought unto me letters credentiall from His Majestie, writen with his owne hande[1]; for declaracion and overture of whiche credence, the said Chauncelour shewed and re[*ad*] unto me the originall letters, to theym addressed from the said Emperour; the copies

[1] Galba, B. VII. leaf 143.

wherof

wherof ye shall receyve here inclosed. And, Sir, though I, by my other letters, sent to [*your*] Ambassadours resident in his Courte, declared at good lenght, how necessary and expedient the acceptacion of a treux and abstinence of werre shuld be unto the said Emperour, for suche groundes and consideracions as be comprised in my said letters, the doubles wherof I also lately sent unto you, remitting alwaies thacceptacion or refusell therof to the grete wisdomes and determinations of the said Emperour and his Counsaile, to whome the state of his affaires were better knowen than to me; yet by the purpourte of the same letters conteignyng thEmperours credence, conceved in full provident, substanciall, and politique maner, wherin many grete groundes and urgent causes be opyned and expressed, moving the said Emperour, and his Counsail, rather to putt over the taking of the said treux for a tyme, than now to accepte the same, I moche allowe and approve his said reasons and consideracions. For furste, in caas thexpedicions of the werres of Italie proceede in soo goode trayne ayeinst the Frenche King, for his expulsion oute of Millain, as it is expressed in the said letter, than it were to grete pitie and dammage to impeche or lett the same by this treux; wherby not oonely the power, revennues, and peces of the said Frenshe King in these parties shalbe diminished, but also it shall so rebaite his high lookes and orgule, that the Poope, thEmperour, and other your frendes on that syde, shalbe prousperously inhaunced, and he clerely excluded; whiche is the veray directe waie to dissever the Suches from hym for ever: and that doon, as it is in goode apparaunce, the said Frenshe King shalbe the more easie to be medled with, his power and substaunce being therby decayed. Secoundely, if the citie of Tournay, nowe being in mervelous grete necessitie of vitailes, as it is affirmed, and without any hoope of succour or relief, the Frenshe Kinges army being reculed and broken, it were to grete a dammage to forbere the surprising therof, by taking of this treux; considering that thabstinence of werre being oones concluded, (though they now be in extreme necessity) they mought soone be remedied and releved. Wherfore the Emperour, by forbering this treux, and contynuyng the werres for a tyme, intendith to experyment that enterprise with al effecte; whiche citie oones had, the same shulde be your directe waie and assured refuge, after ye have passed with your armye in good suertie thorow these Low Countreis of Flaundres, and soo to bee in the bowelles of Fraunce, to their extreme annoyaunce and daungier, or they be ware; whiche enterprise the subgiettes of Flaundres so gretely taketh to harte, that in caas they shuld be impeched therin, it is feared they wold mutine. Thirdely, thEmperour, not being yet assuredly certified, neither of the supprising of Fountraby, ne how his subgiettes

giettes of Spayne acceptith the same, ne yet what ordre is by theym taken for the recoveryng therof, whiche as it is supposed they woll not suffer to remayne in the Frenshe mennys handes, ne yet what direction is taken by theym for the realme of Navarre, Biskay, and thoder countreis therunto adjoynyng, thinketh right daungerous to accepte the said treux, without the knoulege and consent of his nobles being in Spaigne, the britle state of his realmes there considred. And inasmuche as the said Fountraby is the principall poorte where your subgiettes be accustumed to arrive in those parties, aswell for feate of marchaundise, as to make any enterprise for the recoverye of Guyen, your auncient inheritaunce, and that it shalbe gretely expedient and necessary the same to be had for thadvauncement and furtheraunce of these grete enterprises, concluded betwixt you and thEmperour, to be sett furthe ayeinst Fraunce, for the recovery of boothe your rightes; the said Emperour, and his Counsail, thinketh more expedient to forbere thacceptacion of the said treux for a tyme, than now to accepte the same. Fourtely, inasmoche as the Poope cannot as yet be induced to condescende to a treux, till he have seen thende and success of his and thEmperours armye and enterprises, for thexpelling of the Frenshemen out of Millain and Italie; therefore the Emperour, being bounde to take noo treux nor peax with the Frenshe King, without his assent, cannot condescende therunto, ooneles he shuld lose the Poope; whereby he shulde not oonely putt his realme of Naples in daungier, but also, by leving His Holinesse in dispaire, to cause hym joyne with the Frenshe King, wherby many inconvenientes mought ensue. And albeit the Poopes commission for taking of the said treux restith in his Oratours handes, resident in the Emperours Courte, yet he hath charge not to put the same in execucion, till the success of thenterprises ayeinst the Frenshmen, in the Duchie of Millain, be perfitely knowen.

By these, and other right profounde reasons and substaunciall groundes, whiche be more at large dilated and extended in the said copie of thEmperours letter, now sent to Your Grace, the said Emperour, by thadvise of his Counsail, thinketh more benificiall for him to forbere thaccepting of the said treux, for a season, than nowe to take the same. And like as the said Emperour is right agreably determined to have his Oratours, resident in your Courte, sufficiently auctorised to commune, treate and conclude of and upon the said treux and abstinence of werre, whan he shall see tyme; so have I induced the Frenshe King to auctorise and sende his Ambassadours into your reame, for like purpose, if the treux be not here concluded: of whose resolucion, in that bihalf, I was lately advertised by your Counsailours, thErle of Worcester and the Bisshop of Ely; soo that this Diet shall not nowe be

clierly dissolved, but oonely putt in trayne and respite; to thintent that the conclusion of thabstinence of werre, whiche, by meane of alteracions and variaunces, coude not here take effecte, may before you, and by your mediacion, be brought to summe laudable and vertuous conclusion, to the laude and praise of Almightie God, and thestablishment of restfull tranquillitie in Christendome; whiche thing shall not oonely be unto Your Grace veray honourable, but also moche meritorious. And, Sir, if the enterprise of Tournay succede, and thexpedicion ayeinst Millain take effecte, and the Spanyardes determyn theym self to revenge these owtrages of the Frenshe King, doon ayeinst Naverre, Biskay, Fountraby, and other countreis under thobeisaunce of the Crowne of Spayne; his dominions, power and substaunce shalbe soo well shaken, diminished, and extenuate, before ye sett furthe your enterprises ayeinst hym, that, God willing, he shalbe easye ynogh to medle with. And thus, Sir, the affeires standing in suche trayne, as it is bifore expressed, better it is to suffer these Princes to ruffle with the said Frenshe King, and infest him on all parties, for the consumption of his treasure, whiche is almooste clerely extenuate, than subdainly to take this treux nowe, whan he can doo noo more harme than he hathe doon.

And to thintent Your Grace may understande in what state the matiers of Italye stande, I sende unto the same, at this tyme, certain copies of such newes as lately came from thens[1]; wherby ther is summe goode hoope and apparaunce that thaffaires of the Frenshe King be like to decay there, and procede from evill to wors.

Over this, Sir, I have seen and well considred the tenure of a letter sent unto Sir William Compton, concernyng the transpourting of the Duke of Albany[2] into Scotlande, under suche forme and maner as it is expressed in the said letter. And surely, Sir, if the contynue therof be true, as I cannot yet verilie beleve, necessary it is to loke therunto by tyme. And albeit suche brutes were made within this moneth here, in this towne, upon certain groundes of suche preparacions as were made in Britaigne, for the conveyaunce of the said Duke into Scotlande; yet from Depe, Harflewe or the Newhaven[3], I never harde of any suche newes: nevertheles I have caused espiell to be sent thider, for knoulege of the certaintie, whiche knowen, ye shalbe advertised with diligence. Howe be it, Sir, I cannot thinke that the Frenshe King woll furst breke with you expressely, or geve

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1 Vitellius, B. IV. leaf 193.

2 The Duke of Albany, after four years absence from Scotland, returned thither in the course of this autumn or winter. Rapin says, he arrived there on the 30th of October.

3 Dieppe, Harfleur, or le Havre de Grace.

occasion

occasion to you to breke with hym; whiche cannot be avoided, but he must doo, if, contrary to his promise, he suffer the Duke of Albanye to passe into Scotlande. And I suppose if any suche thing touching the said Dukes brief arrivall in to that reame were intended, brutes and reaportes shulde have bene there of the same, soo that it cowde not be concelyd ne hyd from the Lorde Dacre, your Warden, considering the goode espiell and intelligence that he hathe amonges the Scottes; from whome, Sir, I never received any letter, sens my comming on this side the see, which causeth me to suppose, that if either the said Dukes commyng were loked for there, or that any attemptates, by brennyng or taking of prisoners, had bene committed on your Borders by the said Scottes, he wolde have advertised Your Highnes, or me, before this tyme. Nevertheles to cause hym not oonely to take a more vigilaunt eigh to the demeanure of the Scottes, aswell within Scotlande, as without, and to be more diligent hereafter in writing to Your Grace and me; but allso favourably to entertein the Homes, and other rebelles, after his accustummable maner, so that they may continue the division and sedicion in Scotlande, wherby the said Duke of Albany may, at his commyng thider, be putt in daungier. And though summe money be imploied for thentertainment of the said Humes, and rebelles, it woll qwyte the cooste at lenght; wherin I have amplely instructed the said Lord Dacre [1], from whome I doubte not but ye shalbe shortely advertised of all thinges occurraunt in those parties. Signifying unto Your Grace, that I have not oonely writen unto Your Oratour in the Courte of Rome to impeche and lett the sute made in that Courte by the Queene of Scottes, for a divorce betwixt her and her housebande, the Erle of Anguishe; but also have caused the Poopes Oratour, here being, to write in moost effectuell maner to His Holinesse, for stopping of the same: by meane wherof the said divorce shall not procede, whan the Poope shalbe infourmed that the same is procured oonely for mariage to be made betwixt the Duke of Albany, and the Queene there; wherby the distruccion of the young King shall ensue.

Finally, Sir, I have considred the request and desire made unto Your Grace by Sir Piers Butler, conteigned in his letters, whiche I thinke veray reasonable; and surely, Sir, the towardnes of his sonne considred, who is right active, discrete and wise, I suppose he, being with his fader in that lande, shulde do unto Your Grace right acceptable service. Howe be it, Sir, goode shall it be to prove, how the said Sir Piers Butler shall acquite hym self in thauctoritie by Your Grace lately to hym committed, not doubting but his said sonne being

[1] See letter from Wolsey to Lord Dacre, 1521, printed in the Appendix to Galt's Life of Wolsey.

within your reame, he woll doo ferre the better; trusting therby the rather to gett hym home. And I shall, at my retourne to your presence, divise with Your Grace, how the marriage, betwixt hym and Sir Thomas Bolain is doughtier[1], may be brought to passe, whiche shalbe a reasonable cause to tracte the tyme for sending his said sonne over unto hym; for the perfecting of whiche mariage I shall indevour my selff, at my said retourne, with all effecte.

LI. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS itt Your Grace. I sende unto the same herwyth the Kyngis Leutenaunte[3] in Irelande is letters, delivrydde to me by a servant off the Dean off S[t]. Stephyns, whoo arrividde here thys daye. Syr Thomas Nevell, Sir Thomas More, M[r]. More the Jugge[4], and M[r]. Broke[5], have, by the Kyngis commaundment, debatidde the matier off substitucion off a Deputie in the sayde lande by the Kyngis Leutenant there, and they be off the same opinion as Your Grace is off. Howebeitt theye wull make no resolute answere to the Kynge therin, unto suche tyme they maye have farther communication wyth the residewe off the Juggis in the same matier, whyche Hys Grace haith sent fore, for the same purpose. The Kynge sumwhat stikkyth at the sendynge off the patente, by Your Grace devisydde there, for this consideration, that Sir Piers Butlare maye refuse to take uppon hym to be hys Deputie, acordynge to the purporte off the sayde patente, whyche refusall Hys Grace sayth schulde be to hym dishonorable. Nihil aliud habemus dignum literis. Thus Jesu preserve Your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Wyndesore, thys 18 of November, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.

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[1] Sir Thomas Boleyn had two daughters, Mary and Anne. The former must be the one alluded to in the text; for though historians differ as to the time at which Anne Boleyn (who certainly went over to France in 1514, with the Princess Mary, when she became Queen of Louis XII., and after that Queen's departure from France, remained in the service of Claude the Queen of Francis I.) left the French Court, and returned to England; they all agree that she continued in Queen Claude's household in the year 1521, and that she was then only fourteen years of age. Wolsey's endeavour to bring about a marriage between Mary Boleyn (who was the elder sister) and Lord Ormond's son, appears to have been ineffectual; for she married William Carey, and by him became the mother of Sir Henry Carey, who was created Lord Hunsdon by Queen Elizabeth, his first cousin.

[2] From the Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 62.

[3] Lord Surrey.

[4] Sir John More (father of Sir Thomas) was made a Justice of the Common Pleas in 1518.

[5] Richard Broke was made a Justice of the same Court in 1521.

LII. King Henry VIII. *to* Wolsey.

Myne awne good Cardinall, I recommande me unto yow with all my hart, and thanke yow for the grette payne and labour that yow do dayly take in my bysynes and maters, desyryng yow (that wen yow have well establyssyd them) to take summe pastyme and comfort, to the intente yow may the lenger endure to serve us; for allways payne can nott be induryd. Surly yow have so substancyally orderyd oure maters, bothe off thys syde the see and byonde, that in myne oppynion lityll or no thyng can be addyd. Nevertheles, accordyng to your desyre, I do send yow myne oppynyon by thys berar; the refformation wheroff I do remyte to yow, and the remnant off our trusty Consellers, whyche I am sure wyll substantially loke on hyt. As tochyng the mater that Syr Wyllyam Sayns broght answar off, I am well contentyd with what order so ever yow do take in itt. The Quene, my wyff, hathe desyryd me to make har most harty recommendations to yow, as to hym that she lovethe very well, and bothe she and I wolde knowe fayne, when yow wyll repayre to us. No more to yow att thys tyme, but that with Godes helpe I trust we shall dysapoynte oure enymys off theyre intendyd purpose. Wryttyn with the hand off your lovyng master,

Henry R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinall.

LIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Sir. After mooste humble recommendacions, it may like Your Grace to understande, that sens your departing from Grenewich, thEmperours Ambassadors have not oonely received letters with credence from the saide

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[1] This letter, wholly in the King's handwriting, is preserved in the Museum, Vespasian, F. XIII. leaf 71. Wolsey returned to England 27 Nov. 1521, about which time it must have been written. It has been printed by Fiddes and Ellis, but neither of them assigns to it any date. Wolsey's anxiety to receive such a letter was evinced as early as the beginning of September. See p. 50.

[2] The contents of the letter, of which this is a draft, show it to have been written in March 1522, and Dr. Sampson's answer fixes the date to the 22d or 23d. It is in the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 264.

Emperour,

Emperour, but also other letters addressed unto Your Highnesse. And forasmoche as the purpourte of their credence, whiche they disclosed to me, was of weightie importaunce, and that the aunswer therunto to be made required celeritie, I therfore was soo bolde to peruse and visite the contentes of the said letter to Your Grace directed; comprising, in effecte, the desyrous mynde that the said Emperour is of, aswell to visite and see you, and to take a resolucion in all his affeires, as in recommending to you his Lowe Countreis, and dominions in those parties, to make and take his journey into Spaigne, for thaccomplisshement of all the reste, that on his partie is to be doon, according to the treaties. How be it, abiding the navie of Spayne, whiche is nowe arrived, he was constrayned to differre his said voyage and passage lenger than he thought; wherfore he nowe intending to accomplishe every thing, asmoche as in hym is, according to the treatie of Bruges, hathe taken suche ordre and direction, aswell for the preparacion and vitailing of shippes necessarye, as levying of 6000 men of werre to passe with hym in to Spaigne, and that he purposethe to kepe hys Eastre[1] within your realme; desiring, therfore, and requiring Your Grace not oonely to putt your navie in arredinesse, for the defence of the Canall and Narowe Sees, for the suertie of his passage from Calais to Dovor, or Sandewiche, according to the treatie, but also to sende a convenient nomber of shippes to Calais, for the transpourting of hym, his nobles, and trayne into this your realme, to be there redye the 10 daye of Aprile, now next insuyng, where he purposeth to bee that daie, God willing, for his said transpourting; like as in his said letter it is comprised more at lenght, whiche Your Grace shall receive with these presentes. Of whiche subdain resolucion, and haistie determinacion, I mervaile not a litle, considering that in all maner communicacions and conferences, the Emperours Ambassadours have not oonely alwais said that he cowde not be in arredines before Estre, but also promised that ye shulde have a monethes warnyng, at the leest, before his said resolucion or determinacion. And therfor, remembring the shortenes of tyme, the unredinesse of your navie, not being vitailed with fishe, mete for the Lent, whiche cannot be had, thabsence aswell of your officers from Calais, with the disgarnishing of that towne with convenient vitaile, for his honourable receiving and entertaynment, as also of your nobles, now being occupied in thexecucion of your commission for vieuyng of your people, whome if ye shulde so shortely revoke, as of necessitie ye must doo, if according to your and his honour, ye shulde incountre, mete,

[1] Easter Day 1522 was 20th April, and the Emperor did not land at Dover till 26th May.

and

and receive hym at his said arrivall, the same shulde gretely redounde to the hindraunce and impechement of all your affeires, and make you the more unredye to accomplishe your promise, according to the treatie, in thadvauncement of your grete expedicion and voiage ayeinst Fraunce. And over that, if the said Emperour shuld be at Calais, for his transporting, the said 10th daie of Aprile, than shulde Your Grace and he be infourced to labour in Palme Sondaye weke, being named Ebdomoda Sancta; whiche were not convenient for Princes, ne for meaner personnages, but rather to be occupied in praier and contemplacion. Wherfore it is necessarilie requisite that the said Emperours commyng to Calais be differred and respited till the 26th daye of Aprile, at the leeste, whiche shalbe the Saterdaye after the Feaste of Ester; within whiche tyme ye may not oonely sende a covenable nomber of shippes to Calais, for thEmperours transporting, but also fournishe an other sorte, prepaired for the werres, to defende the Narrowe Sees for his sure passage and transpourting; and by that tyme not oonely Your Grace, with your nobles, may be in arredinesse to encountre, salute, and welcomme the said Emperour, to boothe your honours, but also certain knowlege may be had of what towardnes or untowardenes the Frenshe King shalbe, in accepting or refusing the treux, or abstinence of werre; whiche is right necessary to be knowen, before thEmperour departe from those his Lowe Countreis. And, Sir, upon these groundes and consideracions I have conceived a letter, making aunswer to the said Emperours writing, whiche I also nowe sende unto Your Grace, remitting the same to your reformacion and correccion. And surely, Sir, I evidently perceyve that this hastie acceleracion of thEmperour to be in Englande is oonely to advaunce your declaracion ayeinst Fraunce, whiche ye be not bounde to doo, till he shalbe in your realme. And finally, Sir, for a more ample declaracion to be made unto thEmperour, in all and singuler the premisses, I have at goode lenght instructed your Ambassadours, resident in the Emperours Courte, by my writing, whiche shalbe sent unto theym, with your letters addressed to the said Emperour. [1]

Also, Sir, I sende unto Your Grace, herewith, a letter directed unto the French Kyng, for restitucion to be made to your marchauntes and subjectes lately spoiled on the see; whiche letter it may plese Your Highnes to signe, and to remitte the same unto me, to be sent furth accordingly. [2]

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[1] Galba, B. VIII. leaf 262, contains drafts of the Cardinal's instructions to the English Ambassadors, relative to the Emperor's visit to England.

[2] Sir Thomas Cheyne's letter to the King, in answer, dated at Lyons, May 6, 1522, remains among the French Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

LIV. Dr. Sampson [1] *to* Wolsey. [2]

Please it Your Grace. This nigth, abowte 6 off the clokke, the post arryvyd with your gracios lettirs to the Kinges Highnesse, the which immediatly I presentyd to His Grace; and thow it so ware, that His Grace was redy to sett hym to suppare, for his mete hadde now bein a good space upon the borde, yet he redde your lettirs; and, aftyr suppare, commaundyd me to wayte for a forthar knowlege off his gratios pleasore.

Aftyr suppare His Grace fyrste caussyd me to rede the copies of both the lettyrs towching the affayrys of Mylaine; and then schewid me his farther pleasure to writt to Your Grace concerning the contentes of your lettirs.

Fyrst, His Grace marveylith not lesse, then Your Grace doth, off this acceleration off thEmperours commyng hithir. Moreovyr, Sir, His Grace is singularly well contente with such answore and considerations as yow have made to the Emperours Ambassadours, so that His Grace thinkith, iff all his hole Counsayll off Englond schuld have debatyd the matyr at leinth, ther schuld nothing be addydde to your aunswore or considerations in this behallff. And, according to Your Graces advyse and counseyll, His Highnesse wold nott oonly be contente, that the commyng of thEmperour migth be dyfferryd tyll the 26 day off Aprill, but allso His Grace thinkith the same very conveniente, for such considerations as Your Grace hath expressyd in your lettirs; and therfor His Highnesse hathe signyd the letters to thEmperour, and now I send the same to Your Grace, the tenour wheroff is as muche to his pleasour as may be.

Moreovyr, Sir, His Grace thinketh it very conveniente that his officiers of Calas schuld immediately retorn thithir, for such provisions as there schalbe thowgth necessarie to be preparyd, for the most honerable receyving and enterteynement of the seyd Emperour, and his trayne.

Allso, Sir, the Kinges Grace thinketh it not best to change his opinion from the keping off his Ester at Richmond; not oonly because much off his provisions agens the seyd tyme be there now in a redynesse, but allso

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1 Dr. Richard Sampson, who was employed in various missions, both before and after this period, was at this time Dean of St. Stephen's. He was, in 1536, made Bishop of Chichester, and translated to Lichfield in 1543. During his incumbency of that See, he became President of the Council on the Marches of Wales, and died in 1553.

2 This letter is in the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 316.

at

at His Graces departing from Grenewich, there was no small suspition off the plage. His Grace, allso, wold have the howse of Grenewich, at thEmperours commyng, as cleane as it migth be; and more then oon day jorney it is not, from Richmount to Grenewich. Hys Grace wyll advaunce his journay oon day sonnare, for the same intente; so that, for these considerations, His Grace intendith not to change his purpos.

And as towching the schippys that Your Grace hath namyd in a byll, to be sent in to the Narow Sees, betwix Dovare and Calas, for the more assuryd conveyance of thEmperour, His Graces opinion is that the Peter Pommegarnet, and the Mary Gonson, be off to greate portage for thos Streyctes, and schall not dare approche, for there bygnesse, to the oon coste, or yet the othir. Wherfor, Sir, his gratios pleasour is, that in lieu of thes 2 schippis, his great galie, and twoo row barges, may be preparyd forth to this intente; the which nombre off schippys His Grace estemith sufficiente for that besinesse.

And as concerning the lettirs to the Frenche King, for restitution to be made, His Grace hath assignyd the same; notwithstonding, Sir, His Grace was in mynde that it schuld not be sent to the seyd Frenche King, be cause that His Grace intendith so schortly to declare hym sellff agens the same Frenche King. Nevrethelesse, Sir, I schewed His Grace my pour advyse, that off his enemye it schalbe good to have all that may be woon; and so His Grace oonly, Sir, committith it to your high wysdom, that iff Your Grace schall esteeme or conjectour that ony off thes restitutions may be hadde and recoveryd, before the declaration, then to advaunce the sending forth of thes lettirs to the seyd Frenche King, with spede.

Expressely, the Kinges Highnesse commaundyd me to write thes thinges immediately to Your Grace; and as for the reste, off such newis as Your Grace now sent forthermore, to morow, as His Grace seith, I shall know his gracios pleasour, and theroff advertise Your Grace with spede, God willing; who preserve Your Grace in most prosperos helth and honor. At Newhalle, the 23 day of March.

Your moste humble Bedeman,

(*Signed*) RICHARD SAMPSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

LV. Sir Richard Wyngfeld *to* Wolsey.[1]

Please it Your Grace. According to your commaundement, I have schewed to the Kinges Highnes such dyvisys, os were yestre nyght betwix thEmperours Majestie and Your Grace; assuring the same, that he is marvelos well contentyd off thEmperours abode there, consydering that his bagagis, and othirs off his nobles, are not yet arrived: and, according to your gracious advyse, wyll not fayle to be with thEmperour this evening[2], and bring with hym the Lord Steward[3], the Lord Chambrelayn[4], and othir of his Pryvie Counseyll and Pryvie Chambre, with Esquires for his bodie.

Wherfor his pleasure is, that Your Grace schuld cause othir noble men, os well off his own os of yours, to be dislogyd, for place to be hadd for such os the Kinges Grace schall bring now with hym; and wyll in ony wyse that Your Grace schalbe a known to noo man off his commyng thither; to the intente that it may appeare to thEmperour oonly his commyng to be off his owne mynde and affection towardes thEmperour. And thus I besich the Holy Goste to preserve Your Grace with most prosperous honour. At Cantorberie, at 9 off the clokke,

Your most bounden with hys servyce,

(*Signed*) Wyngfeld R.[5]

LVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[6]

Sir. Thies shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, howe that this present hour I have receyved, by this beror, letters from Sir William Fizwilliam, which I sende unto Your Grace herewith, conteynying the arryval of the Navie of Spayne with 4000 men, imbarked in 16 shippes, under the ledyng of Lastayne[7],

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[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VI. leaf 158. The body of the letter is written by Dr. Sampson.

[2] The Emperor was met by Wolsey, at Dover, on the 26th of May, and the King joined them on the 28th. This circumstance fixes the date of this letter.

[3] George Earl of Shrewsbury.

[4] Charles Earl of Worcester.

[5] This singular autograph was used by both Sir Robert and Sir Richard Wyngfeld, each subjoining to the R. a peculiar and distinguishing flourish, neither of which can be described but by a fac-simile. When they both subscribed the same instrument, Sir Robert always took precedence.

[6] The contents of this letter fix its date in 1522.

[7] Lestano.

with

with whom as yet the said Sir William Fizwilliam hath had no communicacion. And by cause the specialties of the said arryval, with the furniture of vitailles, their passage by the costes of Britayne, and declaracion of other newes of Spayne, is remitted to the reaport of this said berer, therfor I sende hym by post herewith to Your Highnes; by whom Your Grace shall, amonges other thinges, be ascerteyned how that thEmperour settith furth a greate army both of horsemen and fotemen, intendyng with the same to ley siege to Bayon. As other newes shal comme to my knowlege, I shall advertise Your Highnes with all diligence. From my pore house besides Westminster, the 9th day of August, by your

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

LVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. I have this day receyved moo good newes oute of Spayne, by letters of your Ambassadour, Sir Thomas Spynelly, which I sende unto Your Highnes herewith, conteynyng aswell the good furniture of the souldiours in the Spaynyshe Flete with fyve monethes and a half of wages, as also the wynnyng by assaulte of the castel of Maya[1]; with the high opinion and courage, that the Spanyardes have taken by this and thear former feate, don befor thEmperours arryval[2] there, wherby they be inclined, and it is thought they woll procede against Fountraby. Howbeit, Sir, I wolde rather that they shulde determyne theymselfes against Bayon. As other newes shall come to my knowlege, I shall advertise Your Grace with all diligence. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poor house besides Westminster, the 10th day of August, by your

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

[1] Maya, a fortress in the Pyrennees, had been taken by the French (according to Du Bellay) in 1521.

[2] The Emperor landed at St. Andero on the 16th July 1522.

LVIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. I have, this mornyng, receyved letters from your Admyral[1], whiche I sende to Your Highnes herwith, perceyvyng by the same that by the confession of suche prisoners, as be nowe lately taken by the men of Rye, it apperith that the nombre of 18 or 19 shippes, esquypped for the werres, be redy to departe oute of the Newe Havon[2], and from Diepe, intending either to go northewardes; aswel for taking of the Corvers, as, that don, to set on lande two thousand aventurers in Scotland, or elles to passe towardes your Isles of Jersey and Garnesey; like as by the said letters Your Highnes shal perceyve more at large.

And forasmoche, Sire, as the going northwardes of the said shippes is most like to be true, myn opynion is, that it shalbe requisite Sir William Fitzwilliam be incontinently depeched, with al diligence, to Portesmouthe, not oonely to signifie the said newes to Lestano, but also to induce hym to set furthe unto the Narowe Sees some parte of the Spaynysh Flete, there to joyne with suche shippes as Your Grace hathe on the same; where there is grete apparance, if diligence be used, some good exploit may be don by rencountering the said Frenche shippes, in their passage northewardes; in whiche matier al celerite possible is to be made, and that the said Sir William Fitzwilliam demore on the Narowe Sees with your shippes for a tyme, til the successe herof may be knowen: and in case the Frenche shippes shalbe passed northewardes, bifore their commyng thider, then the wynde being covenable and propice, if they poursued and folowed them in to the North Sees, leving 3 or 4 shippes to kepe your passage betwene Dovour and Calais, it is not to be doubted (God willing) but some goodly rencounter shulde be bitwene them, as your Highnes can better judge, then I can expresse with my pen. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 11th day of August, by your

moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

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[1] Lord Surrey.

[2] Le Havre de Grace.

LIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Sir. Yesterday thEmperours Ambassadours came unto me, not oonely declaring suche charges and newes as were committed unto theym by thEmperour, but also, for the more perfite notice and knowlege of the same, deliverde the originall letters and writinges to be sent to Your Grace, whiche ye shall receive with these presentes; by the contentes wherof Your Highnes shall not oonely perceve and understande, how prousperously he is arrived [2] into those his regions and countreis; how joyously and tryumphantly he hath bene there received; and what loving obeisaunce he hath founde in his nobles and subgiettes there, with the determinacion that they be of, to doo unto hym all the honour, pleasure, and service that they can; but also geving furste laudes to Almightie God for the prousperous successes of all his affeires, and singulerly commending your prudent counsaile in advising and soliciting hym to repaire to those parties, evidently perceiving your said counsail to be right substaunciall, and to hym mooste advailible: declaring, furthermore, what execucion of justice he hath taken and made, aswell upon the Almaynes, whiche servyed the Frenshe Kyng, as ayeinst suche his sedicious and disobeisaunt subgiettes, as procured rebellion and division in his absence; with sundry other his determinacions for the politique governaunce of his reames, assembling the Estates of the same for that purpose: and also of the Popes voiage to Rome [3], and the resolucion taken betwixt theym, with his intended purpose to visite the Quene his moder [4]: declaring finally suche overtures and offers of peax and treux, as have bene made by the Frenshe King to the Archbisshop of Barry, the Popes Ambassadour resident in Fraunce, to be declaryd to thEmperour; that is to say, for the peax, the same Frenshe Kyng to deliver Fountrabye, to acquite the pension of Naples, dischargyng the matiers of Naverre and Gildresse, and utterly thEmperour to be delyveryd of the treatie of Noyon [5]; soo that he leve unto hym thEstatè of Myllayn, upon summe reasonable condicion, and that the said Emperour shall holde all that he hathe elleswher: with whych offers and condicions of peax, if thEmperour can not be agreable, then there is a

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[1] From a corrected draft in the Museum, (Galba, B. VII. leaf 360.). The contents shew that it must have been written in August 1522.

[2] The Emperor embarked at Southampton on the 6th, and landed at St. Andero on the 16th of July 1522.

[3] Pope Adrian VI. went to Rome in August 1522.

[4] Joanna, Queen of Castile.

[5] Between France and Castile, in August 1516.

forme

forme of treux proposed by the said Frensche Kyng, for three yeres, partout, all thinges remaynyng in the state in which they now be; save oonly, that the Frensche Kyng may vitaile the castle of Millain during the said treux, in suche wise that, at thende therof, there be noo more vitailes in the same, than shalbe at the at the daye of conclusion of the said treux; and that, also, depending the said treux, the money of Millain passe not owte of the countrey, ner be putt in thandes of a more myghtie personne than the Duke of Barry; like as by the purporte and contynue of thEmperours letters, with a bill conteignyng the said overtures of peax and treux, herein closed, whiche thEmperour desireth to be kepte secrete by Your Grace, ye shall perceive more at lenght.

And, Sir, to declare my poore opinion in all and singuler the premisses; furst, I thinke it moche benificiall for the furtheraunce and advauncement of the commune affeires betwixt you and thEmperour, that the said Emperour is soo well established in all his said reames, as his letters purporteth; whereby it is to be thought that he shalbe the more hable, in substaunce and puysaunce, to accomplishe all suche convencions and treaties, as be concluded betwixt Your Grace and hym, for the grete enterprise. How be it, whan I groundely considre the said overtures for the peax or treux to be had betwixt thEmperour and Frenshe King, wherein noo maner mencion is made of Your Grace, I well perceyve that the Frensche Kyng myndythe no thyng so moche, as to dissever Your Hyghnesse from thEmperour. And albeit Hys Majestie writeth in his said letters, that he maketh no maner count or estimacion of the said treux or peax, forasmoche as he is determined never to speke or do any thing with the commune ennymie, without the knoulege and consent of Your Grace, according to the treatie passed betwixt you; yet, remembring the mervelous grete offers made unto the said Emperour, whiche be so large, that more cannot be by hym reasonably desired; considering, also, the other overture made by the Duke of Burbon for semblable peax, by mariage of thEmperours suster[1]; expedient shall it be, that Your Grace, after your accustummable greate wisdome, deepely considre this mater, and in suche lovynge maner handle thEmperour, aswell by sending letters unto hym, of congratulations for this his goode fortunes, and prousperous successes in all his affeires, with other letters of your owne hande, geving mooste especiall and cordiall thankes unto hym, for this hys ryght loving plain and constaunt advertisementes in all the premisses; and making assuraunce firmely to persiste in semblable demanour towardes hym, as also

[1] Eleanor, Queen Dowager of Portugal.

in

in showing all the demonstracions of loving kindenes towardes hym and his, repairing to your presence and reame; causyng also your Admyrall, being nowe joyned with his capitayns in , to deale with thaym, like as I perseyve by your Admyralles letters last sent, he myght politiquely doo. For, Sir, uppon occasion or suspition of jalousye, if any shulde chaunce on eythyr partie, as God defende; hard it is to judge, what thEmperour mowght be movyd by hys Counsayle to do, having these large offers, and seing his subgiettes, on every syde, soo wery of the warres, and bare of money: whiche, hering of these overtures, mought percaas so impourtunely presse and call upon hym to accepte and take those offers, that it schud be verye hard and difficyle for hym to forbere or refuse the same. Wherfore, though I verily beleve that thEmperour, as a loiall and vertuous Prince, woll firmely persiste in his loving mynde towardes you, without va[*riance*]or alteracion; yet to incourrage hym soo to doo, not oonely all the waies and meanes of gratitude must be, for the time, sett furthe and advaunced, but also all the scruples of ingratitude and suspicious conjectures removed and putt aparte, till suche tyme as by politique practise, as goode offers may be made unto Your Grace by the Frenshe King, for peax or treux, as be nowe made by hym to thEmperour; wherin, under your favour, I shall folowingly showe my pooer opinion, what I thinke moost expedient to be doon.

And furst, inasmoche as the said Emperour is bounde by treatie, no thing to treate or conclude with the Frenshe King, withowte the knoulege, consent, or assent of Your Highnesse; whiche thinge the same Emperour hathe affirmed in the letters now sent to his Ambassadours, promising to observe all maner treaties and convencions in that bihalf: therfore goode grounde may be taken, upon his said writinges, to touche the offers made to hym oonly, for peax or treux, by the Frenshe King, noo thing regarding you; and soo, if the said Frensche Kyng schall further procure the said peax or treux, it schalbe well doon that thEmperour, accordyng to hys treatie and othe, make aunswer that he neither can ne woll doo any thing therin, without your expresse consent and assent, and onlesse he schall know, what offers he woll make unto Your Grace for your part. And, Sir, I doubte not, soo it shall stande with your pleasure, in suche wise to practise, aswell with thEmperour, as with his Chauncelour and the Grete Maister, that by meane of his said aunswer, the same Frenshe King shalbe infourced to make as advailible offers to you, as he hath made to thair maister: and Your Grace, having the same, and being at libertie, may than considre, wheder they shalbe beneficiall to you, or not, and so to accepte or refuse theym at your pleasure. For loth wold I be that Your Grace, beyng so expert in archery,

archery, thEmperour schuld have more strynges to hys bow than ye. And the rather the Frenshe King schuld be dryven thereunto by makyng of sharpe warre in Picardy, and contynuinge of the same for a season; by meane wherof it is not to be doubtyd, but he schuld be dryven to make no lesse offer to Your Grace, than he hath now doon to the said Emperour.

Over this, I have in goode maner shewed unto thEmperours Ambassadours the lacke of wages, aswell for hys army in Picardy, also the lyke lack of wages and vitayle for hys army by the see; wheroff if spedy and short provision be not made, there is lyke not oonely greate murmur to aryse, but also the dooyng annoyaunce to the commune enemy can not so long contynew, as schalbe requisite and expedient; which wer to greate a pitie, the affeyris now beyng in so good trayne as they be. For remedying wheroff, the said Ambassadours hath promysid forthwith, and with all diligence, to dispech particuler persons by post, aswell to thEmperour as to my Lady [*Margaret*]. As from Lastano, sens the provision of money for hys vitayling by my mea[*nes*], I never hard word from hym, neyther of the goyng of hys schyppis norward, ne of the dyvision of the same, to my no litle mervayle. Notwithstandyng, this daye by letters from Gunnestone[1], responsive to such my wretyng, as I lately addressed unto hym, aswell for provision of vitaylis, as payment of wages, he schowethe unto me amonges other thinges, that Lestano hath furnesched 7 schippis with vitaylis, and sent the same to the West Sees, which departyd from the Downys the 7th day of thys present moneth; by reason wheroff he myndys not of likelyode to passe norward, as he was well myndyd to doo, but to remayn on the Narow Sees. In the certayntie wherof I schall advertise Your Grace, as soone as I schall have perfect knowlege therin.

LX. More *to* Wolsey.[2]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that this day I received Your Graces lettres[3] dated yesterday, and with the same, 6 lettres[3] devised by Your Grace, and addressed to certayn noble men of thEmperours army, which I do send un to Your Grace at this present tyme, signed as Your

[1] William Gonson, an officer of the English navy, afterwards Surveyor of the navy.
[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 303. [3] There is no trace of these letters.

Grace

Grace commaunded. Hit may lyke Your Grace ferther to be advertised, that yesterday the Kinges Grace received a lettre fro my Lord of Shrousbery [1], wherof Your Grace shall perceive the contentes by the lettre selfe, which I do send un to Your Grace with these presentes. And for as mych as the same bare date the 8th day of this present moneth [2], at which tyme His Grace perceiveth no thyng done, but such as he was advertised of byfore, by lettres of my sayed Lord sent un to His Grace by Yours; His Grace therfore estemed the lettres the lesse, savyng that in as mych as hit appered by the same, that in consideration that the Kinges ordonauns could not passe over Staynes More towardis Carlile, hit was therfore by my said Lord, and the Kinges Counsaile there, thought good, that my Lord, with his cumpany, shold avaunce theym selfe un to thEst Marchis, and there, if they myght have all thinges requisite, entre in to Scotland, and so to procede forward in doing the hurt that they could, till such tyme as they shold mete with the Duke [3], in his retourne fro the West Borders towardis Edenborogh, onles they were by necessite forced to repaire to my Lord Dacre, toward Carlile, for his relief. How be it, they rekened that he shold not nede, for he shold have with hym uppon 20000 men, which my Lord Steward thought were resorted un to hym, in convenient tyme. In that point the Kinges Grace commaunded me to wryte un to my Lord Steward, that His Grace thought great dowt therin, as well for that if it shold happen my Lord Dacre to be distressed with his cumpany, than my Lord Steward, and his cumpany, myght peradventure cum over late to theyre reliefe; as also for that His Gracis armye, being so divided, either of the both partis sholde be compelled to encountre with thentier army of his enemye. Wherfore His Grace thought fit best, that my Lord Steward shold advaunce forth, and bryng his hole army as nere to gether as he myght, in suche wise as every parte agaynst theyre enemyes myght helpe other; and than, if God geve theym the victorye, after that they had defended this land, advaunce ferther, and do what dammage they could in Scotland. Thus mych the Kinges Grace commaunded me to wryte un to my Lord Steward, of his opinion in that point; leving, neverthelesse, the finall ordre therof to my Lord Steward, and His Gracis Counsaile there, if theyre wisedomys shold perceive that it were bettre, for surtie and furtheraunce of thaffayres, to pursiew theyre said devise, or eny other, that sholde, uppon the circum-

[1] George Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward, commanded the army on the Scottish Borders.
[2] This letter is to be found in the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 155.
[3] The Duke of Albany.

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stances considered, be seene more available. As towching the lacke of money, mencioned in my said Lordis lettre, he was answered that the Kinges Grace doughted not but by this tyme the £10000 was cummen to hym, and knowleg, also, of the £6500 by Your Grace sent after; which, with that that shold rise of the lone in those parties, shold be such furnitur for hym, that the Kinges Grace veryly trusteth that he was, by this tyme, well avaunsed forward, considering that His Grace was sure, that my Lord Steward hade geven knowlege to the cuntre, that the money was in the way commyng, byfore hit cam at hym, and than His Grace thought his loving subgiettes wold not lett to advaunce forward a days journey or twayne, being by hym acerteyned that theyre money shold be paied theym, ere ever they shold be farre goon on; and specyally synnys theyre avauncyng forward shold be in the defence of theyre contre agaynst theyre mortall enemyes; agaynst whom somme of those cuntrees have bene used both to defend and make invasions, at theyre owne cost and charge; for as mych as they have bene, and yit be, for that consideration, discharged of taxis, and other charges universally borne thorow the remanaunt of the realme. Fynally, the Kinges Grace caused me to wryte hym ferther, that hit shold be provided that uppon his advertisement, fro tyme to tyme, he shold have money sent in tyme convenient, so that he shold not nede to stoppe or lett therfore. Thus mych I remembre of the lettre wrytten un to my Lord Steward, which the Kinges Grace caused me, whan His Grace had redde hit, to deliver it forthwith to my said Lordis servaunt, tarying and incessauntly callyng uppon hit, so that I could not write hit owte agayn, to send Your Grace the copie. As knoweth our Lord, whose grace long preserve Yours in honour and helth. At Newhall the 14th day of Septembre.

Your humble Oratour and dayly
bounden Beedman,[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

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[1] This letter is entirely in Sir Thomas More's handwriting, but the signature has been cut off by the bookbinder. This observation applies to several other letters of Sir T. More, whose habit was to sign his letters at the extreme bottom of the page.

LXI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII. [1]

SIR. Thys schalbe to advertyse Your Hyghnesse, how that I have receyvid, this present houre, letters, aswell from my Lord Dacres, as also from my Lord Steward [2], wherein apperyth operacio dextre Excelsi; for albeit the Duke of Albany, havyng wyth hym the nombre of 80000 men, furnesched with 45 peces of artilary of brasse, with 1000 of hagbuschis cartyd uppon tressylis, with a mervelous greate nombre of hand gunnys, plentuously storyd with vitaylis, being within 5 mylis of your citie of Carlisle, utterly determined not oonly to have surprisid the same, but also to wast all your countye of Cumberland; in the withstandyng of whos malicious purpose, small or ryght feble resistence schuld have be found ther, aswell for the wekenesse of the said citie, as that in tyme ther cowd not be levied, ne put in arredinesse, in thos parties, above the nombre of 16000 men, to resist the said Duke and Scottes, with the slackenesse and untowardnesse of such, as schuld repayre from other parties for the rescu: yet by the greate wysdome and policie of my Lord Dacre, and by meane of the saufcondute latly sent at the desier and contemplacion of your sister the Qwene of Scottes, the said Duke of Albany, by takyng with my Lord Dacres, having none auctoritie for the same, an abstinence of warre for oon moneth [3], to thintent that Ambassadours mowght be sent to Your Hyghnesse to pursue for peax, hath not oonly, our Lord be thankyd, forborn hys invasion, but also dissolvyd hys army; which being scalyd, neythyr schall, ne can, for this yere, bee gaderyd or assembled agayn; wherof my Lord Steward, having advertisement from the said Lord Dacres, hath not oonly dischargyd your army by hym raysid, but also for hys disease and sekenesse is retournyd home to hys hows: soo that this subdayn greate semblaunce of hostilitie is turnyd in fumum, et ad nichilum redactum. Wherin, to speke to your Grace merilie, it may appere, that thowgh the parties were farre distaunt, yet thayr intentes were not moch discrepant; neverthelesse, seriously, to schew unto Your Grace myn opynyon in and uppon the premisses, the groundes and consideracions towchyd in my Lord Dacres letters beyng trew, as it is verelie to be supposyd they be,

[1] From a draft in the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 242. The contents shew that the letter must have been written about the middle of September 1522.

[2] George Earl of Shrewsbury. His letter is lost, but Lord Dacre's is in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 310.

[3] The truce was made on the 11th of September.

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there cowd not be a more beneficiall ne politique way divisyd, for thexchewyng of the immynent parell that was like to ensue, then to conclude the said abstinence, wherby the army of the Scottes is dissolvyd and scalid; and yet the said abstinence concludyd by my Lord Dacre, not having auctoritie for the same, no thing byndyth Your Grace, but at your libertie ye may pursue the warrys ayenst the said Scottes, if it schalbe thowght to Your Hyghnesse covenable: wherein, if Your Grace were so myndyd, I se now greate difficultie, aswell for that my said Lord Dacre hath layd hys brother, Sir Cristopher, in hostage for the dissolving of your army, as for that the same is by my Lord Steward really dischargyd; which beyng sore diseasid and vexid with sekenesse, and ryght onmete to lede an army, it schalbe ryght hard eftsonys to assemble your people agayne, and the wynter so nygh approching, it schuld be but cost lost to make any invasion in to Scotland; besides the greate difficultie in conveyaunce of ordinaunce thorowght such soft groundes, as be nere adjoynyng to your Borders, by which, of necessitie, your ordinaunce must passe, if any invasion schuld be made.

There is also oon other thing greatly to be consideryd, which, in my pore opinion, schall mervelously serve to your purpose, in cas Your Grace schall personally invade Fraunce, and by the same the Frensche Kyng greatly disapoyntyd; that is to say, the greate Lordes of Scotland be myndyd to pursue to Your Hyghnesse for peax, wherunto if thay may attayne, thay woll not oonly leve thayr medelyng with Fraunce, but also neythyr for love, favour, desire, or fayre promys of the Frensche Kyng, attempte any warre ayenst your reame, or invade the same; for the assuraunce wherof thay be content to lay such hostage, as schalbe thowght reasonable: and so the Kyng of Scottes, beyng put in the custodye of trew Scottysche Lordes, wherunto the said Lordes be also agreable, the demore then of the Duke of Albany, in Scotland, schall serve the Frensche Kyng to litle or no purpose; and it may so chaunce that such dyvision schall aryse bytwyxt the said Lordes and Duke, by reason of the premisses, that he schall rather wysche hymself to be in Fraunce, than in Scotland. For if by thies meanes, wherin is greate apparaunce, the Scottes may be inducyd to abandon Fraunce, not intendyng to invade your reame, at such tyme as Your Grace, in your royall person, schall procede in to Fraunce, the same schall not oonly be a greate furtheraunce to your enterprises there, but also a greate disapoyntyng to the Frensche Kyng, which rekenenyth the invasion of Scotland to stand hym in stede of a grete army. And I am well assured, that with the takyng of this abstinence by the Duke of Albany, your army, now beyng enteryd in to Fraunce, brennyng and destroyng the Frensche Kynges countrayes, he woll in no wyse be content;

content; and the lesse therby hereafter schall he estyme the sayd Duke of Albany, and Scottes: and so, destitute of thayr ayde, beyng invirond with your and thEmperours puyssaunce on every syde, he schalbe inforcyd to seke the wayes of peax, and to make honourable and reasonable offers for the same.

And albeit, Sir, this abstinence of warre was subdeynly taken and agreed unto, without your auctoritie or pleasure knowen, yet I can not se, but it is to be accomptyd as felix culpa, and that Your Grace, beyng therwith contentyd, and takyng respect to the state of your affeyrys northwardes, many goode effectes may therof ensue, and, at the lest, I see none othyr remedy, but that ye must take all that is doone in goode part, makyng vertu of necessitie. Howbeit, to be playne, there hath ben to moch boldnesse on your folkes partie, aswell in takyng treux and dischargyng your army, without your knowlege; as in the Duke of Albany, grete foly in dissolvyng so greate an army, so sumptuously set forth and advauncyd, without doyng any maner act or exsployt, uppon a bare abstinence of warre, concludyd without any commyssion or auctoritie. Neverthelesse the cause of the premisses, as may be conjectyd, hath oonly bene, quia trepidaverunt timore, ubi non erat timor. And thus, finally, this abstinence procedyng, and thAmbassadours of Scotland cummyng to Your Hyghnesse for pursute of peax, the Lordes Dacres and Percy taking the charge of your Est, West, and Myddyll Marchis, suche order must be takyn for the dischargyng of your garysons there, as schalbe most expedient for your honour, suertie of your Borders, and advoyding superfluose charges and expenses.

And to thentent, Sir, that ye schall see the hoole discourse and conveyaunce of thies maters of Scotland, I send unto Your Grace herewith, aswell suche letters as have been sent unto me by the Lord Dacres, with thendenture[1] of the abstinence of warre, as also other wretynges[2], which have passid bytwyxt the Qwene, the Duke of Albany, and hym; and also suche letters as I have receyvid from my Lord Stewward.

I sende unto Your Grace also, herewith, suche letters, as I have receyvid from my Lord your Admirall[3], contaynyng thexploytes doon by hym and your army, in destroyng the Frensche Kynges countrays, brennyng hys townys, and pulling downe ryght fayre castelles, goodly howses, and proper piles, to the desolacion of the hole countray; and yet the Frensche men, lokyng uppon the same, darre not approch to geve batayle, or doo any

[1] The original indenture is in the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 150.
[2] See Caligula, B. VI. leaves 244, 245. B. VII. leaves 137 to 142.
[3] Thomas Earl of Surrey. This letter is in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 221.

annoysaunce

annoysaunce unto thaym, to your greate honour and thayr reproch, rebuke, and schame. And wher as your Admyrall desireth that more money schuld be sent unto hym, within 14 days, I trust in such wyse to indevour my self, that within 10 dayes there schalbe sent unto hym £15000, which schalbe sufficient for payment of wages, and defrayyng of all other charges, for the tyme of hys demor in thos parties.

LXII. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that yesterday in the mornyng, I received from Your Grace your honourable letters, wrytten un to my selfe, dated the 19th day of this present moneth, and with the same as well the lettres of congratulation[2], with the minute of a lettre to be wrytten with the Kinges awne hand to thEmperour, and thinstructions[3] to the Kinges Ambassadour there, as also those lettres, which Your Grace received from Maister Secretary[4], with the lettres by Your Grace also devised for the expedition of the gentleman of Spruce[5]; which thynges, with diligence I presented furthwith un to the Kinges Grace, the same mornyng. And to thentent that His Grace shold the more perfaitely perceive, what weighty thinges they were, that Your Grace had at that tyme sent un to hym, and what diligence was requisite in thexpediting of the same, I redde un to His Grace the lettres, which it lyked Your Grace to wryte to me; in which it mych lyked His Grace, that Your Grace so well alowed and approved his opinion, concerning thovertures made by the French King un to thEmperour. After Your Graces said lettre redde, whan he saw, of Your Graces awn hand, that I shold diligently sollicite thexpedicion of those other thinges, for as myche as Your Grace entended and gladly wold dispach the p this present Soneday, His Grace lawghed and saied, "Nay, by "my so[*ul*] that will not be, for this is my removing day sone at New[*hall*], "I will rede the remanaunt at night." Wheruppon, after that His Grace was cummen home hither, and had dyned, beyng 6 of the clokke in the nyght, I offred my selfe agayn to his Grace, in his awne chambre; at which

[1] From the British Museum, Galba, B. VI. leaf 210.
[2] Upon the Emperor's return to Spain.
[3] The minutes of these instructions are in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9.}{1}$.
[4] Pace was at this time at Rome. [5] Prussia.

tyme

tyme he was content to signe the lettres to thEymperour, and thother lettres for thexped[*ition*] of the gentilman of Spreuce, putting over all the remanaunt t[*ill this*] day in the mornyng. Wheruppon, at my parting from His Grace yisternight, I received from Your Grace a lettre, addressed un to His, with which I furthwith retourned un to His Grace in the Quenys chambre, where His Grace redde openly my Lord Admiralles lettre to the Quenys Grace, which mervelously rejoiced in the good newis, and specially in that, that the French King shold be now toward a tutour, and his realme to have a governour. In the communication wherof, which lasted abowt one hower, the Kinges Grace saied, that he trusted in God to be theyre governour hym selfe, and that they shold by thys meanys make a way for hym, as King Richard did for his father.[1] I pray God, if hit be good for His Grace, and for this realme, that than it may preve so, and ellis, in the stede therof, I pray God send His Grace one honorable and profitable peace. This day, in the mornyng, I redde unto His Grace as well thinstructions, moost politiquely and moste prudently devised by Your Grace, and therto most eloquently expressed, as all the lettres of M^r^. Secretary, sent unto Your Grace; to whom, as well for your speedy advertisement in the tone, as for your great labour and payn taken in the tother, His Grace geveth his moost hartie thankes. In the reding of thinstruction, among thincommoditees, that Your Grace there most prudently remembreth, if thEmperour shold leve thEstat of Myllayn up to the French King, the Kinges Grace saied, that thEmperour shold, bysidis all those incommoditees, sustayn a nother great dammage, that is to witt, the losse of all his frendes and favorers in Italy, withowt recovery, for ever; which shold be fayn to fall hooly to the French King, utterly dispayring that ever thEmperour, leving the Duchie whan he had hit, wold after labour therfore, whan he had lefte hit. Which consideration His Grace wold have planted in to thinstructions, with his awne hande, saving that he saied Your Grace could, and so he requyreth you to do, bettre furnish hit, and sett hit forth. As towching M^r^. Secretaryes lettres, His Grace thinketh, as Your Grace moost prudently wryteth, that they do but seke delayes, till they may se how the world [*goeth*], wherin he mych alloweth your moost prudent opinion, that they shold be with good rownd wordis to theire Embassadour, and o[*ther*] quykke wayes, prykked forth. And for as mych as Your Grace to[*ok*] an ordre, that no Venecians shold be suffred to shipp eny of the[*ir*] goodes owte of the

[1] This clearly shews Henry's designs against France, which are in various passages obscurely alluded to.

realme,

realme, and that it is now shewed unto His Grace, that one Deodo, a Venecian, is abowt to shipp, pre[*tending*] hym selfe to be a denison, which hys pretence, whither it be trew or not, His Grace knoweth not; and also thinketh that he shall, under the colour of his awne, send owt of the realme the goodes of o[*thers*] his cuntre men; for which causis His Grace requyreth Yours to [*have*] a respect therto, and cause hit to be ordered, as to Your Gracis wisedom shall seme expedient. For as mych as the Kinges Grace hath not yit written, of his awne hand, the minute to thEmperour, which I delivered His Grace in the mornyng, therfore I suppose that this lettre, wrytten this present Soneday the 21 day of Septembre [*in*] the nyght, can not be delyvered to the post till to morow, abowt . As knoweth our Lord, who long preserve Your Grace in honour and helthe.

Your humble Oratour and moste bounden Beedman,

(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

LXIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace. This present hour I have receyved letters from your Admyral[2], which I sende unto Your Highnes with thies presentes; by the contentes wherof ye may perceyve such exploytes as he, with your army, hath doon upon your enemyes, to their mervailous greate lossis and dammages, with the depopulacion and destruction of all Bolonoys, and the other countreis betwixt Calais and Boleyn; in the specialties wherof your said Admyral purposith, withyn brief tyme, more particularly to advertise Your Grace, by mouth, then he nowe expressith in writyng. I sende unto Your Grace, also, letters sent unto me this day, from Gonson; wherin he writith that by the vehement wyndes, tempestuous and intollerable stormys of the see on Wensday nyght last passid, dyverse and many of your shippes were not onely put unto greate dangier, but also clierly disgarnysshed of their mastes, cables, ankers, botes, and other takelyng and habillymentes, in such wise that fewe or none of theym can be sufficiently redubbed or furnisshed to do any

[1] The date of this letter must be October 21, 1522, from its referring to various occurrences which took place in that year.

[2] Lord Surrey.

service

service on the see for this yere, eyther for the gardyng of your passages, or impechyng of the Frenchemenys fysshyng. Wherfor, Sir, I have now written to the said Gonson, that he shal not onely take such small shippes, as may be goten at Calais, Rye, Dover, Sandwiche, and other the portes ther, but also bestowe in the same a convenient nombre of such souldiours and maryners, as were in the other shippis, furnysshyng theym with vitailes, artillary, and other municions convenient; whiche shippes, so beyng apparayled and dekked, joynyng with Thomas Vaghans shippes, and the Boneaventur, shal, in myne opinion, suffise to gard the passages, and impeche the said fisshyng, till a firther determynacion shalbe taken by Your Grace, in the specialtie and nombre of such shippes, as ye shal intende to set furth for tuicion of the see, this wynter. I sende, also, unto Your Grace such letters, as I lately receyved from your Ambassadour, Sir Robert Wyngfild, conteynyng certeyn overtures to hym made by my Lady Margaret [1], of matiers of weighty importaunce, touching the charge of Monsieur de la Shawe to the Kyng of Portugale, with the awnswer to hym made by the said Kynges Counsaile. And albeit my said Lady hathe right honorably, playnly, and friendly acquited her self, in declaryng the specialties of those matiers to your said Ambassadour, to be notified unto Your Grace, for good regard to be taken therunto; yet I have so good trust and confidence in the constant and perseverant contynuaunce of thEmperours determinacion in the observaunce of his promyse, acordyng to the purpourt of his letters lately sent to his Ambassadours, whiche Your Grace hath seen, that for any former promyse, pleasant offres, or other allectives, he woll not alter his purpose, ne digresse from his promyse to you made. Howbeit, in avoydyng all uncerteynties, remembryng that voluptates sunt tam blande domine, quod plerumque extorquent racionem, good it shalbe to folow the friendly advise and counsaile of my Lady, and not onely to advertise your Ambassadours therof, but also to advise theym to take good regard and respect therunto, and so ampely to instruct theym therin, that they may, from tyme to tyme, advertise Your Grace, how every thing shall procede, aswel in those matiers, as in all other affaires and occurrantes there, which I shal not faile to do and accomplishe with all diligence. At my pore house besides Westminster, the 21th day of October, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

[1] The Archduchess Margaret, Regent of Flanders; whose letter to Henry VIII. in favor of John de la Sauch, dated October 7th, 1522, is in the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 334 b.

LXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. This day I have receyved tewe letters from the Lord Dacre[2], which I sende unto Your Grace with these presentes; by the contentes whereof Your Highnesse schall perceyve and understand, under what forme and maner the Duke of Albany is departyd owt of Scotland: and, in myne opynyon, the cause moving hym so to do, is tadvoyde the displeasure of the Frenshe Kyng, for that he, being in Scotland, can not attayn at your hand any treux or abstinence of warre, wherin the said Frensche Kyng may be comprised; trustyng, neverthelesse, that the Lordes, in hys absence, schall gete treux of Your Grace for the quietnesse of that reame, thowgh the said Kyng be not comprehendyd therein, so that the blame schall not be arrectyd unto hym, he not beyng in the reame. And albeitt the said Lorde Dacre wretyth, that he is myndyd to stop the said Duke of Albanys Secretary, with such letters and instruccions as I delyvered to hym, the contentes wherof be Your Grace well knowen, tyll he may be advertysid of your farther pleasure; yet myn opynyon is, that the said instructions and letters, beyng honourable for Your Grace, and sumwhat pickant to the said Duke, schall cause the Lordes of Scotland the rather to pursue to Your Grace, by thayr Ambassadors, or otherwise, for a further treux duryng the space of thre monethys at the lest, accordyng to my said letters. Howbeit I have wretyn to the said Lord Dacre, that in cas thay schall labour unto hym for such abstinence of warre, to make aunswer unto thaym, that he hath none auctoritie to do the same, onlesse thay woll bynd thaym self to send honourable Ambassadours, byfor thexpiryng of the said treux, to make summe goode and reasonnable overturys of peax to Your Highnesse; which thing if thay refuse to doo, than to take treux from monethe to monethe, by the space of thre monethys; and, in the meane season, to put your armyes in goode arredynesse, with all provisions and furniturys necessary, to invade thaym at the begynnyng of March next cummyng, beyng a covenable tyme for the

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1 From a draft in the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 19. This draft, as well as various others of previous date, in the Cottonian Collection, are stated, in the catalogue of that library, to be in Wolsey's hand-writing, but are unquestionably not so. The writing greatly resembles that of Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, and Lord Privy Seal; and as this is the latest of Wolsey's letters written by that hand, and Ruthall died in the following February, it may possibly be his, though none of Wolsey's biographers mention his having had a secretary of so eminent a rank.

2 Lord Dacre's letter, announcing the Duke of Albany's departure from Scotland, (which remains in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 327.) is dated at Harbottle, Oct. 31.

same,

same, aswell by reason of the absence of the Duke, as in consideracion of the dyvision, that is like to be amonges the Lordes of Scotland, who can not be of habilitie to assemble any puyssaunce to incountyr your army at that tyme of the yere; but ye schall than not oonly doo unto thaym irreperable damage, but also inforce thaym to send thayr Ambassadors, and receyve suche condicions of peace, as Your Grace schall sett forth and geve unto thaym, with such hostages or assuraunce for thobservaunce therof, as ye schall demaund. Which thyng may be doon with the costes, that ye schall sustayne for the mayntenaunce of your garnysons to lye on the Border, with a litle and no great summe to be advaunced therunto.

Also, Sir, accordyng to the statute[1], and anxient usage yerly usid in such cas, I, this day, with sundry Lordes of your Counsayle, and the Judges, procedyd to election of your Schreffes in every schire, for thys yere; whos namys be comprisid in a byll of parchement herin closid; desyring Your Grace to tot and marcke suche oon of thre namyd for every schire, as may stand with your gracious pleasure, and that doon, to remitte the said byll unto me, to be executyd accordyngly. I sende, also, unto Your Grace two other letters, addressed to the Lorde Dacre, from the Qwene of Scotland, and the Duke of Albany; whiche letters from the Qwene confermeth the departure of the said Duke from Scotland.

LXV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

[*Sir.*] After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Grace to understonde, this day I have receyved letters from your Ambassadour resident with thEmperour, Doctor Sampson[3], mencionyng and conteynyng suche occurrentes as have ben [*at that*] courte, [*since the depar*]ture of Sir Thomas Boleyn from the same[4]; and, amonges other thinges, the arrivale there of [*Your Graces*] Ambassadour, Sir Richard

[1] The statute 14 Edw. III. st. 1. cap. 7. fixed the Morrow of All Souls (2d November) for the nomination of sheriffs; and so the practice continued till the act for the abbreviation of Michaelmas Term, 24 Geo. II. cap. 48., altered the day to the Morrow of St. Martin (12th November).

[2] The contents of the letter (of which this is the draft) shew it to have been written early in August 1523. The draft, which is in the handwriting of Brian Tuke, Wolsey's Secretary, and has suffered from fire, is in the Cottonian Library, Appendix 40. leaf 9.

[3] In the Museum, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 140.

[4] Sir Thomas Boleyn quitted Spain in May 1523.

Jernyngham, in sauf , whiche originall letters I sende unto Your Highnesse [*at this*] tyme. And albeit in the same is no maner direct answer made [*to the*] charge commytted to the said Sir Richard Jernyngham, by reason that at the of those letters he was but newly arrived[1], and not then commen unto the [*Emperours*] presence; yet nevertheles som apparaunce and conjecture may be taken by thise advertisementes from Doctour Sampson, of what inclinacion and disposicion they be on that side, being moche encouraged of the affaire of the Duke of Burbon, to make their enterprise this yere uppon Langedok; whiche they as parcel of the patrymonye of Spayn, having good hoope to recovere the same, the rather by the meanes of the said Duke, of whose matier neither there, ne here, is yet any certaintie. It is veraily to be thought that in [*due*] tyme some knowlege shalbe had [*of*] Beawrayn[2] or Doctour Knyght[3], and semblably from the said Sir Richard Jernyngham, matiers procede in bothe parties daies be a good season expired, within whiche the said promysed to geve Your Highnes playn advertisement of every thing concernyng the matiers commytted to his charge.

men specified in the said letters to be sent by thEmperour, for garding of the sone after the departure of Sir Richard Jernyngham, mencyoned are the charges therof for this yere

whiche I doubte not His Majestie wol accepte and take right gladly; specially for that as it apperith by all hath bene more demonstracion then effect in preparacion of the same. Nevertheles, Sir, to the intent that every thing may be put in perfite redynes [*in this be*]half, for accomplishement of your convencions, if the cace shal so require, inasmoch as by the certificates upon your letters lately sent oute for men to procede with the Duke of Suffolk, there shall of likelihode lak a good p nombre, I have caused newe letters to be divised unto other persones, for of the same; whiche letters it may please Your Highnes to signe, remytting them unto me to be sent forth with diligence, [*as it shall*] apertayne.

Over this, Sir, though it was thought by the Speker and Common House[4], that their boke for the graunte nowe to be passed, shuld

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[1] Sir Richard Jerningham reached Spain in June 1523.

[2] Adrian de Croy, Sieur de Beaurain, came from the Emperor to London late in June 1523, and after a few days proceeded to the Duke of Bourbon. His secret instructions from the Emperor, in June 1523, are in the State Paper Office.

[3] Dr. Knight was despatched on a secret mission to the Duke of Bourbon, about the end of June 1523. His secret instructions from Henry VIII. are in the State Paper Office.

[4] Parliament sat from the last day of July to the 13th of August 1523. Sir Thomas More was Speaker.

[*have*

[*have been*] perfited and brought unto me as yesterday, yet neverthelas the same ca[*n not come*] til tomorowe, at the hithermost. And for asmoche as after the in to the Upper House, it wol require a good tracte [*of time to*] oversee and groundely digest the same to your most profite; and that it after the repaire of Your Highnes unto Bridewel, to remayn long, th of sikenes reignyng somwhat thereaboutes considered, it may th[*erefore please*] Your Grace to geve commaundement for ordering of your provisions the certein tyme of your commyng to Bridewel, til suche season as exhibicion of the said boke, and otherwise advertised tyme when the same, and al other affaires of your Parliament, shal of likelihode be in good redynes; so that sone after the commyng of Your Highnes, every thing may take ende and be perfited accordingly.

Fynally, Sir, I sende unto Your Grace, herwith, 3 letters in Latyn, the on directed to the Markes of Brandenburgh [1], responsives to his request made for the saufconduite , whiche Your Highnes hathe graunted to his sobjectes, the Combergenses; an other [*directed to*] the Duke of Ferrare [2]; and the thirde to the Marques of Mantua [3], of thankf[*ulness*]; whiche three letters it may please Your Highnes to signe, and to remyt them to me, at Your Graces pleasure.

LXVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may like Your Grace to undirstonde, this hour, by letters sent from your Secretary, Maister Richard Pace [4], I have receyved veray good and joyous newes, howe that after the long tracte of tyme, with the many-folde difficulties which have insurged, aswell by the delay of Don Ferdinandos [5] commission, as by the importune labour and solicitation of the French Kyng, to the impechement of the treatie betwene thEmperour and the Venecians, the same, at the last, by your mediacion, and moost for your sake, hath sorted

[1] Joachim I. Marquis or Margrave, and Elector, of Brandenburg.
[2] Alphonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara and Modena.
[3] Frederick Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.
[4] On a mission to Venice. His despatch cannot be found. The treaty alluded to was concluded 3d August 1523.
[5] The Archduke Ferdinand.

and

and taken the desired ende and effecte. Insomoche that all such thinges, as by Your Highnes were moderd and qualified in that behalf, be nowe by greate deliberacion and advise, after invocacion and prayer solemply made to Allmyghty God, fully passed and concluded betwene thEmperours Oratours and the said Venecians, like as by the letters of the said Mr. Pace, which I sende unto Your Highnes herewith, the same shal mowe perceyve more at large. And for asmoch as it shulde be payneful to Your Grace to visite and overrede the hoole treatie, I shall therfor summarily note and take oute the substancial effecte and poyntes therof, and the same I shal sende to Your Grace, by the next post, consisting principally in thies thinges; One is, payment of 200000 ducates by the Venecians to thEmperour, in 8 yeres, that is to say, every yere 25000 ducates. The seconde is, restitucion of such folkes, as were exiled sens the warris betwene thEmperour Maximilian and the Venecians, with 5000 ducates of yerely pension to be assigned unto theym. Thirdly, that the Venecians shal fynde 800 speris, 500 light horsis, and 6000 fotemen, against the Frenchmen, if they retourne into Italy, besides 15 galies for the defence of the realme of Naples, as by Your Grace was divised; with many other good and material poyntes, wherof I shal advertise Your Grace by the next post. Assuryng you, Sir, that in myne opinion this is the worke and operacion of Allmyghty God, by whois gracious favour, albeit the yere is so ferre past, so many concurrances do now happen and chaunce togither, what by the Duc of Burbon, the new lige in Italye, this treatie, and in Spayne, Flaundres, and elliswhere, that of likelihode as grete and notable effectes be like, in brief tyme, to ensue to your honour, and the avauncement of the common affaires, as though withoute thise grete fordels the yere were at the begynnyng; which thinges I pray God dayly to prosper and further, more and more, to the honour and pleasure of Your Highnes, and avauncement of your affaires. Over this, Sir, I have byn infourmed by my Secretary [1] in Laten tong, that by letters sent from the Duc of Ferrar to your servaunte Grigory de Casalis, it apperith, that the Duc of Ferrar hath taken the Ordre of France [2]; desiryng hym to make his excuse, that he myght not accepte ne receyve your Ordre of the Gartier. Wherfor, Sir, in my poore opinion it shalbe wel don, the certeyntie therof be knowen by som good meanes, bifor you do cause hym to be presented with the same; for it shulde not stonde with your honour, that the Ordre shulde be offred unto hym, and he to refuse it. Besechyng Your Highnes that I may be advertised of your pleasure herein; remyttyng unto

[1] Peter Vannes.

[2] St. Michael.

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me the lettres of the said Maister Pace, to be awnswered accordingly. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and roial astate. At my pore house besides Westminster, this 10th day of August, at 8 of the clok in the nyght, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

LXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may please Your Grace to undirstand, eftsones I sende unto the same, good newes receyved and had from the Electe of Bath [1], your Ambassadour at Rome, concernyng the treatie, which the Poope, at the date of the said letters, was fully aggreed, contented, and mynded to passe betwene His Holynes, thEmperour, Your Grace, and the Archduc, with dyverse Princes and Potentates of Italy; wherin albeit Your Highnes, having an honorable place, be named as one of the principal contrahentes, yet neverthelesse Your Grace is not astringed or bounden to any charge or other thing, but onely for that therby the more auctorite and reputacion may ensue unto the same: like as by notes extracted oute of the chapitours of the said treatie, which, with other like notes, conteynyng the effect of the chapitours passed betwene thEmperour and the Venecians, and also with the original letters of your said Ambassadour, I sende unto Your Grace herewith, the same shal mowe perceyve at large. And considerynge that the Popis Holynes, not knowyng of this newe resolucion concluded by the Venecians, but havyng in theym greate doubte, was contented to passe the said treatie, the Venecians yet to his knowlege remaynyng in suspence, it is not to be doubted, but after he was advertised of the conclusion taken at Venice, His Holynes was, and is, the more fervent in this matier; and that, upon thise grete conjunctions of the States and Seigniouries of Italy, in one mynde and assent for defence of the same against France, the common enemy shall fynde more difficultie, if he descende thider, then he supposed; wherby, and by such other prepara-

[1] John Clerk, on Wolsey's succeeding to the See of Durham, was promoted to that of Bath and Wells, and received restitution of the temporalties on the 2d of May 1523, (Rymer, Vol. XIII. pag. 792.) though Wolsey here styles him only Bishop Elect, three months afterwards. The original letter from the Bishop of Bath to Wolsey, dated at Rome, June 11th, 1523, is in the State Paper Office.

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cions as be divised, I trust in Allmyghty God somme notable effectes shall, within brief tyme, ensue.

And considerynge of what greate consequence the said newes of Venece be, for the honour, weale, and profite of Your Highnes, and your confederates, I have taken ordre with the Mair of London, the Ambassadours of thEmperour, Venece, Millayn, and with the Cardinal de Medicis Secretary, that this nyght demonstracion of joy and gladnes shalbe made in London, with fyers after the accustumable maner, in signe and tokyn that the said treatie, so honorably passed, after invocation of Christes helpe, with solempne procession and indiccion of fastyng, hath been, and is, to Goddis pleasure, the honour, reyoyse, and comforte of Your Grace, your friendes and subjectes.

I sende, also, unto Your Highnes letters receyved yesternyght late, and other commen this day, from your Viceadmyral Sir William Fizwilliam, both to Your Grace, and also other to me, conteynyng such enterprise as he intendith to do in Boleyn Haven, and his further proceedyng to Saynehed[1], upon the newes undirstonden and confessed by French prisoners; which said enterprise I trust may, this nyght passed, or this nyght to comme, be put in execucion; wherin as I shall have further knowlege, so I shal advertise Your Grace with diligence.

Over this, Sir, I have divised letters, instructions, and other writynges for the depeche of the Lord Morley, with other his colleges, to the Archduc[2], with the Gartier and ornamentes of the same; which said instructions, bicause I have not had experience in the matiers of the said Ordre, but have divised theym after myne awne conceyte, it may please Your Grace to take the payne to overrede, and to advertise me, whither the same contentith Your Highnes, or not; with your further pleasour, what is don touching preparacion of the coler of Gartiers habite, and other ornamentis aforesaid; which thing, and also the parfityng of this depeche, belongith unto my Lord Chamburleyn, beyng Chaunceler of that Ordre, who must seale the writynges and letters with the seale of the Gartier. Ascerteynyng Your Grace, that forasmoche as at the depeche hereof there was an errour founde in the commission, I shal, therfor, sende the same to Your Grace to morow, to be signed acordyngly.[3] I also advertise Your Grace, that aswel your Iseland flete, as

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[1] The mouth of the Seine.

[2] The original instructions to Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Hussey, Dr. Edward Lee, and Garter King at Arms, sent to the Archduke Ferdinand with the Order of the Garter, August 1523, signed by the King, are in the University Library at Cambridge, and are printed by Strype, Vol. I. p. 42., together with Wolsey's private directions to the Ambassadors, dated August 26th, 1523.

[3] This original commission is also in the University Library at Cambridge.

also

also your Seland flete, be safely, and withoute trouble, arrived and retourned home, hoolly and entierly; and amonges other of the said Seland flete is commyn your Mary Jamys, fully laden with marchandises, and one of the richest ships that camme from thens thies forty yeris.

Fynally, for bicause it is doubteful, whither the Duc of Ferrar wol forsake the Ordre of France, or not, I therfor have ordeyned that an Officer of Armes shalbe sent unto hym with your letters, and the boke of Statutes, to undirstande, whether he woll accept your Ordour, or not[1]; upon whois advertisement your Ambassadours, appointed for that purpose, may procede unto hym or retourne, as the case shal require. And as other newes shal comme to my knowlege, I shal advertise Your Highnes of theym, from tyme to tyme, accordyngly. At my pore house besides Westminster, this 17th day of August, at 8th of the clok in the nyght, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

LXVIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may like Your Grace to undirstande, that by such letters[2], as I have receyved from your Viceadmyral, Sir William Fizwilliam, the double wherof his servaunte saith he hath also to be delyverd unto Your Grace, I perceyve aswel the contrarious weder, which hath impeched hym to do his intended enterprise upon the shippes in Boleyn, with the ordre, whiche he hath taken, aswel for kepyng of theym in, as for gardyng of the passages, and his purpose to procede to the further coste; with the arryval, also, unto hym of the shippes both oute of the North Sees, and oute of Zeland, as also the day of expiryng of his vitailes on Friday comme sevynnyght, which shalbe the 28th day of this instant moneth, and his desire to be advertised of your pleasure, whither, after his vitaile ended, he shall lay up your greate

[1] His name does not appear among the Knights of the Garter.

[2] This letter to Wolsey is found in the Chapter House at Westminster, among "Wolsey's "Correspondence," Vol. 5. No. 42., and is indorsed, "Letter from Fitzwilliam to Wolsey and "to the King." It is dated "At sea, Friday, the 13th of August," which must be a mistake, as the 14th of August 1523 fell on Friday. The duplicate to the King does not appear to be in existence.

 shippes

shippes in Portismouth, or not; with other thinges conteyned in the said letters, as Your Grace by the same shall perceyve more at large.

Sir, to shewe Your Highnes my pore opinion in the premisses, surely I thinke that the said contrarious and stormy weder hath been the onely cause of empeche of the said enterprise to have been made in Boleyn Haven; for, (as I perceyve) your said Viceadmyral hath contynually kept the sees, withoute commyng to lande, and hath don asmoch as to hym coude be possible. And right wel I do like his ordre taken for kepying of theym in, and gardyng of the said passages as aforesaid; trustyng that nowe the weder is, and woll amende, in such wise as he, beyng now of a right greate puyssaunce, may and wol do some honorable feate on the ferre cost. Ascerteynyng Your Grace, that acording to your pleasure, declared unto me by Sir Edward Guyldford, I incontinently depeched my letters to your said Viceadmyral, willyng hym to sende one shippe, of 400 tonnes, and one other of 200, west wardes, to joyne with Sir Anthony Poyntes for his better strength, in case the Duc of Albany shal intende to passe by that way; which my letters I trust be arryved with hym this mornyng, and shalbe executed acordyngly.

And as touching the vitailes of your armye, and laying up of the great shippes, I considre that, by the last newes had from my Lord of Surrey, it shulde seme that in case the Duc of Albany[1] arrive not in Scotland by the last day of this moneth, the noble men, and other there, woll abandonne hym, takyng oute ther Kyng, and suyng to Your Grace for peaxe. Wherfor, albeit your armye is thought to be puyssant inough withoute your greate shippes, yet for the more suretie, and for so grete a benefite and consequence, I thinke it expedient, that they all contynue and remayne on the see, till the said latter ende of this moneth, and eight or ten days lenger; for if the Duc of Albany passe not within that tyme, not onely the Scottes shall have abandonned hym, but also it shalbe to late for hym, after that, to make any invasion this yere against this your realme; the tyme for his passage, gaderyng the Counsaile of Scotland, and concludyng with theym, and the raysyng of his armye, preparacion of vitailes, and other requisites, well pondered and considered. And for that cause, if it may stonde with the pleasure of Your Grace, I have divised this ordre, that your said armye shalbe well and conveniently revitayled a see boorde, for ten or twelve days more, and if it may be, for a fortenyght, kepyng the sees for that tyme; which expired, your greate shippes may be laid up at Portismouth, and of the residewe

[1] He landed in Scotland on the 24th of September 1523.

somme

somme may be sent northward, as was bifore appointed, somme to kepe the passage, and somme other of theym, moste mete for that purpose, beyng wel vitailed and trymmed, to be assigned, undir the conduyte of John Hopton, to kepe the Frenchmen from their fysshyng, which is one of the grettest annoyances and displeasures, that may be don unto theym.

And considerynge that the Venecians be nowe declared againste France, it is not like but that the French Kyng woll desiste from his enterprise in Italy, and retourne bakward. In whiche case he shalbe of gretter power, aswel against your armye, as against thEmperours. I thinke therfor right expedient somewhat to enforce your armye, that shal passe with my Lord of Suffolke; for which purpose I have divised that one thousand men shalbe sent from hens, and one thousand to be taken of those that shalbe discharged oute of your said grete shippes, they to passe with Sir William Fizwilliam to your said armye, which wolbe a lesse cost, and more parfite redynes, then all to be provided and sent from hens[1], and therby your Lieutenaunte and armye shalbe of more habilitie and puyssance to geve bataile unto thenemyes, if nede shalbe; in all which matiers I beseche Your Grace I may knowe your pleasure with diligence, to thintente every thing may be put in execution accordingly. Fynaly, Sir, I sende unto Your Highnes aswell instructions divised for my Lord of Suffolke, as also letters directed to the Lord Iselsteyn, and to all other capitayns that shall comme with the Burgonyons, and other letters to the Lordes Sandes and Berkeley, for assistence to be gyven with effect unto your said Lieutenaunte; all which instruction and letters it may please Your Highnes to signe, and therupon to remitte them to me, to be further depeched and ordred, as shall apperteyne. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and roial astate. At my pore house besides Westminster, the 20th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moost Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

[1] The Duke of Suffolk took the command of the army at Calais on the 24th August 1523, and on the 4th September commenced the campaign, in conjunction with Count de Buren, the Imperial General.

LXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir. After my most humble recommendations. It may like Your Grace to understande, I have shewed unto this bearer, Sir Thomas More[2], diverse matters to bee by him, on my behalf, declared unto Your Highnes, beseeching the same that, at convenient tyme, it may bee your pleasure to heare him make report thereof accordingly. And, Sire, where it hath been accustomed that the Speakers of the Parliamentes, in consideration of their diligence and pains taken, have had, though the Parliament hath been right soon finished, above the £100 ordinary, a reward of £100, for the better maintenance of their household, and other charges sustained in the same; I suppose, Sir, that the faithful diligence of the said Sir Thomas More, in all your causes treated in this your late Parliament, aswell for your Subsidy[3], right honorably passed, as otherwise, considered, no man could better deserve the same than he hath done: wherfore, your pleasure known therein, I shall cause the same to be avanced unto him accordingly; ascertaining Your Grace that I am the rather moved to put Your Highnes in remembrance thereof, because he is not the most ready to speake and solicite his own cause. At your Mannour of Hampton Court, the 24th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kings Most Noble Grace,
Defender of the Faith.

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[1] The original of this letter is not now extant. The copy in the State Paper Office is in the handwriting of Mr. Raymond, who was Keeper of State Papers.

[2] Sir Thomas More was Speaker of the House of Commons in the Parliament which was dissolved on the 13th of August 1523. Wolsey appears to have soon forgiven the rebuff which he received from Sir T. More, in the Chair of the House.

[3] This Subsidy Act, which, according to the historians, passed for an amount much less than the King demanded, has never been printed in the ordinary editions of the Statutes, which conclude with the 14th chapter of this session. This is the more remarkable, as the 15th chapter, "An Acte for the Kinges Generall Surveyours," contains a clause, sec. 31., directing that "this Acte be emprintid in facion of a book, among other Actes of this Parliament," "to thentent that the Kynges subjectes, entendyng to buye the same, may, for their sure and "perfitte knowelege and understondyng thereof, commonly have the same amonges them," &c. The Subsidy Act is now printed among "The Statutes of the Realm," ch. 16.

LXX. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that the Kinges Highnes yesterday received a letter from his Viceadmirall, dated on the see[2], the 14th day of August, which letter Your Grace shall receive with these presentes. And forasmych as the valiant acquitaill of Mr. Fittzwilliam and his cumpany singularly well contented the Kinges Highnes, as a thing mich redounding to thonour of His Grace and his realme, with high reproch and rebuke of his enemyes, he requireth Your Grace, therfore, that aswell his Viceadmirall, as other gentilmen of his cumpany, such as Your Grace shall thinke convenient, may have sent un to them lettres of thankes, by which they may, to theyre cumfort and ferther corage, understand how acceptable theire good service is un to His Highnes.

Ferthermore, as towching the twoo shippis, which Your Grace hath devised to be sent un to Sir Antony Pointtz; albeit that Mr. Viceadmirall, as Your Grace may perceive by his lettre, moveth three thinges, whiche he thinketh wolde be considered therin, yit sith Your Grace hath had a politique foresight to the provision of the vitail, which is the grettest thing that His Grace regardeth, his pleasure is, according to your most prudent advice, that for to put the mater in the more surtie, the said two shippis shall in eny wyse goo forth, and that they shall there continue till halfe the moneth of Septembre be passed; after which tyme His Grace thinketh hit good that Sir Antony Pointtz, and his cumpany, shold be discharged: for, after that tyme, His Grace beleveth that the Duke of Albany either shall not goo in to Scotlande, or ellis shall goo to late to do either them good, or us hurt; and, therfore, hit semeth to His Grace good, that he shold, after the myddis of this next moneth, discharge hym selfe of that coste.

In the mean while His Highnes requireth Your Grace, that those shippis may be so spedely and sufficiently vitailled, for the hole tyme of theyre abode uppon theyre entreprise, as he dowteth not but Your Grace hath and will provide therfore, that no lacke of vitaile hyndre or empech theire purpose.

Hit may ferther lyke Your good Grace to understand, that the Kinges Grace mych alloweth your prudent answere, made un to thEmperours Embassiatour, uppon the sauf conducte. For His Grace thinketh it a great

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B.I. leaf 323.

[2] See the note to page 121.

hinderaunce

hinderaunce to the comen affeires, that thEmperour shold graunt eny such sauf conduicte, wherby there shold be eny mutuall entrecours bitwen his subgiettes and theyre comen enemyes; and the commoditees of France having vent and utteraunce, thenemy, therby the bettre furnyshed of money, shold be the more able the lenger to mayntayn the warre, and so shall hit be the lenger, ere he shall incline to any reasonable conditions of peace. Wherfore His Grace, for his part, according to Your Graces politique advice, is as yit in mynd, neither to ratifie that sauf conduicte, nor to graunt any lyke, and is glad that Your Grace so shewed un to thEmperours Embassiatour.

Hit may ferther lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that one Thomas Murner, a Frere of Saynt Francisce, which wrote a booke against Luther, in defence of the Kinges boke, was oute of Almaigne sent in to England, by the meane of a simple person, an Almaign, namyng hym selfe servaunt un to the Kinges Grace, and affermyng un to Murner that the King had gevyn hym in charge to desyre Murner to cum over to hym, in to England, and by occasion therof he is cummen over, and hath now bene here a good while. Wherfore the Kinges Grace, pitiyng that he was so deceived, and having tendre respecte to the goode zele that he bereth toward the feith, and his good hart and mynd toward His Highnes, requyreth Your Grace that it may lyke you to cause hym have in reward oné hundred pownde, and that he may retourn home, wher his presence is very necessary; for he is one of the chiefe stays agaynst the faction of Luther in that parties, agaynst whom he hath wrytten many bokis in the Almayng tong; and now, sith his cumming hither, he hath translated in to Latyn the boke that he byfore made in Almaign, in defence of the Kinges boke. He is Doctour of Divinite and of bothe Lawes, and a man, for wryting and preching, of great estimation in his cuntre.

Hit may like Your Grace ferther to wite, that the same simple person, which caused Murner to cum in to England, is now cummen to the Court, and hath brought with hym a Barons son of Almaygn, to whom he hath also persuaded, that the Kinges Grace wold be glad to have hym in his service. He hath also brought letters from Duke Ferdinand un to the Kinges Grace, which lettres I send unto Your Grace; wherin he desireth the Kinges Highnes to take in to his service, and to reteyne with some convenient yerely pention, Ducem Mechelburgensem[1]; of which request the Kinges Grace greatly merveileth, and veryly thinketh that this simple felow, which brought the lettres, lykewise as he caused Murner to cum hither, and per-

[1] Henry Duke of Mecklenburg.

suaded

suaded the Barons sone that the King wold be glad to have his service, so hath, by some simple ways, brought the Duke of Mechelborough in the mynd that the Kinges Grace wold, at the contemplation of Duke Ferdinandis lettres, be content to reteign the Duke of Mechelborough with a yerly pention. The felow hath brought, also, fro the Duke of Mechelborough, lettres of credence written in the Duche tong. He bare hym selfe in Almaign for the Kinges servaunt, and bosted that he had a yerely pention of fiftie markes, and that the King had sent him thither to take upp servauntes for hym; and now he saith he is servaunt un to thEmperours Mageste[1], and is going into Spaigne, with lettres to hym; and in dede he hath diverse lettres to His Magestie, and so was it easie for hym to gete, if he entend to deceive and mocke, as the Kinges Grace thinketh that he doth. For His Grace never saw hym byfore, but he understandeth now, that byfore this tyme he was in England, whan thEmperour was here, and slew a man, and escaped his way. Wherfor His Grace requyreth Yours to geve hym your prudent advice, aswell in a convenient answere to be made both to Duke Ferdinand and the Duke of Mechelborough, as also in what wyse hit shalbe convenient to ordre this simple felowe, that so hath deceived menne in the Kinges name.

Ferthermore, hit may lyke Your good Grace to understand, that at the contemplation of Your Graces letters, the Kinges Highnes is graciously content that, byside the £100 for my fe, for thoffice of the Speker of his Parleament, to be taken at the Receipte of his Exchequer, I shall have one other hundred poundis owt of his cofres, by thandes of the Tresorer of his Chambre; wherfor, in moost humble wise I besech Your good Grace, that as your graciouse favour hath obteigned hit for me, so it may lyke the same to wryte to Mr. Wiatt[2], that he may deliver hit to such as I shall send for hit; wherby I, and all myn, as the manyfold goodnes of Your Grace hath all redy bounde us, shalbe dayly more and more bounden to pray for Your Grace; whom our Lord longe preserve in honour and helth. At Esthamstede[3], the 26th day of August.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,

(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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[1] The Emperor Charles V. was the first crowned head that assumed the appellation of Majesty, which was soon afterwards adopted by the other European Sovereigns.

[2] Sir Henry Wyatt, Treasurer of the Chamber.

[3] A royal hunting-seat in the western part of Windsor Forest.

LXXI. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I have received Your Graces lettres directed to my selfe, dated the last day of Auguste, with the letters of my Lord Admirall to Your Grace, sent in post, and copies of lettres sent bytwene the Quene of Scottes and His Lordshipp[2], concernyng the maters and affeires of Scotland, with the prudent answeris of Your Grace, as well to my said Lord, in your awne name, as in the name of the Kinges Highnes, to the said Quene of Scottes; all which lettres and copies I have distinctly redde un to His Grace, who hath, in the reding therof, substancially considered as well the Quene his sisters lettre, with the lettres agaynward devised and sent by my Lord Admirall to her, and his lettres of advertisement to Your Grace, as your moost politique devises and answeres un to all the same; among which, the lettre which Your Grace devised, in the name of His Highnes, to the Quene his sister, His Grace so well lyked, that I never saw hym lyke thyng bettre, and, as helpe me God, in my pore fantasie, not causeles; for hit is, for the quantite, one of the best made lettres for wordes, mater, sentence, and cowching, that ever I redde in my life.

His Highnes, in Your Graces lettre directed to my Lord Admirall, marked and well lyked, that Your Grace towched my said Lord and my Lord Dacres, in that theire opinions had bene to the lett of the great roode; which if hit had bene, ere this tyme, made in to Scotland, as by your prudent advice hit had, if theyre opinions, with other, had not bene to the contrarie, hit shold, as by the Quenys lettre appereth, have bene thoccasion of some great and good effecte.

His Highnes also well allowed, that Your Grace noteth not onely remisse dealing, but also some suspitione, in that the Lord Dacres so litle estemede the mynde and opinion of the Kinges sister; wherof he had by his servaunt so perfait knowlege.

Finally, His Highnes is of the mynde of Your Grace, and singularly commendeth your policie, in that Your Grace determineth, for a finall way, that my Lord Admirall shall sett forth his entreprises, without eny lenger tracte of tyme, not ceacing to preace theym with all the annoyaunce possible, till they fall ernestely and effectually to some bettre trayne and conformitie.

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[1] This letter is in the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 302, and is printed by Ellis.

[2] See Caligula, B. II. leaves 35, 37, 39.

And

And veryly His Highnes thinketh, as Your Grace writeth, that for eny lakke of those thinges, which, as he wryteth, are not yit cummen to hym, he shold not have neded to forbere to have done theym with smaller roodes, at the leste way some annoyauns, in the meane season.

I redde also to His Highnes the lettre [1] of M^r^. Doctour Knyght, written un to Your Grace, with Your Graces lettre written to my selfe, by the tenour wherof His Grace well perceiveth your moost prudent answere devised and made aswell to his said Embassiatour, as to thEmbassiatour of thEmperour, concernyng the disbursyng of such money as His Highnes shold lay owte for thentertenement of the 10000 Lanceknightes [2]; wherin His Grace highly well approveth as well your moost politique foresight, so wisely dowting leste this delay of the declaration myght happen to be a device, wherby thEmperour myght spare his awne charge, and enterteigne thAlmaigns with thonly coste of the Kinges Grace, as also your moost prudent ordre taken therin; by which His Highnes shalbe bounden to no charge, excepte the Duke firste passe the articles sent by Sir John Russell, and that the 10000 Almayns be levied, and joyned with the Duke, and he declared enemy to the French King.

I red, also, to His Highnes the copie of Your Graces lettre [3] devised to M^r^. Doctour Sampson and M^r^. Jernyngham; wherin His Highnes well perceived and marked what labour and payn Your Grace had taken, as well in substantiall advertising his said Embassiatours, at length, of all occurrauntes here, with the goodly rehersall of the valiaunt acquitall of his army on the see, not onely there done, but also descending on the land, with all his preparations and armyes sett forth and furnyshed, aswell toward France as Scotland, as also in your good and substantiall instructions geven un to theym, for the semblable avauncyng of thEmperours army, and actuall invasion to be made on that side, for his part.

His Highnes hath also seen and signed the lettres by Your Grace devised, in his name, as well to Don Ferdinando, and to the Duke of Mechelberge, in answere of their late lettres sent un to His Grace, as also to the Duke of Ferrare, in commendation of the Kinges Oratours, in case the Duke accepte the Ordre.

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[1] See Galba, B. VIII. leaves 46, 50.

[2] Lanceknights, or Lansquenets, were German foot soldiers, armed with spears or lances, and sometimes with harquebusses.

[3] This letter from Wolsey to Dr. Sampson and Sir R. Jerningham, Ambassadors with the Emperor, dated at Hampton Court, 30th August 1523, remains in the State Paper Office. It is very incorrectly printed in Fiddes, page 135.

In the reding and advising of all which thinges, His Highnes saied that he perceived well, what labour, studie, payn and travaile Your Grace had taken, in the device and pennyng of so many so great thinges so high, well dispached in so briefe tyme, whan the onely redyng thereof held hym above twoo howris: His Highnes, therfore, commaunded me to write un to Your Grace, that for your labour, travaile, study, payn and diligens, he geveth Your Grace his moost harty, and not more harty, than highly welldeserved, thankes. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Okyng, the first day of Septembre.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman[1],

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

LXXII. More *to* Wolsey.

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I have received as well Your Graces lettres written to my selfe, dated the 4th day of this present moneth, as also the lettre of my Lord of Suffolke, directed un to the Kinges Highnes, with a lettre of my Lady Margaret un to my said Lord; all which lettres I have redde un to the Kinges Grace, who moost hartely thanketh Yours, not onely for your spedy advertisement, but also for your substantiall provision for the vitaile of his army, and your prudent advice concernyng the demurre or marching of the same; which your politique counsaile His Grace in every point well pondered, and the same so well lyked, that, saving for the plage reignyng at Calice and in the Marches of the same, wherto Your Grace hath also right especiall regard, His Highnes wold be the lesse mynded to make haste in the removing of his army owte of his awne pale, in to the frontiers of his enemyes. But now the daynGeour of the plage standing, though hit were in his towne and marches right remisse, which is, as His Highnes is enformed, very fervent; yit, ere His Grace wold enjubarde his people in thenfection therof, some what wold he rather remove theym thense toward theire enemyes, as Your Grace, in thend of your lettre, for the same cause politiquely concludeth. Wherin His Grace requyreth Yours, that my Lord of Suffolke, with condign thankis for

[1] See note to page 106.

[2] From the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 54.

his

his good endevor, may be advertised of his opinion, and yours; so that he may with diligence marche owte of thEnglishe Pale, in to some more holesome place uppon the frontiers of thenemy; providing that he neither march ferther, than he may marche and abide surely, nor eny such way, as thenemy therby may perceive, what place he specially purposeth to invade; so that after the Burgonyons joyned with theym, which thing he requyreth Your Grace, with your letters to my Lady Margaret, in your prudent maner to accelerate, they may, the lesse loked for, and therby the lesse provided for, sodaynly tourne to Boleyn, where our Lord send theym good spede.[1]

Where hit lyketh Your good Grace so thankfully to accepte my poore devoire, in doing right small part of my bounden dutie, ye shew your accustumede goodnes, and bynde me, that that in my service lakketh, in my pore prayour, to supplie. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Oking, the fifthe day of Septembre.

Your humble Oratour and mooste
bounden Beedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

LXXIII. MORE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

[*Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I, last*] nyght late, after his sowper, presented un to the Kinges G[*race*], as well my Lord of Suffolkes lettre, wrytten to Your Grace, with the copy of the Lord Isilstens lettre to the same, and his lettre directed to the King, as also Your Graces lettre wrytten to my selfe, dated the 11th day of this present Septembre. And as towching the consultation of the siege to be layed to Boleyn, or abandon[*ed*], His Highnes hath commaunded me to wryte un to Your Grace, that notwithstanding the reasons of the Lord Isilsten, with the mynd of my Lady Margarete and thEmperour to, His Grace is, for the prudent reasons mencioned in Your Graces lettre, determinately resolved to have the said siege experimented; wherof, as Your Grace wryteth, what may happe to fall, who but God can tell: and all the preparations pourvayed for that way, to

[1] The Duke of Suffolk and Count de Buren met at Gravelines, 4th September 1523.

[2] From the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 61. The first line, being entirely burnt, is supplied by the usual commencement of Sir Thomas More's letters to Wolsey.

be now sodenly sett aside, or converted where they can not serve, sendinge his armye farre of in to thenemyes land, where we shold truste to theyre provision, of whose slaknes, and hard handeling, profe hath bene had ere this, and yit no prove had of the Dukes fastenes, His Highnes veryly thinketh, as Your Grace hath moost prudently wrytten, that there were no wisedom therin. And His Gr[*ace*] saith, that Your Grace hit the nayle on the hed, where ye wryte that the Burgonions wold be uppon theire owne frontiers, to thend our money shold be spent among theym, and theyre frontiers defended, and theym selfe resorte to theyre [*hou*]ses

. Howe be it as towching the def[*ending of the Low C*]untrees, His Grace saith, that they shall not, if all thinges be well ordred on theire part, so greatly nede to fere; as well for the reasons prudently mencioned in Your Graces lettre, as also for that the cuntre contributeth un to an aide for theire awne defence, wherof this cumpany either is, or, as His Grace thinketh, shold be, none but of thEmperours charge byside; so that if the tone matter ete not uppe the tother, His Highnes saith they shold be sufficiently furnyshed for both. Finally, His Grace for your substantiall counsaile and prudente advice in this point, his moost affectuouse thankes geving to Your Grace, hartely requyreth the same, that as well my Lorde of Suffolke, as the Lord Iselstene, may be with diligence advertised of His Graces resolute pleasure, and yours. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Okyng, the 12th day of Septembre, abowte mydnyght.

The lettre for thEmbassiatour of Venice I shall send un to you, as sone as hit shall please the Kinges Highnes to take the leysour to signe hit, which I trust His Grace will do to morow.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,

(*Signed*) Thomas More.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

LXXIV. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I have received from Your Grace a pacquet, conteyning as well Your Graces lettre directed to my selfe, dated the 12th day of this present Septembre, as twoo lettres of Sir John Russell, one to the Kinges Grace, an other to Yours, with the copie of the lettre of Chasteau, servaunt of Monsr. de Beaurayn, directed to thEmperours Embassiatour here; all which I have presented and redde un to the Kinges Grace, whoo moost affectuously thanketh Your Grace for your spedy advertisement, and specially for your studiouse consideration of the same, so diligently declaryd by your moost prudent lettres, such thinges of waight and substaunce, as to your wisedome seemed wurthy to be notede. All which His Grace well and depely considering, thinketh in every point, as Your Grace taketh hit, that the Duke[2] neither coulde otherwise do, than dissimule his purpose for the while, nor is at this day, nor hereafter, lykely to be, in eny harty peace or concord with the French King, but all the dayngeour and harme is, as Your Grace well notethe, that it is lykely to be so longe ere he declare hym selfe enemye. His Highnes is glad that he is deceived in his fere that he conceived, lest the French King had happe, by some meanys, somwhat perceived of this practise, which His Grace now perceiveth well he doth not, for if he had, he wold eyther not have commen in his house, or not so departyd thens. But His Grace greatly fereth, that sith this mater is now in somwhat mo mennys mowthis, than hit was in the begynnyng, leste hit will not long be kepte so secrete, but that the French King may be well lykely to come to the [*suspic*]ion therof; which, if he shold happen to do, the Duke thinking the contrary, he shold not faile to be sodaynly distressed, as His Grace thinketh, and all this conclusion quayled; which were to the commen affayre so great a lakke, that His Grace thinketh theschewing therof a thing right depely to be considered and thought uppon. Wherin His Gracis opinion is, if your Grace think hit good, that Your Grace shold, by your high wisedome, devise some goodly way, by which Sir John Russell[3] myght, with all diligence convenient to be used, advertise the Duke, un the Kinges byhalfe, that His Grace perceiveth, that in Flaunders

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[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 63.

[2] Duke of Bourbon.

[3] Sir John Russell had been sent to the Duke of Bourbon early in August. It appears, by the next letter, that he returned within a week after this time.

and

and other places, moo folke know of this mater, than were lykely long to kepe hit close; the knowlege wherof the Kinges Grace fering leste by some meanys cummyng to the French Kinge, ere the Duke suspecte, hit myght put hym in dayngeour and perell, hath, of his tendre zele to the Dukis saufgard, thought it necessarye to advertise hym therof; geving hym his frendely loving counsaile, either to declare hym selfe, or, at the lest wise, in the mean season, to make no lesse provision for his awne saufeguard and suretie, than he wold do, if he were by undowted meanys ascertayned, that the French King knew his purpose. By some such maner advertisement His Grace estemeth, that the Duke shall either be moved to declare hym selfe the sonner, or at the lest wise to kepe hym selfe the surer. And thus hath His Grace in this point commaunded me to wryte unto Your Grace of his opinion, remitting the ferther consideration of the same to your high prudence.

His Grace lyketh not that thEmperour setteth on so slowly; for he thinketh that if thEmperour entre in, it wold geve good corage to the Duke to declare. And as for thintelligence, that thEmperour wryteth of to his Embassiatour here, that he hath in Guyen, with hope to attayn certayn townys, wherof he fereth the losse by strenger garnysons to be sent in to them, in case his army descended ere he have theym; the Kinges Grace saith, he hath small trust in that mater, estemyng hit an excuse of theyre unforwardnes. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honor and helth. At Guldeforde, the 13th day of Septembre, late in the nyght.

His Highnes persevereth in Your Graces opinion, that for eny sollicitation of thEmperour, or my Lady, no money be disbursed, till the declaration be made.

I eftesonys moost humbly thanke Your good Grace, that hit lyked Your Grace in so goodly wise to geve thankes to the Kinges Highnes for his bounteouse liberalite, at the contemplation of Your Graces lettres, used un to Mr. Tuke, and me, whom Your Grace hath by your manyfold benefites byfore, and therby newly, bounden to continue your perpetuall Beedmen.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,

(*Signed*) Thomas More.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

LXXV. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that the Kinges Highnes, by thandis of his servaunt Sir John Russell, of whose well acheved erand His Grace taketh great pleasure, hath received your moost prudent lettre, conteignyng your wise and substantiall counsaile and advise concernyng the siege of Boleyn, to be lefte of, at this present tyme, and his army, with proclamations of libertie, and forbering to burne, to procede and marche forwarde un to the placis devised by the Duke of Burbone: which placis, as Your Grace uppon credible report from all parties is enformed, shall easily be taken, without eny resistence; wherin Your Grace perceiveth great apparence of wynnyng some greate parte of France, or at the lest wise all that is un this side the water of Some, which shold be as honorable and beneficiall un to His Grace, and also more tenable, than all Normandie, Gascoign, and Guyen: requyring His Highnes, therfore, that Your Grace myght, with all possible diligence, be advertised of his mynde and pleasure in the premisses, to thende that ye myghte advertise my Lord of Suffolke of the same; and that it wold lyke His Grace to take in good part your foresaid advice and opinion, without arrecting eny lightnes to Your Grace, though the same were of a nother sort, now, than was conteyned in your late lettres, addressed un to me; for as mych as this declaration of the Duke of Burbone, and his counsaile theruppon geven, with the good semblauns and groundes and considerations therof, causeth Your Grace to chaung your opinion.

Th[*e King also commaun*]ded me to wryte un to Your Grace, first, concernyng this poynt, that His Highnes not onely doth not arrecte the chaunge of Your Graces opinion to eny lightnes, but also right well considereth that hit procedeth of a very constant and unchaungeable purpose, to the fortheraunce and advauncement of his affayres: and as His Highnes estemeth no thing in counsaile more perilouse, than one to persever in the mayntenaunce of his advise, bycause he hath onys geven it; so thinketh he that Counsaillour very commendable, which, though there were no chaunge in the mater, yit forbereth not to declare the chaunge of his awne opinion, if he either perceive, or thinke that he perceiveth, the contrary of his formar

[1] Damaged by fire. In the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 70. It is referred to by Turner, page 235, under a wrong date. He states the date of the letter to be the 30th of September, when, in fact, it is the 20th September, 1523.

counsaile

counsaile more profitable. Wherfore, in the chaunge of Your Graces opinion in this mater, His Highnes not onely seeth no maner likelihed of lightnes, but also perceiveth, commendeth, and moost affectuously thanketh your faithefull diligence and high wisedome, so diepely pondering, and so substantially advertising His Highnes of such considerations, as (the mater so greatly chaunged) move Your Grace to chaunge your opinion, and to geve your prudent advise to the chaungyng of the maner and fashion of his affayres.

His Highnes hath ferther commaunded me to wryte to Your Grace, that as towching the resolution of hys mynd and pleasure uppon your consultation, Your Grace hath alledged so many good and substantiall reasons on the tone part, and yit, those notwithstanding, some [*conside*]rations so move hym to the tother, that His Highnes hath thought it convenient hym selfe, first to communicate his said considerations with Your Grace; to thend that, those thinges by your high wisedome well wayed and pondered, His Highnes may, uppon your ferther advertisement, take, with Your Graces good advice and counsaile, such finall determination, as may, God willing, be best and moost conducible to the desired end and effecte of his purposed entreprise.

First, His Highnes, in thabandonyng of the siege, and sending his army forward in to Fraunce, is not so mych retarded and letted in his opinion, for the hoope of the good, that he thinketh could now be done at the siege, as for the dowtes that rise un to His Highnes, of the marching to the places devised, and in the maner mentioned. For as for the siege, albeit His Grace yit despayreth not, but that, if hit were experimented, as late as hit is, some good myght yit, with Goddes grace, grow therof, yit hath he myche the lesse trust therunto; for as mych as a greate part, and the beste parte, of the tyme, in which His Highnes reckened that hit shold have bene in doing, is now and nedes muste be, by the slaknes of the Burgonyons provision, passed and consumed, ere they can bygyn; by whose onely remysse dealing His Highnes rekeneth the good, that of that siege myght have growen at this tyme, hindered, empeched, and in maner, loste. Wherfore, the case so standing, albeit that His Grace seeth not now so myche hoope of eny great effecte of the siege, as myght have growen, if theire promises had bene kepte, yit some considerations move hym to thinke that of the marching forward [*there wold come*] litle profite, with more charge, daynger, and perel, than of the siege.

First, His Grace fyndeth the tyme of the yere as far passed, for the good to be done in the marching forward, as in the lying at the siege, and yit

yit by reason of wete wether, and roten ways, rather more incommodiouse to that feat, in which they shold some tyme lye still, and some tyme march, than to that feat, in which they shold onely place theym selfe, and ly still. Specially, His Highnes thinketh, that the wetenes of the cuntre, upon the rivers side, shall not suffre his army to march with artillery, either groce inough for batery, or sufficient for the feld; without which His Grace thinketh it were a great unsurtie to send theym thither, as they may be percase constrayned to strike bataill with a more puissaunt hoost than is rekened on.

His Grace saith also, Corbyn [1], or Campien [2], or other townys uppon the rever of Some, be not so facile and easy to be taken, as some men make theym, that wold gladly bryng us fro Boleyn; or, as the Burgonyons make theym, being desirouse to bring us to theym: in whose report what trust ther is, His Grace saith, they made a profe the laste somer at Hesdyn [3]; which was in theyre mowthes very weke, till they cam at hit, and in theyre ien very stronge, till they gate from it. And if these townys happen to prove lyke, so that without long siege, and great batery, they will not be wonne, than the grownd being over softe to cary so grose [*artillery, as the*] batery wold requyre; his army shall, as he saith, of necessite,

and not without perell, such townys and garnysons lefte byhynd theym, as may distresse theyre vitaill.

And un the tother side, if the townys be so easy to be wonne, as the Burgonyons and other make hit; than thinketh His Grace, that, after his army withdrawen and discharged, they wilbe as easy to be loste, if the French King approch theym with an army riall: which is more easy for hym to do, in his awne realme, than for the Kinges Grace to rescue theym with a lyke army, thorow a nother Princes land, though he be his frend; and, if he were otherwise, than myght his army never cumme at theym, but by force, and fight ere they cum to theym. And His Highnes thinketh that it were not so mych honour shortely to wynne theym, as hit wold be dishonour shortely to lose theym.

Where as Your Grace thinketh, that by the meanys of this maner of marching, with the sees well gardyd, Monstrell, Tyrwayn, Hesden and Boleyn [4] shold be secluded uttrely from vitaill, and therby constrayned of necessite to rendre theym selfe, either some part of this wynter, or by thentre of a mean army in to Fraunce in the bygynnyng of the next somer; the Kinges Grace saith, that he wold of this thing be moost joyouse, if hit

[1] Corbie on the Somme.
[2] Compiegne (if it be the place intended) is on the Oise.
[3] Hédin in Artois.
[4] Montreuil, Thérouenne, Hédin, and Boulogne.

myght in such wise cum to passe: but His Highnes, in the lett therof, dowteth two thinges; one, that it wold be right hard for hym to fynd the money, that shold suffise to the continuall keping of his army so longe, both by see and by londe, namely so great as thobeteignyng of [*the townys shold requyre; the other, that it wold be im*]possible, excepte the townys aforesaid were continually besieged, to withstand it ellis, but that they shold allway, now and then, either by land or see, be revitailled; considering that they be so furneshed all redy, that keping therin but the ordinary, or little above, (as they wold kepe no more withowt constreynt of a siege) with right small refreshing, they shold endure righte long.

His Highnes, also, mych bendeth uppon a substantiall reason, alledged by Your Grace, in your late lettres addressed to me, which yit semeth to His Grace sore sowning to the daynger and perell of his hoost, in case they shold marche forward, as is devised; that is to witt, the dowte of theire vitailling. For wher as Your Grace right prudently answereth the dowte, which ye made byfore, of thinterceptione, if hit shold be convayed to other place than Boleyn, the Duke not havyng declared hym selfe, nor the French Kinges army sent owte of his realme; which vitaile Your Grace estemeth to mow be now convaied fro Calice after tharmy, sith the French Kinges puissauns is passed, and the Duke declared enemy; agaynst whome, namely, purposyng to invade with the 10000 Almayns, and his awne power, the French King shalbe forced to convert all the power he can make: the Kinges Highnes, in this poynt, fyndeth twoo difficultees; one, that sith the convaiaunce of vitaill, with artillery, and other thinges, in the marching ferder forward, muste needis requyre dowble the cariage, that it shold nede, tharmy lying at the siege still, where fewar cartes by h[*alf*] myght soner and more saufely cum and goo in that way, shorter, and lesse daynge[*rous, seeing the Burgonyons*] with all the dilligent solliciting that can be made, have not yit, or scantly yit, provided that cariage, that were sufficient for the siege, His Highnes sore dowteth that his army shold be right hardly bestedde in theyre vitaill and cariage, ere the Burgonyons provided sufficiently for the residew. Wherfore His Grace thinketh, if they shold marche far, ther wold be great difficultie in the vitailling; for our awne he thinketh wold not well folow so far, and our frendes how we may trust therin, we have had experience; than in our enemy is yit mych more unsurtie.

The tother difficultie, that His Highnes fyndeth, is this: His Grace thinketh that the French King is not unlykely to do, as His Highnes wold hym selfe, if he were in (as our Lorde kepe hym owte of) the lyke case; than wold he appease his awne realme, ere he wold invade a nother; so if the

the French King do (as he hath of lyklyhed all redy done), revoke the puissans of his army, being yit, at the tyme of the declaration, not passing six days journey from him, if they were so far, and with theym joyning the 5000 Almayns, with the 200 men of armys, whome he hath with hym all redy abowt Lyons, he myght happely invade the Duke, before the 10000 Almayns were joyned with hym, or peradventure be to strong for hym, whan they were joyned with hym; or ellis if he sodenly, uppon the firste sure knowledge of the mater, [*should joyne*] with the 5000 Almayns, and the 200 menne of armys, with such other power as he could shortely make at hand, he was not unlykely, the King thinketh, to distresse the Duke, ere he shold assemble power sufficient to withstand hit: than, if by eny of these ways hit shold myshappe, or be by this all redy myshapped, that the Duke be oppressed, than shold the French King (as he may easyly march in his awne realme) cum downe, and convert his hole power agaynst the Kinges army; and the same being far entred in to the bowelles of his realme, he shold have, the Kinges Grace thinketh, good opportunitie, with great nombre of his horsemen, to cutt of our vitaill at our bakkis.

For which causes hit semeth to the Kinges Grace, that ere ever his army shold march farr of, sith hit can neither joyne with the Duke, to make hym the strenger, nor cum so nere, as they myght releve his overthrow, if he so myshapped, nor the French King, of lykelyhod, will not devide his power, but with his hole power encountre first the tone; hit were, therfore, His Grace thinketh, expedient somewhat to perceive first how the Duke were able, hym selfe, with the aid all redy geven hym, to susteyn the impression of thenemy.

Finally, wher the Duke adviseth that the Kinges army shall, in the marching, proclayme libertie, sparing the cuntre fro burnyng and spoile; the Kinges Highnes thinketh, that sith his army shall march in hard wether, with many sore and grevouse incommoditees, if they shold also forbere the profite of the spoile, the bare hope wherof, though they gate litle, was great encoraging to theym, [*they shall have*] evill will to march far forward, and theyre capitayns shall have mych adoo to kepe theym from crying Home! Home!

The Kynges Highnes, albeit he well considereth that the yere being so far passed, ther is no tyme to be lost, but all the celerite to be used that conveniently may; yit sith his army will, in the mean while, be somwhat doing, hath demed hit requisite, these considerations that move hym to signifie to Your Grace, to thentent that the same by your high prudence advised and considered, such finall determination may be taken by His Grace and Yours, as shall, with Goddes grace, bryng his affayres to good and honorable effecte.

His Grace is very glad, and right hartely thanketh you, that ye have provided, by commaundement sent to M^r. Knyght, that the money shalbe payed owt of hand for the monethes wages of the 10000 Almayns, and the remanaunt at tymes and place convenient; for ellis he thinketh now, for lakke of that money, the conclusion myght all quayle.

After that His Grace had red and reformed the mynut of this present lettre, he commaunded me to wryte un to Your Grace, on his behalfe, that it myght lyke you to take the payne to devise a good round lettre un to my Lady Margaret, in your awne name, to styr them forward in the provision of such thinges, as theyre slaknes hither to mych hath hyndered the comen affayres. His Highnes saith that such dealing, so often used, and never otherwise, may well geve hym cause herafter better to be advised, ere he entre in to a charge agayne, for theyre defence, if this be not amended; and so he requyred Your Grace to wryte un to her. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace, in honour and helth. At Abyngdon, the 20th day of Septembre.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

LXXVI. MORE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

HIT may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I have this night, after that the Kinges Grace had souped, presented and distinctely redde un to His Highnes, as well Your Graces lettre, dated the 21th day of this present Septembre, addressed un to my self, as the 4 lettres of the Quene of Scottes, directed twayne to the Kinges Grace, and thother twayn[2] to my Lord of Surrey; and also the twoo lettres by Your good Grace, in the Kinges name, moost politiquely devised un to the said Quene of Scottes. For which your labour, paynes, traveil, diligence, and study therin used, His Grace geveth un to Yours, his moost affectuouse thankis. And for as mych as in the reding of my Lord of Surreys lettre, directed un to Your Grace, the

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 439. This letter is printed by Ellis.
[2] See Caligula, B. I. leaf 170. B. II. leaf 274.

King

King noted, that my said Lord had all redy wrytten un to the Quene of Scottes answer un to both her said lettres, His Grace requyreth Yours, that it may lyke you to send hym the copies, which his lettre specifieth to have sent un to Your Grace.

His Grace, also, thinketh hit right good, that the Humes and Duglas be received uppon convenient hostages; and that as well the Chauncellour[1], as the other Lordes mencioned in the Quenys lettre, shold be attempted by promesses, g[*ifts*], and good policie, to be wonne from the Duke[2] and his faction.

And for as mych as His Grace mych desireth, in these thinges, to be advertised of your moost politique advise and counsail, which he thinketh Your Grace entendeth to declare, by way of instructions to be gevyn un to my said Lord of Surrey, His Highnes, therfore, hartely requyreth Your Grace, that it may like the same to send un to hym the said instructions, that His Grace may, by the same, be lerned of Your Graces prudent advice and counsaile in the premissis.

His Highnes thinketh hit very necessary, not onely that my Lord of Surrey were, in all possible haste, advertised of the declaration of the Duke of Burbon; but also that the same were insert within the lettre which the Quene of Scottis shall shew to the Lordis, with good exaggeration of the tyranny, for which he renounceth the French King, and of the harme and ruyne that is lykely to fall to Fraunce therby.

His Highnes also requyreth Your Grace to paise and considre the clawse of the Quenys lettre, by which she desireth, with her trustie servauntes, to be received in to his realme, and how your high wisedome thinketh good that mater to be ordered, or answered. And to thentent, in all these thinges, Your Grace may the more conveniently send hym your moost prudent advise, he hath commaunded me, with these presentes, to remitt all the said wrytinges un to Your good Grace, to be by Your good Grace agayne sent un to His Highnes, with your moost politique counsaile theruppon. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. Wrytten at Woodstok, the 22th day of Septembre, at mydnyght.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,[3]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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[1] James Bethune, or Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews. [2] Duke of Albany.
[3] See note to page 106.

LXXVII. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that I have this nyght, after the Kinges Grace had souped, presented and redde un to His Highnes, as well Your Graces lettre wrytten un to me, dated yesterday, as the letters of the Quene of Scottes, wrytten to my Lord of Surrey, with the lettres of His Lordeshippe, as well answeryng Her Grace, as advertising Yours. The Kinges Highnes is glad, that my Lord of Surrey now begynneth savourely to perceive, that the Lordes of Scotland entend but onely to dreve over the tyme of theyre annoyaunce; and mych wold His Grace have bene gladder, that my Lord had savored hit byfore; for than His Grace thinketh, that as well the feat that shall now be done, or is by this done, myght have bene long synnys done, and peradventur mych more. His Highnes, also, lyketh, not all the beste, that my Lord of Surrey, in his lettre wrytten to the Quene, which he wold she shold shewe to the Lordes of Scottland, appointteth theym the tyme and place where they shall send to hym, to Gedeworth[2]; for His Grace thinketh the tyme and place so certaynly knowen, it shalbe a good occasion to the Scottes the more surely to withstand his entreprise. How be it, His Grace trusteth in God hit shalbe, or is by this tyme, well inough.

His Highnes is very sory of the plage, and the ferfent agues fallen in his army, to so great minishing of the same; for the remedy and reenforcing wherof, His Highnes thinketh no thinge more profitable, than, for the causes in Your Graces lettres moost prudently remembred, that the places of theym that are departed to God, or sent bakke to Calais to be cured, shold be, and so is he content they shalbe, supplied with as many horsemen of those parties; and therof His Grace requyreth Yours, that my Lorde of Suffolke may be advertised.

Finally, that hit lyketh Your good Grace so benygnely to accepte and take in worth my pore service, and, so far above my merites, to commende the same in that lettre, which of myn accustumed maner Your Grace foreknew the Kinges Grace shold se, wherby His Highnes shold have occasion to accepte hit in lyke wise, and so lyked Your Grace, in one lettre, both

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 301. This is likewise printed by Ellis, but neither to this, nor to any other of Sir Thomas More's preceding letters, does he assign any date.

[2] Lord Surrey took Jedburgh on the 24th of September 1523.

geve

geve me your thankes, and gete me his; I were, my good Lord, very blynde, if I perceived not, very unkinde, if ever I forgate, of what graciouse favour it procedeth, which I can never otherwise reanswere, than with my pore prayours; which, during my life, shall never faile to pray to God for the preservation of Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Wodestoke, the 26th day of Septembre.

Your humble Oratour and moost
bounden Beedman,[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

LXXVIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Sir. Thies shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that this present houre the Emperours Ambassadours have been with me, and declared such newes as this day they have receyved from my Lady Margaret. Which beyng true, shalbe a mervailous fordell to your intended purposes, and victory like to insue (God willyng) aswell in your affaires towardes Scotland, as in Fraunce. And when the said newes shalbe confermed, and founde to be true, it shalbe right expedient, that both Your Grace, and thEmperour, advisedly do loke on the matier; for ther shalbe never such, or like oportunite geven hereafter for the atteynyng of Fraunce. Your Grace shall receyve, herewith, the originall letters of my Lady, sent to the said Ambassadours, which were brought to theym with diligence, by a speciall currour, to the intente the same myght be signified unto Your Highnes; not dubtyng, but the knowlege therof shalbe to your singular pleasur and contentacion. At my poor house besides Westminster, this Tuesday, at 4 of the clok in the afternone, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moost Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

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[1] See note to page 106.

[2] This letter must have been written in the autumn of 1523, when Henry VIII. was engaged both with France and Scotland.

LXXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to undirstande, that I am, at this tyme, moche contrary to my mynde, inforced and compelled, for the furtherance of your grete and weighty affaires, beyng in suche trayne and disposicion, that pitie it were they shulde, for lak or defaulte of money, be empeched, to call upon Your Highnes, in this extremitie, for somme helpe; assuring Your Grace, on my feith, that by all such meanes as to me hathe byn possible, aswel of myne awne, as of all the friendes that I may make, and otherwise, I have don myne uttermost to supplie and fullfill the complement of such money, as hathe ben requisite for the furniture of the charges susteyned by Your Highnes, aswell for my Lord Admiral, as for the Duc of Burbons money, the Duc of Suffolk, and your army by see; whiche, in maner, have amounted to asmoche again, as Your Grace and I estemed; so as I can, in nowise, make the hole provision, in so shorte space, for my Lorde of Suffolkes next payment, whiche shal begynne at November next ensuyng, onlesse then towardes the same it may please Your Highnes, for a tyme, to spare the somme of £10000, to be delyverd to Sir Harry Wiot for that purpose; whiche, in as good diligence as may be possible, shalbe redowbed and restored unto Your Highnes again. Wherin if Your Grace sawe and knewe the payne, studie, and travaile that I take, for bryngyng in of such thinges, on all sides, as be leviable or paiable, like as I shal infourme Your Highnes more largely at my speking with the same, I trust, assuredly, Your Grace wolde thinke that more cannot be don. Wherfor, Sir, though I be as loth as may be to disgarnisshe Your Highnes of the said somme, yet the importance of your affaires nowe beyng, in the poynte of effect, considered, I am the more bolde to move Your Grace herein; most humbly beseching the same to geve commaundment that the said somme may be delyverd to Sir Harry Wiot, with as convenient spede as may be. And to the rest of the next monethis wagis, with other charges of your said affaires, I truste to fynde the meanes to furnisshe, and to see Your Highnes, with in brief tyme, reinboursed. Beseching Allmyghty God long to preserve your most noble and royall astate. At my pore house besides Westminster, the 17th day of October, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

LXXX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may please Your Highnes to undirstond, this afternone is arrived the gentilman of the Duc of Burbons, named Monsieur de Lurcy[1], with whom I have had communicacion at length, perceyving his charge to rest in three thinges. One is, to intimate unto Your Highnes the departure of the Launceknyghtes, and how displeasantly he taketh the same; the other, to shewe the said Dukes intent for to repair unto thEmperour, by the wey of Jeanes[2]; and thirdly, to desire that the money brought by Sir John Russel may remayne in those parties till after Cristemas, at whiche tyme he is mynded to procede again to his enterprises: like as by the letters of the said Duke, and of the Lady Margaret, to me addressed, which shalbe herewith, Your Highnes may perceyve more at large. In which matiers I have said unto hym, that Your Grace, beyng bifor advertised of the departure of the said Launceknyztes, was veray sory therof; beyng mynded for his comforte and relefe, if they had remayned, and he proceded forwardes, to have kept your armye all this wynter, so the Burgonions horsemen wolde have taried with theym; and that Your Highnes coude be yet contented so to do, and to redubbe your armye with moo fotemen, in case he, with his horsemen, and the said Burgonions, wolde semblably contynue in such wise, as both thEmperours Ambassadour, and the said gentilman also, thinke verayly, that the occasion of retire of your armye is onely for lak of the said Burgonions, and upon knowlege of the departure of the said Launceknyghtes. To the 2de, I have shewed hym the dangiers, whiche the said Duke, having many gentilmen in his company, shulde fynde passing by Jeanes, and so goyng aboute the circuite of al Italy; and howe commodious this way were for hym, where more perfite ordre myzte be taken for his further enterprises, and thEmperour therof directly advertised, then to go into Spayne by that dangerous way, and so to retourne hither. To whiche purpose, also, the Lady Margaret hath depeched a special post to the said Duke, who, though he be right ferre on his way, shal present unto hym her letters, wherin she exhortith hym to passe by this wey, as in her said letters, to me directed, is also conteyned. And to the 3de, I have tolde hym that at al tymes, when the Duke shal procede to his enterprises, Your

[1] De Lurcy was an officer in the Emperor's service.

[2] He attempted to pass by Genoa, but found it impracticable.

Highnes shal see hym furnished of money, for your parte, as shal apperteyn. And by cause the said Lurcy is a yong gentilman of no grete haviour or estimacion, I therfor intende to morow to sende hym unto Your Grace in the company of the archier of Calais, which conduyted hym hither, thinking that Your Highnes shal not nede to cause any greate besynes to be made for other receyving of hym, at this tyme.

Over this, Sir, I sende unto Your Grace herewith, such letters as I have receyved from Rome [1], conteynyng the greate pertinacitie, wherin the Cardinallis, at the date of the same, stil contynued, with the apparance of a scisme to ensue; whiche is to my grete hevynes, consideryng howe expedient it wer, that those, which shulde counforte and releve the present discordes of Cristendome, were nowe in parfite unite. It appereth, also, aswel by the letters of your Ambassadours beyng at Rome, as by the letters of the Viceroy of Naples [2], which I sende unto Your Highnes herewith, that the same Viceroy is of a good strength, and was passing towardes Mylayne to joyne with the Venecians, and the rest of the power of Italy, who beyng onys to gither shalbe in nombre and puyssance ferre superiours to the Frenchmen. As I shal further here and knowe in those matiers, so I shal not faile to advertise Your Grace acordingly.

Fynally, Sir, wher Your Highnes was infourmed that my Lord of Northumberland [3], in this his proceding against the Scottes, ware the Crosse Keys, whiche is the bage of your Church of Yorke, wherwith (though it had so ben) Your Highnes of your greate goodnes was contented to me, yet for the more parfite knowlege therof, I have commoned with your servaunte, my Treasourer, Sir William Gascoyne, who shewith me, assuridly and undoubtidly, as he wol abide by, and is redy to justifie upon his oth made unto Your Grace, that neyther the said Erle of Northumberland, ne any of his retynue, ware the Crosse Keys, but that they were Your Highnes cognizance onely, and, under that, his awne bage. Wherfor, Sir, Your Grace hath cause to geve the lesse credence unto those, which wolde make unto the same such fayned and untrue reaportes. Beseching Your Grace, that after the reding of the said letters, it may be your pleasure to remitte theym to me accordingly. Ascerteynyng Your Highnes, that for such greate matiers, as at the knyttyng up of this terme be requisite to be ordered in your Eschequier, Sir Thomas More [4], may, in no wise, be spared from thens

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[1] Letter from the Orators at Rome to Cardinal Wolsey, in the Museum, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 216.
[2] Charles de la Noy. [3] Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
[4] He was at this time Under-treasurer of the exchequer.

for

for 4 or 5 days; for which tyme it may like Your Highnes to forbere his commyng unto the same. And Allmyghty Jhesu preserve your moste noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 26th day of November, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Mooste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

LXXXI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Sir. It may like Your [*Highness to understand, I send*] herewith twoe letters of one tenour and effecte, sent from your servaunte [*Sir John Russell*] Knyght [2], the one directed to Your Highnes, and the other to me, the grete povertie and fere, wherin the realme of Fraunce nowe [*standeth*], the drede that the Parisiens have ben in, and howe, if the Duke of Burbon had folowed his enterprise, a greate parte of that realme wolde have drawen towardes hym, beyng verey sory that he lefte and forsoke the same. Your Highnes shall, also, by those letters perceyve, what the said Sir John Russell writeth towching your money remaynyng in his charge; in which matier, Sir, not withstanding any difficulties made in the said letters, I have so practised and taken ordre, that your money shalbe, I trust, conveyed by exchange unto Andwarpe, and finally, with no losse, but rather with somme profite or gayne, brought and retourned in redy money, into this your realme, or to your towne of Calais, as shall be thought most convenient. And over that, I have gyven ample instruccion to the said Sir John Russell, that if the Duke of Burbon be not alredy passed over, ferre in his way towardes Spayne, he shal do his best to exhorte and move hym, upon good and greate groundes, rather to passe this way, for his more suretye, and the better direction of the common affayres, then to take his journey by Jeanes. And semblably, I have gyven ordre for the conducyng and bryngyng De la Fayet [3],

[1] This letter is damaged by fire. It is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 223.

[2] The letters here alluded to appear to be from Sir John Russell. Two letters from him to the King, and the Duke of Suffolk, dated at Aynche, 1st November, are in the same volume, leaf 214 B. & 215. But they must be prior to those referred to in the present letter of Wolsey, and an entire change in Bourbon's plans appears to have occurred in the interim.

[3] Governor of Boulogne.

in any wise, to Your Grace, all scrupulnes and feares laid aparte, if it be possible; and rather in the company of Sir John Russel, then otherwise. All which matiers be depeched, with instruccions unto Doctor Knyght to further and avaunce the same, by the best meanes that he, beyng in my Lady Margarettes Courte, can (uppon any knowlege there had) studie or divise.

Over this, Sir, I sende unto Your Highnes an abstracte of suche newes as I have receyved oute of Italy, by the wey of Mantua, beyng confourmable to sundry former advertisementes; wherin is greate apparance that the armyes of those parties, ones joyned and unite, they shalbe ferre superiours unto the French armye; and, in the meane season, there is no semblaunce, but that the Frenchmen do receyve there rather dayly losse and detriment, with dammage and reproche. [*As I shall receive further*] letters, so I shal not faile diligently to advertise Your Highnes accordingly. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royall astate. At my pore house besides Westminster, the 29th day of November, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

LXXXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may like Your Highnes to undirstonde, that upon the retourne from Your Grace of Sir Thomas More, and Sir William Fizwilliam, with your resolucion touching answere to be made unto the charge of the same Sir William, I incontinently divised instructions and writinges to be sent by hym, according to such deliberacion, as was by Your Highnes taken in that bihalf. Which beyng penned, and put unto the clere writynges, to have ben with all spede depeched, arrived newe letters from the Duc of Suffolk, aswel unto Your Highnes as to me, with certeyn letters to hym addressed from the Lady Margaret. Al which I sende unto Your Grace herewith; by tenour whereof, the same shal perceyve and understonde the recovery, by the Frenchmen, of the Castellis of Boyhen and Beaurevoir [1], with the desire of the Lady Margaret, that the said Duc of Suffolk shulde sende unto the frontiers of Henalde, in all diligence, the nombre of 5 or 6000 of his most freshe and welwilling fotemen, to joynewith her folkes; by whose

[1] Bohain and Beaurevoir are small towns in Picardy, near the sources of the Scheldt and the Salle.

aide

aide she doubtith not shortely to recover that which is lost, and also to resiste to the enterprises of the enemyes. Your Highnes shall furthermore perceyve, by the lettres of the said Duke of Suffolk, what answer he hath made therunto, with the deliberacion that he hath taken in that behalf. Wherupon I, remembryng the importance and requisite celerite, which is to be used, for spedy advertisement to be gyven unto hym, howe he shall ordre hym self herein, incontinently divised newe instructions, aswel for the said Sir William Fizwilliam, to be declared unto the Duc of Suffolk, and such other as be deputed to be of your Counsaile there; as also a memorial of other instructions, to be gyven unto the Lord Sandes, and Sir William Fizwilliam, by the said Duke of Suffolk, for declaracion of Your Graces mynde and pleasure unto the Lady Margaret, if he, ensuyng the tenour of the instructions geven to Sir William Fizwilliam, shal fortune to sende theym, or one of theym, unto her. The copies wherof I also sende unto Your Highnes at this tyme, and with the originallis I have the more spedely depeched the said Sir William Fizwilliam, aswel for the grete celerite, which the matier doth require (lest my Lord of Suffolk, lakking advertisement, shulde retourne to Calais), as also, for that I had wel incorporated in my mynde your full deliberacion and intent in that matier, aswell by such consultacion, as I lately had with Your Grace therin, as also by the knowlege of your pleasure, signified unto me by the said Sir Thomas More. Trustyng that Your Highnes shal like wel the tenour and effecte of both the said instructions, whom I moste humbly beseche to remit the same, with the other said lettres, unto me, at your gracious pleasure.

I sende also unto Your Grace, herewith, the copie of a clause, written unto me by your Ambassadour M^r^. Richard Pace [1], conteynyng sommewhat more largely the maner of recule of the Frenchmen, then was comprised in any letters to Your Highnes sent yesternyght; which is also confirmed by lettres shewed unto me by thAmbassadour of the Duc of Myllayn. And as I shal further have knowlege of the successes in those affayres, so I shal advertise Your Highnes with diligence, accordingly. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 7th day of December, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis^ EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feyth.

[1] Orator at Rome.

LXXXIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Your Highnes to be advertesed, that Clarenceulx[1] is retourned out of Scotland; with whom the King of Scottes hath sent unto Your Grace a right trusty servaunt of his, called Patrike Saintklare, with letters and credence[2], the copy wherof, with my poore opinion upon the same, totted in the margyne, I sende unto Your Highnes herewith. The said gentilman is oon, that hath alwais taken your partie, and secretly hath advertised Master Magnus of al such thinges, as have been enterprised by those that have been French, as might be to the empechement of the good amitie bitwen Your Grace and the said King of Scottes; for the which his doing, he hath been, often tymes, in noo litel daungier and peril: nevertheles he hath alwais persisted faythful unto Your Grace. It maye, therfor, be your gracious pleasour to enterteyne him accordingly; by whom Your Grace shalbe suerly advertised, that the King of Scottes, nowe having the governaunce of his realme in his owne person, and they which favored the Duke of Albany and Fraunce amoved and expelled from him, is utterly determined to folowe your advise and counsail; reputing the same in maner as a commaundement, in al his procedinges and affaires. Which, if he soo doo, as of nature, gratitude, and reason he is obliged, it shalbe gretly to your honnour, and the continuaunce of good amitie bitwen these two realmes, and his suertie and exaltacion. I have ordred that Clarenceulx shal accompany and bring the said Patrik Saintklare to your gracious presence, at youre repare to your Citie of Winchestre. At Your Graces[3] Manour of Hamptoncourt, the 12th of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Fayth.

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[1] Thomas Benoilt.

[2] The original letter from James V., King of Scotland, to Henry VIII., dated at Edinburgh, 5th August 1524, acquainting him that he had assumed the government of Scotland, and deprived the Duke of Albany of the regency, is in the State Paper Office.

[3] Though Wolsey did not, according to Hall, surrender Hampton Court to the King till 1525, yet he here calls it the King's Manor; whereas, after he had surrendered it, and resided there only by the King's permission, he expected of others to denominate it his, and not the King's.

LXXXIV. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that yisternyght, at my cummyng un to the Kinges Graces presence, and after that I had made Your Graces recommendations, and His Highnes shewed hym selfe very greatly glad and joyfull of Your Graces helthe; as I was abowte to declare ferther to His Grace, what lettres I had brought, His Highnes, perceiving lettres in my hand, prevented me, ere I could bygyn, and saied, "Ah! ye have "lettres nowe by John Joachym[2], and I trow some resolution what they will "do." "Nay, veryly, Sir," quod I, "my Lord hath yit no word by John "Joachim, nor John Joachim, as far as my Lord knew, had yit no word hym "selfe, this day in the mornyng, whan I departed from His Grace." "No "had," quod he; "I mych mervaile therof, for John Joachim had a servaunt "come to hym two dayes agoo." "Sir," quod I, "if hit lyke Your Grace, "this mornyng my Lordes Grace had no thing herd therof, for yisterday His "Grace at afternone dispeched me to Your Grace with a lettre sent fro "M^r. Doctour Knyght[3], and the same nyght late His Grace sent a servaunt of "his to myn howse, and commaunded me to be with His Grace this mornyng, "by eight of the clokke, where, at my cummyng, he delivered me these other "lettres and advertisementes sent un to him fro M^r. Pace[4], commanding me "that, after that Your Highnes had sene theym, I shold remitte theym to hym "with diligence, as well for that he wold shew theym to other of Your Graces "Counsaile, as also to John Joachim, for the contentes be such, as will do hym "litle pleasure." "Mary," quod His Grace, "I am well a paied therof." And so he fell in meryly to the redyng of the lettres of Maister Pace, and all the other abstractes and wrytinges; wherof the contentes as highly contented hym, as eny tidinges that I have sene cum to him, and thanked Your Grace moost hartely for your good and spedy advertisement; and furthwithe he declared the newes, and every materiall point, which, uppon the reding, His Grace well noted un to the Quenys Grace, and all other abowt hym, who were mervelouse glad to here it. And the Quenys Grace saied, that she was

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[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 132. It is printed by Ellis.

[2] Giovanni Gioachino Passano, afterwards called Seigneur de Vaux, a Genoese merchant, frequently employed by the French Court in confidential missions.

[3] Ambassador Resident in Flanders.

[4] A letter from Dr. Pace to the King, dated at Mantua, 2d November 1524, is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 223.

glad

glad that the Spanyerdes had yit done somwhat in Italy, in recompence of their departure owt of Province. I shewed His Highnes, that Your Grace thought, that the French King passed the mountaignys in hope to wynne all with a visage in Italy, and to find there no resistence, and his sodayn cummyng uppon mych abashed the cuntrees, putting eche quarter in dowt of other, and owt of suertie who myght be well trusted: but now, sith he fyndeth it otherwyse, myssing the helpe of money, which he hoped to have had in Mylleyn; fyndyng his enemyes strong, and the fortressis well manned and furnyshed, and at Pavia, by thexpugnation wherof he thought to put all the remanaunt in fere and drede, being now twyes rejected with losse and reproche; his estimation shall so decay, and his frendes fail, his enemyes confermed and encouraged, namely, such aide of thAlmaignes, of new joynyng with theym, that lyke as the French King byfore wrote and bosted un to his mother, that he had of his awne mynd passed in to Italy, so is it lykly that she shall have shortly cause to wryte agayn to hym, that it had bene mych bettre, and more wisedome for hym to abide at home, than to put hym selfe there, where as he standeth in great parell, whither ever he shall gete thense. The Kinges Grace lawghed, and said, that he thinketh it wilbe very hard for hym to gete thense, and that he thinketh, the maters going thus, the Popis Holynes will not be hasty neither in peace nor treuix.

Uppon the redyng of M^r^. Knyghtes lettre, His Grace saied not mych, but that if Bewreyn[1] cum to His Grace, he wilbe playne with hym; and if he do not, but take his dispatche there of Your Grace, which thyng I perceive His Highnes wold be well content he did, excepte he d[*esire*] to cum to his presence, His Grace requyreth Yours so to talke with hym, as he may know, that His Grace and Yours well perceive, how the maters be handeled by thEmperours agentes in thentreprice.

The Kinges Grace is very glad that the maters of Scotland be in so good trayne, and wold be loth that they were now ruffled by thErle of Angwishe[2]; and mych His Highnes alloweth the mooste prudent mynde of Your Grace, myndyng to use thErle of Angwish for an instrument, to wryng and wreste the maters in to bettre trayne, if they walke a wrye, and not to wrestle with theym, and breke theym, whan they goo right.

Hit may lyke Your Grace also to be advertised, that I moved His Grace concernyng the suit of M^r^. Broke, in such wise as Your Grace declared un

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[1] Adrian de Croy, Sieur de Beaurain.

[2] Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, second husband of Margaret, Queen Dowager of King James IV, and sister of Henry VIII.

to

to me your pleasure, whan Mr. Broke and I were with Your Grace on Soneday; and His Grace answered me that he wold take a breth therin, and that he wold fyrst onys speke with the yong man. And than His Grace departed, but I perceived by His Grace, that he had taken the yong mannys promise not to mary without his advise, bycause His Grace entended to mary hym to some one of the Quenys maidens. If it wold lyke Your good Grace, in eny lettre which it shold please Your Grace here after to write hither, to make some mention and rememberaunce of that mater, I trust it wold take good effecte. And thus our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Hertford, the 29th day of Novembre.

Your Gracis humble Oratour and
moost bounden Beedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

LXXXV. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SIR. After my moste humble and lowly recommendations. It may like Your Highnes to understand, that it hath been, and is, much to my rejoyce and comfort to perceive, by the relation of Sir Thomas More, how the discourses and communications, which I have had with the Chancellor of Alanson, sent from my Lady the French Kinges mother[2], for treaty of peace with Your Highness, have been to your contentation and pleasure; wherin, Sir, as in all other your affairs, I have not, ne shall, pretermit any labor, diligence, study, or travail, which may be to the conducing of the same to such end, as shall be to Your Highness honor, exaltation, and benefit. And

[1] This letter, which, with a small exception, is printed by Ellis, is published from a paper in the Harleian Collection, No. 7035. p. 174., with the following memorandum: "A copy of a "letter written by Cardinal Wolsey's own hand to K. Hen. 8., transcribed from a copy taken of "it by Archbp. Abbot, endorsed with his own hand thus,—'The original I sent back to the "office of the King's Papers. Ita est. G. CANT. April 17, 1616.'" The date is fixed in the year 1525, by the Chancellor of Alençon (John Brinon) having come to England in January of that year; and by the foundation of Cardinal College (with a view to which Wolsey had obtained, 3d April 1524, a Bull for the suppression of St. Frideswide's Monastery) being carried into effect in July 1525. The original is not now to be found.

[2] Louisa of Savoy, Duchess of Angoulême, whom Francis I. made Regent of France, when he crossed the Alps to invade Italy.

where it hath pleased Your Highness, of your excellent goodness and gracious favour, to advertise me, by the said Sir Thomas More, of such reports, as have ben made unto Your Highness, consisting in two things; the one, concerning the office of Clerk of the Market within the liberties of the Monastery of St. Albans[1], and the other, touching certain misorder supposed to be used by D^r^. Allen[2], and other my officers, in the suppression of certain exile and small monasteries, wherein neither God is served, ne religion kept; which, with your gracious ayde and assistance, converting the same to a far better use, I purpose to annex unto your intended College of Oxford, for the encrease of good letters and vertue: I most humbly thank Your Highness, for that it hath pleased the same, so like a good and gracious master, to give unto me knowlege and admonition therof. Ascertaining Your Grace, that as to the office of Clerk of the Market within the liberties of the said Monastery, I never was minded either to extend or to diminish, but in such manner to use the same, as I found the said Monastery possessed aforetime. For, at your last being there, the grauntes, made by your noble progenitours, confirmed also by the late King, of famous memorye, your noble father, whose soule Jesus pardon, and also by Your Highness, were showed unto your Councell; whereby they evidently perceived, that neither the Marshall of England, ne the Steward of your most honourable Household, ne also the office of Clerk of the Markets, shall be exercised within the said liberties by other, then the officers of the said Monastery; as by the grauntes and confirmations, ready at your good pleasure to be eftsone showed, doth right largely appeare. Nevertheless, whereas the inquest and officers there have not justly, discreetly, and indifferently assessed and taxed the prices of the market, as to right, equity, and the good commodity of Your Graces servants hath appertayned; I, who knew nothing thereof, am not onely discontented with them for their misdemeanor in that behalf, and shall, with Gods grace, see them ordered accordingly, but also have no small cause most humbly to thank Your Highness, whome it hath pleased to see the said prices reformed unto the due order and direct course. And God forbid that I should, or suffer any man to encroach upon any part of your jurisdiction royall, trusting verily, in consideration of my poor service, that Your Highnes will be as good a lord to that your Monastery, as your noble progenitors have been, as I most humbly, on my knees, beseech Your Highness to be. And albeit, Sir, some folks, which be always more

[1] This affair forms one of the articles of charge against Wolsey.

[2] He was Judge of the Legate's Court, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

prone

prone to speak evil, and report the worst, without knowledge of the truth, have percase informed Your Highness of some disorder, that should be used by my Commissaries in suppressing of the said Monasteries; yet most humbly I shall beseech Your Highnes, after your noble and accustomed manner, to give no credence unto them, unto such time as Your Grace may hear my declaration in that behalf. For, Sir, Allmighty God I take to my record, I have not meant, intended, or gone about, ne also have willed mine officers to do any thing concerning the said suppressions, but under suche forme and manner as is, and hath largely been, to the full satisfaction, recompence, and joyous contentation of any person, which hath had, or could pretend to have, right or interest in the same; in such wise, that many of them, giving thankes and laude to God for the good chance succeeded unto them, would for nothing, if they might, return, or be restored, and put again into their former state, as Your Highnes shall abundantly and largly perceive, at my next repair unto the same. Verily, Sir, I would be loath to be noted, that I should intend such a vertuous foundation for the encrease of Your Highneses merit, profit of your subjectes, the advancement of good learning, and for the weale of my poore soule, to be established or adquired ex rapinis; but, God willing, shall in such wise proceed at the perfection thereof, with [1] prejudice or derogation of any mans right or interest, that it shall appear to all the world, that I am minded to sett forth that act sincerely, purely, and without injury, wrong, or damage to any person. Howbeit, Sir, I account my self most bounden unto Your Highness, in that it hath pleased the same, so favourably and benignly, to advertise me of the reports contrived in that behalf; which I trust in such wise to avoyd, that Your Highnes shall not only be therwith contented, but also they shall, peradventure, be the more circumspect, to make any such like reports hereafter.

Finally, Sir, I send herewith unto Your Highness a copy of certain articles and clauses, excerpted and taken out of the Popes letters, now sent unto his Oratour here resident; declaring in what terms he doth stand with the French King, alledging that he hath nothing done, nor intendeth to do, to the prejudice of Your Highness and the Emperour. And albeit His Holynesses demeanor, in that behalf, is not so laudable, ne of such sort, as I would it were, yet it is not so evill, as it hath ben bruted and reported; trusting that, after the arrivall of my last letters, wherein I have ben rounde and plain, His said Holyness shall alter his copie, and percase shew himself

[1] Sic.

according to such expectation, as Your Highness and I have had of him. And thus Jesus preserve your most noble and royall estate. At my house besides Westminster, the 5th day of February, by your

Most humble Chapleyn,

T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kings Most Noble Grace,
Defensor of the Faith.

LXXXVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. After my moost humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Grace to undirstonde, that this hour I have receyved letters from your Secretary, Maister Richard Pace, directed both unto Your Highnes, and also to me, beyng of 2 dates; the firste, of the 26th [1], and the other of the 28th days of the last moneth, at Trent, which lettres I sende unto Your Highnes herewith. By the fyrst, Your Grace shal perceyve, that the Venecians, for any labour made by the French Kyng to the contrary, did then, and by likelihode yet do, conteyne and kepe theym selfes fast and sure on the Emperours partie; with the good disposicion and ferme intent of the Duke of Burbon to strike bataile with the Frenche Kyng: the retourne of which Duke in to Italy hathe geven greate corage to all thEmperours friendes ther; the practises made by the Imperiallis to recover Mylayne; the Poopis meanes and labours made to the Duke of Burbon, to treate upon somme appoyntement bitwene thEmperour and the French Kyng, with the answer made therunto, which was, that it shulde be tryed with the swerde; the divise of the French Kyng, in makyng three briges over the river of Ticyne towardes France, having also sent over all his cariages; and, fynaly, his despair to wynne Pavia by any force, if he may not do it by famyne. By the 2de apperith the arrival of the Duke of Burbon, with all thEmperours armye, at Marignion, distant 10 smale myles from Mylayn, and asmany from Pavia, the 26th day of the last moneth; and his avauncyng the same day nerre unto the French Kyng, with his, and all the other noble men and capitayns expresse determination to strike bataile, as the Marques of Piscair [2], who nowe writith unto Your Highnes, and to me, lettres credenciallis, hath playnly written to the said Maister Pace. Your Grace shal also perceyve, that Pavia, notwithstanding the deth of the Counte de Sorne of a fever, holdith fast

[1] In the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 28. [2] Ferdinand d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara.

stille,

stille, where the French Kyng, at the last assaulte, lost no smale nombre of his best men of werre; the arrival of the Archbishop of Capuan[1] in thEmperours felde to practise some appointement, with smale apparance to take effecte; and, finaly, the Duke of Burbons promysse to advertise Maister Pace, in diligence, of the successes in the said felde; and in lettres written to Bryan Tuke, which I also sende unto Your Highnes, is mencioned the recoverye of Cassane out of the French Kynges handes, and the takyng of Chyavenna from the Grisons; so as, thanked be Almyghty God, thaffaires ther be in verey good trayne, with apparance that of likelihode, eyther the bataile is striken bifor this tyme, which, beyng the French Kyng superiour or inferiour, cannot but be unto hym cruente, and consequently make wel and highly to the benefite of Your Graces purpose: orellis that the said French Kyng (who, if he had lost the bataile, shulde not faile to put France in extreme jeopardie) is, for salvation of his person, fled after his cariages; in which case the Imperiallis wol not faile, if they be wise, to pursue hym, so as harde and almost impossible it shalbe for hym to escape into his countrey, the grete snowes yet lying in the mountayne, and other impedimentes considred. And nowe, Sir, doth evidently appere, unto what notable purpose and effecte shall stonde the prudent and moost politique ordre, taken by Your Highnes in the depeche of your servaunte Sir Gregory de Cassalis, whose commyng shal highly animate and encorage the Imperiallis, and singularly further the strikyng of the said bataile. His charge, with the sendying of Maister Pace to Venece, and my lettres to Rome, shal also not onely conferme the Venecians in their fast mynde towardes thEmperour, encoragyng theym to joyne their armye with his, but also shal undoubtedly cause the Poopis Holynes to change his sentence and copie; by meane wherof, with the exhortacion sent by Your Highnes to the Archduke, the grauntyng of the 50000 crownes to tharmye, in case bataile be striken, the knowlege of the constant procedyng of Your Highnes with thEmperour, and the good avise and counforte, geven to the Duke of Burbon not to put hymself in any strong holde, but, failyng of victory, to repair into Flaundres for some notable enterprises, to be by Your Grace set furth on this side; it shal nowe apper, and be wel knowen over al, that the good effecte, which shal comme of this matier, may wel, and is to be ascribed unto Your Highnes, who, in the tyme of extreme desperation of thEmperours affaires in Italy, have ben the onely reviver of the same. The Duke of Mylayn, knowyng also what was written by the said Sir Gregory, and what hath

[1] Nicolas Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua.

ben

ben don by Your Grace, for the investiture to be graunted unto hym, which he coude not till nowe obteyne of thEmperour, shall accept the same as a thing conduced onely by the good meanes and helpe of Your Highnes; and thus the matiers succeding to the avauntage of the Imperiallis, the thanke, laude, and praise shal comme unto Your Grace. And if percace, by any adverse chaunce, thEmperiallis shulde be inferiours, wherin ther is none apparance, ne it can be withoute the French Kynges greate jacture and detriment; yet, thanked be God, your affaires be, by your highe wisedome, in more assured and substancial trayne, by such communications as be set furth with France aparte, then others in owteward places wolde suppose. And thus, abidyng knowlege of the further successes, which cannot faile to be had shortely, Your Highnes hath greate cause to geve thankes unto Almyghty God, who gyveth you grace thus to forese thies your grete and weighty matiers and affaires, like to comme unto honourable perfection and ende, to your greate renomme, counfort, profite, and gladnes hereafter. And thus Almyghty Jhesu preserve your moste noble and royal astate. At my house besides Westminster, the 12th day of February, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

LXXXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. It may please Your Highnes to understonde, this houre I have receyved not only a letter to me directed, sent from your Ambassadours resident in France, which was brouzt by a messenger of the Frenche Kinges, who met the President of Roan[1] in his way towardes Dovour, having in his company, on parte of the same way, John Joachym, but also a letter of the Frenche Kinges to them two directed, whiche also they sent unto me. I sende unto Your Highnes herwith the said 2 letters, by tenour wherof the same shal perceyve the constant mynde that the Frenche King sheweth hym self to be of, nothing to do with the Viceroy of Naples[2] and

[1] John Brinon, President of Rouen, and Chancellor of Alençon, who subsequently (30th Aug. 1525) signed the Treaty of the Moore, between France and England, in conjunction with John Joachim, Seigneur de Vaux.

[2] Charles, Count de la Noy.

Alarcon,

Alarcon[1], til suche tyme as he shal knowe your avice and opynion, being determyned to use and folowe the same; with other kinde wordes and demonstracions specified in the said letters, unto the whiche, ample answer is, a good season passed, depeched fromhens, not oonly by the Frenche Ambassadours, but also by long instruccions, that I have geven to Sir Thomas Cheyne and M^r. Taylour[2], whiche I trust be arrived there by this tyme. Howe be it, with suche letters, as I do divise for the depeche of yong Wyat, whiche shalbe redy, God willing, to morowe in the mornyng, I do sende a duplicate of the said former instruccions, with suche addicions as be requisite concernyng the commyng of the said Viceroy, and Alarcon.

I sende, also, unto Your Highnes herwith, 4 letters in Frenche, divised for the expedicion of the said President of Roan, whiche it may please Your Grace to signe, and remyt unto me by this berer, to be sent after hym accordingly. And thus I beseche Almyzty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 9th day of May, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis^ EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

LXXXVIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SYR. After most humble and lowly recommendations. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, how that this present howre, the Lord Beuers[3], the Chauncelour, and the Secretary John de la Sawch, albeit they have taken ther leve of Your Highnes, being honorably rewarded, and having Your Graces

[1] Don Ferdinand d'Alarçon, a Spanish officer, high in the Emperor's confidence.

[2] Sir Thomas Cheyne and Dr. Richard Taylor, Ambassadors in France.

[3] The credentials of Le Seigneur de Beures, Josse Laurens, and John De la Sauch, from the Archduchess, dated 4th February 1524-5, remain in the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaves 105, 6.

De Beures, or as he is sometimes called De Beuers, bore the family name of Borgone, or Bourgogne, and was Admiral of Flanders; a distinct person from the Count de Buren, the Flemish general, whose name was D'Egmont. The similarity of their titles, aided by the want of attention to orthography, which prevailed till within the last century, and by the difference in the plural terminations in the Dutch and French languages, has led to great confusion between these two personages. Josse Laurens, whom Wolsey describes as "the Chancellor," was President of the Grand Council of Flanders. John de la Sauch was Secretary of State for Flanders.

letters

letters of licence to departe, yet upon letters now freshly brought unto them, out of Spayne, they be determyned to demore here, by the space of tenne or twelve dayes lenger, to thentent that they may declare unto Your Highnes the contentes of the said letters, which now presently, as they afferme, they cannot doo for two causes. The oon is, that the said letters be directed to Monsr. de la Praet, and the most part of the same is wryten in ciphres, the alphabete wherof the said Monsr. de Praet[1] hath taken with him in to Flaundres, without leving, as they do allege to myn no litel merveyl, any copy of the same. Wherfor, unto such tyme, as the said alphabete shalbe sent unto them out of Flaundres, they cannot cumme to the knowlege of the contentes of the said lettres. The seconde cause, over and besides the other bifore expressed, why they cannot, ne may, declare thEmperours mynde, aswel upon the contentes of the said letters, as in diverse other thinges not conteyned in the same, is, that a sad gentilman, called Spinollus, is sent from thEmperour to Your Highnes, which passith by Lyons, and soo from thens to the Lady Margaret, and finally to Your Grace; to whom they say thEmperour hath committed, by mouth, to be signified unto the same, his hol mynd, purpose, and resolution concerning the making of werre against Fraunce, this present yere; soo that, tyl his arryval here, which they suppose shalbe shortly, they canne no thing doo concerning his charge. This, Sir, is the hol continue of such thinges, as they have shewed unto me, to be notified unto Your Highnes, not dowting but of your profounde and gret wisdom Your Grace wol, and canne, facilly conjecte, what this maner of proceding doth implye; and partely Your Grace shal take summe conjectour therof, by such letters as Master Sampson now wryteth, which wer delyvered unto me by the said Ambassadours. Your Grace shall receyve the same herwith, and right sone shal understond therby, that such werre, as the said Emperour intendith to provoke Your Highnes unto, shal lytel or nothing be to your commodite, proufit, or benefit. And where as Your Highnes hath lately been advertised, that the said Emperour wold be moderate in his requestes and demaundes of the French King, to thentent that your bargayn might be the better, I canne perceyve lytel or noon apparaunce, that he is mynded soo to doo; as it evidently doth appere, aswel by the demaundes made by Monsr. de Buren for the Duchie of Burgon, and diverse other gret peaces in Fraunce, as also of the poore Duke of Millayn, which implyeth, covertly, that intierly and holly the said Duchie shalbe at thEmperours commaunde-

[1] De Praet, the Emperor's Ambassador in England, (according to Lord Herbert,) departed secretly from London, 9th April 1525, but he afterwards returned.

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ment; like as Your Highnes shal perceyve by the copy of such articles, as be proponed by the Viceroy to the said Duke, for the attayning of his investiture, which copy I send unto Your Highnes herwith.

Your Grace, also, shal receyve, by this present berer, such armes as Your Highnes hath divised, by Page [1], for your entierly biloved sonne, the Lord Henry Fitzroy. [2]

It may furthermore please Your Highnes to signe two bookes of the agrement bitwen the Prior and Citie of Norwich, unto the which I, and two of your Jugges, have set to our handes; they be made in sufficient fourme [3], and nothing to your prejudice, and for the same Your Grace hath had a good fyne. And thus I besech our Lord to sende unto Your Grace good night. At my poore howse besides Westmester this Saterday [4], at 7 of the clok at night, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CAR^his^ EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feyth.

LXXXIX. SAMPSON *to* WOLSEY. [5]

PLEAS it Your Grace. Yestirday the Kinges Highnesse, aftir his first Messe, commaundyd me to rede aswell this aunswor, to be sent to the King of Scottes, as allso the excellent counseyll and avyses that Your Grace writteth to the same King; and His Highnesse thowght them very well; in the evening commaundyng me that, by this bearare, I shuld send them ageyne to Your Grace, the aunswor and the letters to the King of Scottes, signid with His Graces hande; and that I schuld allso send to Your Grace this othir lettir, to the which His Highnesse prayith Your Grace to cause a

1 See page 164.

2 Henry Fitzroy, the son of King Henry VIII. by Elizabeth, widow of Sir Gilbert Tailboys, was, on the 18th June 1525, elected a Knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Nottingham, and Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and installed at Windsor on the 25th of the same month. The grant of his arms is not recorded at the Heralds' College, but it must have passed at this time.

3 The charter to the city of Norwich, 17th June 1525, confirming this agreement, is given in Blomfield's History of Norfolk, Vol. 2. pag. 140, 141.

4 The circumstances mentioned in this letter fix its date to May or June 1525.

5 From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 314.

good

good and loving aunswor to be made, for the King estemith both his loving letter, and allso his gentyllenesse in so sending of the hawkis. His Grace allso notith in the same, that he callith my Lord of Norfolke[1], Amerall, by the report, as the King supposeth, of his servaunt there. His Highnesse allso seith, that to Your Graces formar lettirs, towching the Popis Ambassadour[2], he made noon aunswor, not thinking it much wordy to be aunsword, supposing that now he had ben departyd. And wher as he hath desyre schortly to departe, His Grace seyith, that he may departe at his pleasour, nor it schall not nede that he repare hithir to His Graces presence.

It is seyd, Sir, that Mr. Secretarie wyll be here on Wedynsday next.[3]

My Lady Princesse com hithir on Satyrday: suyrly, Sir, of hyr age as goodly a childe, as evyr I have seyn, and of as good gesture and countenaunce, et quodcunque agit, longe præter ætatem ea cum suavissima facit gravitate, aptissimoque decoro, ut splendidius nusquam, decentius, jocundius, videri potest mortale nihil. Hyr Grace was not oonly well accompanyed with a goodly nombre, but allso with dyvers persons of gravite, venerandam habentibus canitiem. I saw not the Courte, Sir, bettir furnesched with sage personages many days, then now. I besech Allmighty God preserve hyr, and Your Grace allso, with prosperos long lyfe and honour. At Langeley[4], the 3rd day of Septembre.

Your humble Bedeman,

(*Signed*) Richard Sampson.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

XC. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that yesterday I receyved a letter from Sir Richard Weston, wherin he desireth me to be mediatour unto Your Grace, for hym, that he may have the office of Stewarde of your Duchie of Lancastre, whiche Sir Richard Wyngfelde[5] had; offering for

[1] Thomas Earl of Surrey, Lord Admiral, became Duke of Norfolk by the death of his father in 1524, and, in the following year, was superseded in the office of High Admiral by Henry Duke of Richmond, whose patent bears date 16th July 1525.

[2] Nicolas Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua.

[3] Sept. 6. Pace, however, did not return before October.

[4] King's Langley in Hertfordshire.

[5] Sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, died in Spain, in July 1525.

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the same to leve thoffice of Master of your Wardes, or his annuite of oon hundred poundes by yere; of the whiche his desire and offre I thouzt convenient to advertise Your Grace, not doubting but that, by good meanes, Sir William Compton shalbe satisfied either with the said Stuardship, or office of Master of your Wardes, being offices more mete for hym, then the Chancelership of your said Duchie. By respiting the determinacion of your pleasure concernyng the disposicion of the said offices, Your Highnes shal conduct many good thinges to the accomplishment of your intended purpose, by the grace of Almyzty God, whom I beseche to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At your Manour of the More, the 18th Day of September, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

XCI. Bishop Clerk *to* Wolsey.[1]

After my most humbyll recommendation. Plesith Your Grace to understond, that yester nyght, att myn arryvall heer, the Kynges Highnes was forthe a huntyng, and came nott whom, till 9 of the clokke; and when His Highnes came in to the pryvy closett to heer his evynsong, he said unto me, "Welcome, my Lord of Bathe; what tydynges from my Lord Cardynall?" I said, that I hadde dyverse thinges to shew hym from yow, and His Highnes said he would speke with me after evynsong. And when evynsong was done, His Highnes went in to the Queenys chamber, and callyd me to a wyndow asyd, and axyd me agayn, "What tydyndes from my Lord Cardy-"nall?" and how he dede? I made Your Grace is humbyll recommendations unto His Highnes, and shewyd hym how Your Grace had takyn a purgacion, whiche beeyng somwhat vehement had trobyllyd yow a lityll, and was lyke to have cast yow in a fevyr, and that iff that impedyment had not been, Your Grace was mynded to have been heer with His Highnes, as this day. I sayd that Your Grace was now, thankyd be God, in good amendment.

[1] This letter is wholly in Clerk's handwriting, and appears to have been written soon after his return to England from his mission in Italy. It is among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 3., No. 24.

His Highnes said he was right gladde therof. I shewyd His Highnes, according to your commandement, how greatly it was to your confort to heer of His Highnes is prudent and wyse demeanor wyth thEmperors Orator, now at his last beeyng heer, and also of the conformyte of your opinion with His Highnes in that, that the leegge shold be, by all meanys possibyll, sett forwardys betwen France and the powars of Italy; and that Your Grace was movyd, upon the selff same reasons that His Highnes was, and how that, for the settyng forwardis of that matter, Your Grace had usid all diligence, and done as moche as was possibyll all redy, as well in talkyng with, and prykkyng forwardis Jhon Joachym, as in expeedyng sondry postis and messangers in to France for that purpose. His Highnes was right well contentyd therwith; and as towchyng the fear, wheryn I said Jon Joachym was in, for the mariage of Madame Elionora[1], His Highnes said, "I marvell iff the Frenche Kyng will have her, for ther ded ronne "an evyll brut apon her; how be it, the possibilite of succession, that dothe "apper by her, is great." I shewyd His Highnes, also, of soche resolution as, me presente, Your Grace took with the Popis Orator; and His Highnes was also right well contentyd therwith, and effsones demandyd off me, whether I had any other tydynges: it was large 10 of the cloke, and meat apon the tabyll, and the Queen tarying apon His Highnes; and I, considerying that, was somwhat the shortter, and shewyd His Highnes, that I hadde other thynges to declare unto His Grace, butt they requyryd nott so extreme hast. He said, "Be it then to morow." I said, Master Page off the Duke of Richemond is Consail[2] shold be present, when I shold talke with His Highnes in thos matters, and how that the said Master Page wold gladly reapare unto Your Grace agayn that nyght. And His Highnes said, by Saynct George, he shold tary til to morow, for it was then laatte, and he a hungerd: and so His Highnes went unto the Queen. Iff we wold have presentyd our selff after soper, dowghtles His Highnes wold gladly have hard us; but we thought that the matter shold be to displeasant, for His Highnes to heer to bedwardys; and therfor we thowght it best, to forbear to this day after dynar, for byfor we cannott convenyently comyn with His Highnes, specially I, beyng executor. After dynar, we shalbe in hand with His Highnes; and to aggravatte the matter, we shall fyrst shew, that

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[1] Eleonora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, and sister of Charles V., was affianced to Francis I. by the Concord of Madrid, 14th January 1526; but the marriage did not take effect till 1st June 1530, when Francis received his sons from Spain.

[2] As Lord Warden of the Marches of Scotland; to which office, as well as to that of Lieutenant General of the Forces North of Trent, the Duke of Richmond was appointed in June 1525.

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the matter of it selff is so heynose and displeasant, that we dorst nott, yesternyght, shew it unto His Highnes, to bedwardis. When we have talkyd with His Highnes heryn, Master Page wyll reapar incontynently unto Your Grace; and I my self to morow, and shall shew Your Grace His Highnes pleasur in this, and other matters, accordyngly. And by cause the said Master Page appoyntyd with Your Grace to depart hens yesternyght, to the intent Your Grace shold nott longe muse upon his nott so doyng, I thought it my dutye to certifye Your Grace off the premisses. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. At Wyndsor, this Corpus Christi day mornyng, at 7 off the cloke.

Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Jo. Clerk.[1]

To my Lord Legattis good Grace.

XCII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. This shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that I have receyved sundry lettres, aswell from your Ambassadours[2] resident in the Courte of Rome, as from Venece, and other places, and have had with me the Poopes Oratour, John Joachym, and the Secretary of Venece, who have declared unto me theffect of suche letters, as they have receyved, confourmable unto the tenour of the others; whiche, being of many sundry dates, having also diverse long clauses often recapitulated, tending to on effect, shulde be verray tedious and payneful for Your Highnes to rede; and, for that cause, I shal summaryly towche, in thise my letters, the hoole substance of the same, sending unto Your Grace herwith only suche copies, as be of most effect.

First, I signifie unto Your Highnes, that albeit the men of armes, appointed to be sent by the Frenche King into Italy, and also the Swicers to be conduced at his stipende, wer veray slakly set forwarde; yet, neverthelas, the armyes of the Poopes Holynes, and the Venecians, have so avaunced

[1] The remarkable difference in Clerk's signature, under different circumstances, is more strikingly seen in two letters, of 1st March 1528, subsequently printed.

[2] See the Bishop of Worcester's letters from Rome, from 15th to 22d June 1526, in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VIII. leaves 66—83.

them

them selfes, that not oonly the cite of Lawde[1], and the Castel of the same, wer taken by strenght, and above seven hundred of the Spanyardes there slayn; but also the Marques of Gwast[2], nephieu to the Marques of Piscayre, commyng to the socour of the same, was compelled to retourne, not withoute losse of some of his folkes; the siege of the castel of Mylayn also dissolved; diverse of the Imperialles there slayn, in a tumulte raised within the citie; sundry other townes taken; besides the overthrowe of certain bandes of the Spanyardes in other places of Italy, and diverse moo good feates don by those of the liege[3], the particularites wherof be mencioned in a bill herwith inclosed; in suche wise as the hole armye of thEmperours, there being, is nowe dispersed in to sundry partes, with evident apparance sone to be totally defeated; specially if the said Swices, who wer upon the confynes, and the men of armes sent by the Frenche King, be ons arrived, and joyned with the residue.

Don Hugo de Moncada[4] hathe also ben with the Poopes Holynes; to whom, on the Emperours behalf, he hathe made many grete offres, ascending dailly to higher and higher: in such wise as, fynally, he hathe offred the Duke of Mylayn to contynue in his Duchie; the Emperours armye to be sent, the horsemen in to Naples, and the fotemen to the defence of the realme of Hungary; the Duke of Ferrares causes to be ordred at the Poopes pleasure; and thEmperour to forbere his voyage in to Italy, with any puissance formidable to thastates of the same; besides diverse other secrete thinges, being in the hole asmoche, or more, then the Poopes Holynes coude or myzt desire to attayn, by the werres. Howe be it His Holynes, persisting constantely in his perfite and stedfast mynde to the observance of the liege, like as the Venecians, for whose parte also, large offres have been made, do the semblable, hathe made answer, that His Holynes wol nothing do or treate with thEmperour, withoute the expresse knowlege and consent of Your Highnes, and the Frenche King. And from this determynacion His Holynes affermeth, he wol in no wise remove; any dangier, that may ensue to hym therby, notwithstanding.

For whiche cause, sens the Poope, and said Venecians, do thus sincerely procede, they desire of Your Highnes thre thinges. On is, that considering they concluded this liege, only upon the comforte and trust of Your Grace, persuaded by the same therunto, Your Highnes wol nowe accepte the pro-

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[1] Lodi.

[2] Alphonso d'Avalos, Marquis of Guasto.

[3] The Clementine League concluded at Cognac, 22d May 1526.

[4] An eminent Spanish officer, who commanded the Imperial forces in Italy.

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teccion therof, and entre in to it. Secondely, inasmoche as the Frenche King hathe hitherto proceded coldly with them, in the conclusion and perfourmance of the said liege; and percace, thEmperours affaires in Italy declynyng, myzt nowe shewe hym self more inclinable to comme unto reasonable condicions with the Frenche King, who also for the grete desire he hathe to recovre his children [1], wolde percace be contented to geve the more herkenyng; it may be your pleasure to anymate the said Frenche King, avising hym ernestly to loke unto his affaire, in this behalf, and wel to considre, what inconvenientes may ensue unto hym, if he do not, with al effect, avaunce the thinges tending to the perfourmance of the said liege. For, Sir, considering the offres made by thEmperour unto the Poopes Holynes, and the Venecians, if they, conceyving any diffidence in the Frenche King, shulde be constrayned to comme unto any condicions with thEmperour, it shulde then be moche more difficile to recovre the said children, and thEmperour in no litle fordeale, to attayn moche of the treatie concluded at Madril. [2] Thirdely, they desire that Your Highnes not entering in to the liege incontinently, Your Grace, considering their importable charges, wolde either geve or lende unto them, secretly, som convenient sommes of money, and rather to geve the same, then lende it; forasmoche as they, being openly declared and entred in to the werre at your exhortacion, Your Highnes yet remayneth at your libertie. In whiche matier they instantly persist.

Neverthelas I have, with as good maner as I can, satisfied the Poopes Oratour, and the Secretary of Venece, in thise demaundes; saying, to the first, that til your intymacion be made unto thEmperour, and the articles of the liege qualified for your indempnite, it can not reasonably be required that Your Highnes shulde entre the said liege; wherunto they them selfes alwais have, and do graunte, withoute contradiccion. As to the seconde, I have put them in as good comforte of the Frenche King, as is requisite; saying, that Your Highnes wolde be contented, as I trusted, not oonly to write unto the Frenche King, with al effect and diligence, in that matier, but also largely to instruct your Oratours sent thider, and being there, towching al suche thinges, as may conferre to this purpose. Wherin, Sir, I am aboute to divise, and, your pleasure knowen, shal depeche letters bothe to the Bishop of Bathe, who is departed on his journey [3], and also to

[1] Francis's two sons were delivered to the Emperor, as hostages, in March 1526, and not restored till June 1530.

[2] Between the Emperor and King of France, 14th February 1526, called the Concord of Madrid.

[3] To the French Court, where he joined Dr. Taylor.

M[r].

M^r. Taylour[1], instructing them, what they shal say and speke in this behalf; perceyvyng, by suche letters as be nowe commen, that the Frenche Kinges men of armes, and lanceknyztes aforsaid, wer upon the confynes of Italy, and bifore this, of likelihode, entred in to the same. And for the 3de, I have alleged the violacion of your othe and promyse, in cace Your Highnes, directly or indirectly, priveyly or openly, shulde geve aide or assistence of money, or otherwise, against thEmperour, til suche tyme as, upon your said intymacion, and refusaile of your good avice, Your Highnes myzt have honourable occasion therunto. And so I shall contynually answer that their request, as wel as I may; wherin I pray God I may wel satisfie them, as I have don hitherto, withoute bringing them in to any jealousie, despayre, or mystrust.

Fynally, Sir, thise matiers be nowe in suche trayne, that there is evident apparance, the liege thus actually set furthe, thEmperour shal, upon the intymacion to be made unto hym by Your Ambassadour, have honourable colour and occasion to comme unto reasonable condicions; in suche wise, as Your Highnes, God willing, shal have in your handes the conducing of the universal peax in Cristendomme, to your grete merite, high lawde, and perpetuel renomme; the successes wherof I shal signifie unto Your Grace, from day to day, as the cace shal require.

I sende, also, unto Your Highnes herwith, suche letters as I have receyved from your Ambassadour, M^r. Taylour, with a bil of newes sent with the same; and also other letters, receyved from Master Almoner[2], your Ambassadour with thEmperour; humbly beseching Your Grace, after the reading of the said letters and copies, to remyt them unto me at your gracious pleasure; and also a commyssion, to be signed bynethe, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herwith, for the Bishop of Bathe to reside with the Frenche King, as your Ambassadour; like as other your Ambassadours, having no special auctorite commytted unto them to conclude any thing, have, for the maner, semblable commyssion, for their better reputacion. And thus I beseche Almyzty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 19th day of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

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[1] See Dr. Taylor's Correspondence with Wolsey, in June 1526, Caligula, D. IX., leaves 219—232., and a letter from him dated at Poitiers, 12 July 1526, among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 12., No. 8.

[2] Dr. Edward Lee. No letter of his, about this date, has been discovered.

XCIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. After my most humble and lowly recommendations. Forasmoch as your old trusty servaunt Sir John Veer [1], nowe Erle of Oxford, reparith unto Your Highnes, I thought I cowde noo lesse doo, thenne most humbly to recommende him, by these my letters, unto the same; like as, prostrate upon my knees, I besech Your Grace to be good and gracious Lord unto him. Your Highnes shal finde him true, humble, constant, and faythful, without leaning to any man, save oonly to Your Grace, according to his most bounden dutie; and, to my supposal, he shal furnish that rome, as wel as any of his predecessours hath doon in tymes past, to your honnour and good contentacion, as Our Lord knowith, who preserve your most noble and royal astate. At your Manour of Hamptoncourt, the 4th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Fayth.

XCIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After letters nowe lately sent from the French King to his Ambassadour here resident, wherin ther is noo mention made, but that the affaires of Italy procede very wel; and, by the later ende of the last moneth, the French Kinges army, both of horsemen and Swiches, shuld be joyned with the Popes and Venecians army in Lombardy; I have had a long discurse with the French Kinges said Ambassadour, upon conclusion of the obligation reciproque [2]: and, finally, after gret difficulte and moch stikking, the same is concluded in better forme and maner, thenne was conteyned in the minutes therof lately declared, and sent unto Your Highnes by Sir Thomas More.

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[1] He succeeded to the Earldom in 1526.

[2] A treaty between England and France, relative to the restitution of Francis's children by the Emperor, was concluded at Hampton Court, 8th August 1526, and is published by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 185.

And nowe, Sire, the said obligation is passed, Your Grace is assured that the French King may nothing treate with thEmperour, eyther to the prejudice of the amitie lately concluded betwixt Your Grace and him, or geve any assistence in any enterprise, for what cause soever the same shalbe set forth, against Your Highnes; and semblably, as his sonnes lyeth in hostage and gage for his redemption, soo they doo nowe, for the payment of al such sommes of money, as be due and owing to Your Grace by the said Emperour; soo as, this knot nowe made with the said French King, if Your Highnes, by honnorable meanes (as I cannot see howe the same may be brought to passe, if thEmperour contempne your counsail, and the confederates of the liege condescende to such qualifications and conditions as be divised), might avoyde your entre in to the liege, I wold accounte Your Grace most happy of al Princes, whose affaires shuld be in such trayne, on every side, as coulde be wished or desired of God.

By fresh letters commen from Rome [1], Fraunce [2], and Venyce, a summary abstracte wherof I sende unto Your Grace herwith, it is certified that the newes of the Venetians distresse be nothing trewe, as it was bruted by the Spaniardes, nor they have lost eyther men, or any artillary. Trewe it is, that the Duke of Urbine, capitaine of the Venetians armye, by the instigacion and persuasion of the banished men of Millayn, entended to present an assault to oon of the portes of Millayn, out of the which there issued two hundred and thirty Spaniardes, which wer al slayne, and that the Duke of Burbon is arryved there with foure hundred men oonly, with bylles of exchange for a hundred thousand ducates; soo that those newes, which wer wryten from the Arche Duke [3] to the Lady Margaret, be clerely brages, and of noo trowth. This notwithstanding, the Popes and the Venetians army, not being best furnished of fotemen, ner mynding to experiment any thing, which might be to ther daungier, abiding the descent of the Swiches, and the cumming of the men of armes out of Fraunce, retired and withdrewe themselfes to Marinian; entending to demore there, tyl the hol army of the liege shuld be joyned to gither, wherby they might be more sufficient and puissant to pursue and set upon ther enemies.

I cannot perceyve, albeit gret offres by the Emperours agentes be dayly made to the Popes Holynes, and the Venetians, and that also, as hitherto,

[1] See letters from the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Gregory da Casale, from 11th to 21st July 1526, in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VIII. leaves 93 B. 101 B.

[2] See letter from Dr. Taylor at Amboise, 28th July 1526, in the British Museum, Caligula, D. IX. leaf 232.

[3] Ferdinand.

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the French King hath been very remisse and slakke in sending of his men of armes, and conducting of the Swiches; but that they, constantly rejecting the said offres, be determined to the execution of the liege; trusting that Your Grace will not oonly entre in to the same liege, but also, eyther by the way of gift, or lone, upon good suerties and cautions, contribute towardes the charges of the same. In the persuading wherof, I have not seen any men in my life more vehement, then the Popes and the French Kinges Ambassadours, with the Secretary of Venyce, hath ben. Howbeit, Sire, they have not been soo hoot, but I have been as colde, and have made as many reasons, dissuading your short entre in to the said liege, and contribution therunto, as they have made for the acceleration and avauncement therof; wherwith, hitherto, as far as I can conjecte, they seme to be contented; praying God they may soo continue, de quo plurimum dubito et vereor.

The Lady Margaret, mynding to cal hom thEmperours Ambassadour [1], who hath of a good season demored here, hath sent hither to reside in his place the Provost of Cassiles [2], whom Your Grace, I dowte not, right wel knowith. I have ordred, soo the same may stande with your gracious pleasour, that they, conducted and accompanied by Doctor Knight, your Secretary, shalbe with Your Grace at Winchestre, on Our Ladyes Day [3], next cumming; the oon to take his leave, and the other to declare his charge. It may please Your Highnes, therfor, to geve ordre for ther lodging accordingly.

Sire, I have divised certain letters for the matiers of Irelande, which I sende unto Your Highnes herwith, to be signed with your gracious hande; beseching the same to remitte them unto me with diligence. And thus Our Lord preserve your most noble and royal astate. At Your Graces Manour of Hamptoncourt, the 11th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

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[1] Sieur des Mares.

[2] The letter from the Archduchess Margaret, accrediting the Provost of Cassel as Ambassador in England, dated at Mechlin, 27th July 1526, is preserved in the Museum, Galba, B. IX. leaf 25 B. The next leaf contains her letter of introduction of the new Ambassador to Wolsey, whom she addressed by the style of "Mons. le Legat, mon bon Filz;" subscribing herself, "vostre bonne Mere, MARGUERITE."

[3] August 15th.

XCV. Secretary Knighte *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith it Your good Grace to understand, that my sykenesse dyd so vex me in this jorney, that I cowde not atteigne unto Winchester bifore Monday, withowt evydent jepertie of my lyfe; wherefor I dyd send my chapelayne unto my Lord Sandes bifore, with the pacquet of letters, that Your Grace dyd send unto me, at my beyng at Gulforde, and yeving knowledge unto my Lorde Sandes the cawse of cummyng of thAmbassadours, so that the Kinges Highnesse was therof advertised, bifore the arripvall of thAmbassadours. The saide daye, beyng Monday, the Kyng dyd ryde on hontyng. The next day I dyd speke with His Highnesse, and he dyd make unto me veari honorable recule, with delyvery of his Signet, and meny good woordes, for which all I moste humbly thank Your Grace. Aftyr his first Masse was done, I wente unto hym, withyn his travesse, and there made Your Graces recommendations, in best manyer that I cowd, shewing that albe yt that Your Grace had advertised hym, bi briefe and compendiouse writing, of such newys, as were cum unto your knowlege sythyns the 23th, 24th, and 25th of the last moneth; yet, for his more ample information, Your Grace had opyned at large unto me, willyng, yf it were His Highnesse pleasure to here, that I shuld make rehersall at lenght, as Your Grace had instructed me. His Highnesse answered, that he had perceyved inowghe by Your Graces writing, and mervayled much of the variablenesse of the Pope, and of the importune suete, that thei do make to bring His Highnesse into this lege; insomuche that thopynyon of the confederates was, bifore tyme, that His Grace shuld not entre, withowte certayne capitulations and conventions first to be treated and concluded for his indempnites; whereof, at this tyme, albeyt thei doith sue that he shulde entre, of those conventions thei spekith no thyng[2]. He concluded that Your Grace doyth yeve the Ambassatours answere, bothe honourable and reasonable. I moved unto hym, how exspedient yt were for the successes, that his progresse were more nere unto Your Grace. He answered, that he dyd not se grete cawse, whi that he shuld altre his progresse, for he entendyd to se my Ladi Princesse, and shortly aftyr to approche within 30 myles of yow.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 7. No. 62.

[2] King Henry VIII. was nominated Protector of the Clementine League, by Bull of Pope Clement VII., dated 15th August 1526. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 187.

I moved

I moved unto His Highnesse that, that Your Grace willed Mr. Sampson, Wolman [1], and me, for the coadjutoryes of such Deanryes as Mr. Pace [2] hath; and His Highnesse dyd gretely accept and commend your honorable and fatherly entention in that poynte, saiyng, that as Your Grace dyd thyng good for the disposition of the Deanrys, so wolde His Highnesse be very wele content.

As for the copy of Luthers letter, His Grace knoweth none other, but that Sir Thomas More hath hit. Syr, this is my syk day; the Kinges Highnesse is content that I do remayne hyre, tyll I be recovred. I beseche Your Grace to pardone this rude letter. The Holygoste preserve Your good Grace. At Winchestre, this Tuysday 21th dai of August.

Your moste humble Bedesman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) W. KNIGHTE.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XCVI. WOLSEY *to* MORE. [3]

MASTER MORE. Albeit I am very joieuslx that my procedinges, devises, and conferences with the Ambassadeurs, have been to the Kinges contentacion, in putting over, without discoraging of the confederates, His Graces entre in to the liege [4]; yet nowe I am in noo smal perplexite howe the same may be continued: forasmoch as sufficient commissions and auctorites, aswel from the Popes Holynes [5], as from the Seniory [6] of Venise, be arrived here, and howerly the Ambassadour of Fraunce [7] lokith for the semblable from his

1 Richard Wolman, who was made Dean of Wells 1530, and died 1537.

2 Pace, who was Dean of St. Paul's, and of Salisbury, was recalled from Venice in October 1525, on account of his health. He afterwards became insane. Holinshed makes Pace's insanity, and Gardyner's succession to the office of Secretary, contemporaneous; and fixes them in the commencement of 1529. As he was clearly wrong in supposing Gardyner to have been the immediate successor of Pace, he was probably so in the date he assigns to the other event; and it is likely that Pace's malady had become inveterate, before Knighte superseded him in the secretaryship, and coadjutors were appointed in his ecclesiastical functions.

3 Printed from a minute in the hand-writing of Thomas Crumwell, corrected by Wolsey, remaining in the Chapter House among Wolsey's Miscellaneous Papers.

4 The Clementine league, concluded at Cognac 22d May 1526.

5 The Pope's Bull is dated 15th August 1526.

6 The Doge's commission is printed in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 185. and bears date 23d July 1526.

7 John Joachim's general commission, as Ambassador from France, is dated as early as the 20th June, and is to be found in the same volume. His special commission is not there.

master.

master. For nowe, if upon the exhibition of the said commissions, I shuld not fal in treaty with them, upon the Kinges said entree, there might therby be goven unto them vehement cause of suspition; which, percace, might dryve them the rather in to the Emperours devotion, and the lesse herafter to esteme the Kinges Highnes. Wherfor I purpose, if it shal soo stande with the Kinges pleasure, wherof I pray youe I may be advertised by your next letters, after the French Kinges commission shalbe here arryvyd, if they vehemently presse me, to begyne to commune with them upon the Kinges said entre, for the avoyding of the said suspition. Howbeit, aswel for the ordering of matiers bitwen us and Fraunce, as for the assuraunce of the Kinges pention [1], with other thinges that I shal laye in the waye, I dowte not soo to put over and entrice the articules of this new treatie, that the tyme of doing any thing this yere shalbe wel passed, or any conclusion may be taken therin in the same. And, in my poore opinion, it shal more stande with the Kinges honnour and reputacion, thus to procede with the said Ambassadours, thenne not to treate with them; considering they be furnished with such commissions, as was divised and desired by the Kinges Highnes. Better it shalbe thus to passe the tyme, and dalye with them, thenne nowe to make any expresse refusal, eyther of the Kinges said entre, or to delay to commune and treate upon the same; nam inter tractandum varia occurrere et incidere possint, que rem, ut tua prudentia facile perspicit, citra suspitionem, differre et protelare queant.

It is sumwhat to my marvel, that the Kinges Highnes, as I have by myn other letters signified unto youe, makith difficultie for the lending of the Peter Pumgarnet to the Ambassadour of Fraunce, considering the manifold good desertes of the said Ambassadour, and the gret proufit and commoditie, that shal arrise unto His Grace therby. And, in my jugement, it is not to be suspected or feared, that she shall or may be used by the said Ambassadour against the Kinges Highnes, in any hostilite, considering that the suerties shalbe bounde aswel for that point, as for her redeliverey at the yeres ende; and that ther is more lightlynes of strayter conjunction with Fraunce, thenne of any brech. And where as your letters purportith, that the Kinges Highnes may have fyve hundred merkes for the loone of the said ship, besides the advauntage of his custumes of his owne subgettes; as therunto it is to be considered, that the custumes of the straungiers amountith far above the custumes of his owne subgiettes; for, for oon hundred pownde, payde by the Englishemen, the straunger payith nyne

[1] This was one of the articles of the Treaty of the Moore, 30th August 1525.

hundred.

hundred. Besides this, I suppose if the King have, for the loone of her, fyve hundred merkes, His Grace must, at his owne coste and charge, newe rigge, trymme, and tacle her, which percace wol surmounte the summe of the sayd fyve hundred merkes; wher as the Ambassadour offrith to doo the same at his owne propre exspenses. Moore thenne this I cannot saye, remitting al to the Kinges noble pleasour and gratitude; most humbly beseching His Grace to have consideration of such good office, as the said Ambassadour hath, and dayly may doo, for the advauncement of his present affayres.

I sende unto the Kinges Highnes, by my Lord of Excetour berer herof, certain of such Crownes of the Roose, as be newly stryken and coyned in the Kinges Mynte; which be of like fynesse and poise as the Crowne Soliel; and, as ye doo knowe, the same be proclamed to be curraunt after the rate of 4*s.* 6*d.* a pece. I trust the facion of them shal please the Kinges Highnes. Youe may shewe unto His Grace, that I wold suffre noon of them to passe out of his Mynte, and be curraunt, unto such tyme as His Grace had seene the prynte and facion of the same, and his pleasour notified unto me therupon, accordingly.

And where as ye notified unto me, that the Kinges pleasour is, that His Graces answer to Luthers lettre shuld be incontinently set forth to the Princes of Almayne, without abiding or tarying for the copie therof, mesemeth it is not convenient, that this shuld be doon, in my poore opinion; aswel for that Luther, who is ful of sutelte and craft, herafter might percace denye, that any such letter hath been sent by hym unto the Kinges Highnes, as that the said answer, not having the said copy adjoyned therunto, shuld be, for want therof, to the reders and herers therof, sumwhat diminute and obscure.[1]

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[1] The circumstances alluded to in this letter, shew that it must have been written in the Autumn of 1526; and the subsequent letters from Knighte prove that its date must have been late in September.

XCVII. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your good Grace to understond, that Sir Thomas More beyng at this tyme absent, bi the Kinges commaundement, to thentent that he shulde vew certayn landes of the Duchye of Lancastre, as Daventre, Higham Ferez, and other, his servaunt arripved here, with letters from Your Grace unto the sayde Sir Thomas, upon Thursday laste; whiche I wolde not presume to see, dowtyng of Your Graces pleasure, but dyd send immediatly the sayde servaunt unto his master, and yesterday Sir Thomas Moore countremaunded his servaunt with the sayde letters, wyllyng me to exequute that, that Your Grace commaunded hym to doo. Whereupon I reasortyd, as I myght convenyently, unto the Kynges Highnesse; and aftyr Your Graces moste herti recommendations made unto hym, I dyd rede the newys of Italye; to whiche he sayde, that the first letter, dated 21st August[2], was veari olde, and of liklihood a double of sum lyke, that was sent before; the other, beyng of a more freshe date, His Grace accepted in the best parte. Aftyr this I dyd rede unto His Highnesse Sir Jhon Walloppes letter, wherein he noted that yt was spoken in Flaundres, bi reason of certayn that passed from Spaigne to Flaundres in 8 dayes, that thEmperour shuld have 80 shippes prepared, for transportyng of his armye into Italye. And in this poynte, he thynketh veari good, that Your Grace shulde advyse exhorte and admonyshe thAmbassadours of the Pope, French King, and Venetians, to wrighte unto thair Soveraignes to be vigilant and circumspect, and to foresee and prepare in tyme agaynst lyke purposes.

Moreovyr, where as in all letters, and specially those that beth in Frenche, sente from Your Grace unto His Highnesse, to be signed, there ys a litle billet conteigned, for the Kinges bettre information of subscription of the letters, His Highnesse willed me to desyre Your Grace, that I myght have a memorial, how the said letters shuld be subscrybed, withowte any ferther usyng of the sayde billiettes; inasmoche as it hath pleased His Highnesse, and Your Grace, that I shulde yeve contynuel attendaunce upon hym.

I do returne unto Your Grace, with this, the 4 letters for Fraunce, and 2 for Scotland, signed by the Kinges Highnesse; which as I dyd

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 7. No. 67.

[2] Two letters from the Bishop of Worcester to Wolsey, dated at Rome, 21st August 1526, are in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VIII. leaf 113.

rede

rede unto hym, he accepted with grete pleasure and contentation. The Blessed Trynyte preserve Your Grace. At Ampthyll, the last day of September.

Your moste humble Bedesman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) W. KNIGHTE.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XCVIII. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understond, that, this first day of October, I received Your Graces letters sent unto M^r^. More, and dated at your Manour of the More[2], the 29th day of the last moneth; and with the same was a letter from my Lord Cardinal Campegius, oon from my Lorde of Bathe and M^r^. Doctor Taylour[3], and a precept for proclamation of coignes to be executed in the Kinges Cowrte; whiche letters, aftyr that I had openyd and perfectly overloked, I reapared unto the Kinges Highnesse, and makyng your moste herty recommendations, declared theffect of Your Graces letter, dyrected unto M^r^. More. Aftyr that done, His Highnesse dyd yeve fast and ferme audience unto the hole contentes of my Lord Cardinal Campegius and my Lorde of Bathes letter, rejoysing gretely that the successes of Italy beth so prosperous; and commaundyng me to wright unto Your Grace, that he perceyveth bi those letters, that dyvers impeshmentes arriseth owtwardes, wherbi his entry into the lege of Italy may be wele, and with good color, differred, withowte his dishonour; whereof His Highnesse is veari glad.

Moreovyr, it pleasith His Highnesse gretely, that Moret shall have a commission sufficient to treate upon the mariage and peax perpetuel; and is desyrous of Moretts cummyng, assured that dyvers thinges, towched covertly in my Lorde of Bathes letters, shalbe at Moretts[4] cummyng largeli opyned and declared.

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 305.

[2] The same observation which has been made in page 150, respecting Hampton Court, applies also to the Moore. Wolsey, in writing to the King, dates from "your Manour of the Moore," p. 163.; but Knighte here calls it Wolsey's Manor.

[3] Bishop Clerk, about this time, succeeded Dr. Taylor, as Ambassador in France. There is a letter from the former to Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Amboise, 13th September 1526, in the Museum, Caligula, D. IX. leaf 244.

[4] Charles de Soliers, Seigneur de Morette, Gentleman of the French King's Chamber, arrived before the end of this month of October.

This nyght I do loke for Sir Thomas More, to whome I entend to delyvre the precept for proclamation of the coignes; and if he do not cum this nyght, I shall, in the mornyng, shew hit unto M^r^. Treasorer[1], which is oonly here, at this tyme, of the hed officers, and immediatly cawse hym to execute hytt.

The Kynges Highnesse called me unto him upon Sonday, in presence of M^r^. Tresorer, commaundyng me to wright unto Your Grace, and shew, that where as oon Launcelot Lowther, Connestable of the Castell of Holte, hath done greate pleasure unto His Highnesse heretofore, and this yere, by bringinge unto hym certayn castes of hawkes, and yevyng attendaunce upon His Highnesse a greate parte of this sommyr, he hath, at the humble suete of the sayde Launcelot, graunted unto hym, that oon Thomas ap Hoell, son in law unto Launcelot, shalbe joyned in patent with hym; desyring and willing Your Grace to ow hym your gracious favour, for the spedy exspedition of his patent[2].

I returne unto Your Grace, with these, according unto your commaundement, my Lorde of Bathes letter.

This daye my Lady Princesse is departed from the Cowrte. The blessed Trynyte preserve Your good Grace. At Ampthill, this first day of Octobre.

Your moste humble Bedesman,

(*Signed*) W^m^. KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XCIX. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[3]

SIR. After my mooste humble and lowly recommend[*ations*]. It may like Your Highness to undirstonde, that like [*often*]tymes it happenyth, quod post tristia et adversa, s[*equuntur*] leta et secunda; so this present hour I have, by rela[*tion*] of the Poopis Ambassadour and Secretary of Venece, [*who*] with Ambassadour of France, be al nowe here with me, receyved newes that the

[1] Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household.

[2] The patent appointing Lancelot Lowther and Thomas ap Hoell to be Constable of Lyons alias Holt Castle, in Denbighshire, is dated 5th October 1526.

[3] This letter is injured by damp, and by the margin being torn. Some of the lacunæ are supplied by conjecture.

citie

citie of Cremone is, by dedicion, rendred unto the army of the liege; and that such [*men of*] werre, as wer within, having onely thair , and leving their armure behinde them, be suffred to departe into Almayne, with othe and promyse, that [*they*] shal not from hensfurth bere armes against the liege: and furthermore, that the citie of Jeane [*is in*] extreme pointe of taking, in so moch as they, within [*5 or*] 6 dayes, loke to have semblable newes of the w[*inning*] therof. I also undirstond, by the said French Ambassadour, that the King his maister, beyng right hevy of this sinful and detestable attemptate, haynously and presumpt[*uously*] committed against the Poopis Holynes[1] by the Cardinal Columpna and Don Hugo de Moncada, takith [*the same*] to moost high grefe and displeasur; mynding extremite and effecte to put his hande of the same. In which matier, and what is f[*urther*] upon thise capitulacions passed by th[*e said*] Don Hugo, I have had with the said Ambass[*adours*] and communicacion. And, finaly, with moche deba[*te and many*] reasons alleged on every partie, I have to this, that I verayly trust, if Your Hig[*hnes, according to*] my former letters, can be pleased to geve unto the Po[*opis*] Holynes, towardes the mayntenance of a presidie aboute his person, which shalbe of 5000 Swyces, and 400 men at armes, the somme of 30 or 35000 ducates; the French King, with the Venetians, enforcyng and streng[*thening*] their armyes with effecte, and having secrete ayde of the Poope, wol contynue the warres and enterprises of Italie to the uttermost, omitting no thing that may be to the Emperours annoyance; and, besides that, wolbe well contented that Your Highnes not onely forbere your declaracion and entre in to the liege, but also that the Poopis Holynes, and Your Grace, during ther said enterpri[*ze*], shalbe mediatours for conducing of the peaxe, which they suppose, undoubtedly, by reason of their ernest proceding with their armyes, and for the respect that thEmperour must nedes have to the present dangier of Cristendome, shal not faile to take verey good effecte; for lacke wherof, provisions may be made against the next sommer, as my said former letters purported more at large. And over and besides the said armyes, the French King and Venecians wol bere semblable or gretter charge, for their parties, towardes the said presidie aboute the Poopis person; which, Sir, is the highest thing that in this erthe, touching those matiers, may, for this present tyme, insue unto Your Grace. For by meane hereof Your Highnes shal mowe kepe your self, your realme, and subjectes in peaxe, rest, and

[1] Rome was sacked by Moncada, and the family of Colonna, on the 20th of September 1526.

 tranquillite;

tranquillite; Your Grace shal have highe and notable thankes of the Poopis Holynes, the French King, the Venetians, and al the liege; ye [*shal*]l not be dryven to expone any treasur, more [*tha*]n this exile somme; Your Grace shal conserve your [*ami*]tie with thEmperour, adquiryng, with Goddes grace, greate thanke of hym, for conducyng of the peaxe; and, finally, the glory and honour therof, and of al the good successes, shal principaly be ascribed unto Your Highnes, by whois counsaile this liege hath been begon, and, God willing, shal take this vertuous and honorable ende: so as, by the meanes of Yo[*ur Highnes*], Christendome ones pacified, the Princes of the same may attende to the debellacion of the Thurkes, enemyes of Christes feith. I humbly, therfor, besech Your Hig[*hnes*], not only to regarde this high and notable commoditie [*of*] special grace, sent by Almighty God unto the sa[*me*], but also to advertise me your gracious pleasure herin; so as Your Highnes beyng so contented, provision [*of*] money may promptely, with this expedicion be made, be sent unto the Poopis Holynes, in th[*is*] the verey tyme convenient, necessary, and requisite, as Maister Deane of your Chapell [1] can shewe unto Your Grace more at large; to whom it may please the same to gyve credence. And to the intent Your Highnes shal perceyve, howe displeasantly the F[*renche*] King takith the said attemptate, I sende unto the same herewith, his originall letters, sent unto his [*said*] Ambassadour; praying God that this matter now to this good effecte, may succede dayly better to your perpetuel honour, joy, and . And thus Almighty God preserve your m[*ost noble and*] royal astate. From your Manour of Ha[*mpton Court*], the nynth Day of October, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

Dr. Sampson.

C. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY. [1]

\- - - - - - - - - - - unto M[r]. More, dated at Hampton Court, the 8th day of this m[*onth, on*] the 9th of the same; and forasmuche as M[r]. More was dep[*arted to*] London, I oppenyd the pacquet, and perused M[r]. More his let[*ter, and*] the rest; and as sone as I had the Kinges Highnes at convenyent, I reasorted unto hym, and used this ordre in [*reading*] of the letters. First, I dyd rede unto His Highnesse the newys of Hungary, becawse they have bene longe in communication, and in , and the Popes briefe doyth make mention of the overthrow [*and*] ruyne; which His Highnesse lamented sorowfully, saying dolorously, that Hungari, which had bene the shelde and propug[*naculum*] of Christendome, tyme owte of mynde, was now, bi the foly of Cri[*stian*] Princes, subdued, and in the servitute of infidelys, and Aws[*tria*], beyng next contre adjoyning, and unable to resiste, the Turke shuld have easy entre into Almaigne; where the vyllay[*nes*], beyng verai obstynate in susteynyng the heresies of Luthere, [*and*] lateli sore punyshed for the same, yt was to be dowted, that [*they*] wolde facilement submyt theymselves unto the said Turke; and that done, which God forbede, the rest of Christendome was in g[*rete*] jepartie shortli aftyr to be conquerred, and browght unto like subjec[*tion*]. Nevyrthelesse, Hys Grace sayde, that he rejoysed in oon thynge, which is the saying of Criste unto Petre, "Oravi, ne deficiat [*fides*] tua.[2]"

Aftyr this, I dyd rede unto His Highnesse the Popis briefe, w[*hich*] movyd hym unto grete pytie, and allso unto grete indignation; forasmoche as not oonly the Pope, but the See Apostolique, h[*ath*] bene, bi a Cardinalles consent ayde and assistence, and by hym that had lateli before yeven his faith unto the Pope not toffe[*nd*] hym, so miserabli cruelly and sclawnderously violat; having in grete abhominacion thattemptat, and in moche detestation the gestes that folowed. Wherefor, albeyt Hys Highnesse acceptith, and liketh mervelowsli weale, the letter consolatorye, conceipved bi Your Grace, that shuld be now dyrected, in hys name, unto the Popis Holynesse; nevyrthelesse, aftyr that

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[1] This letter, which is considerably injured by fire, is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VIII. leaf 138.

[2] St. Luke, xxii. 32.

commaunded

commaunded me to bring eftsonys the sayd letter, wyllyng to desyre Your Grace to cancell the sayd letter, and to cawse oon other to be made of the same tenour; insertyng, in sum place convenyent of the same, that the King exhorteth, desyreth, and prayeth the Pope to not remyt his highe courage, nor to be abashed for any haynowse owtrage, lateli doone agaynst Cristes churche and His Holinesse, but to gather him self with wisdome, to styk unto that, that ys entendyd bi the lege, and to not exteme hys late promises, made unto Don Hugo and the Cardinal de Coluna, extorted by force and violence, but to thynke, in tyme convenyent, to be revenged of those his subgiectes, as neyther extemyth the honour of Cristes churche, or faithe, and loyalte unto His Holynesse. Moreovyr, His Grace noteth in the said letter these woordes, that foloweth; "In hanc vero "animorum conciliationem, ubi ceteri Principes, Deo duce, convenerint in "quam ardentissimis omnibus officijs una cum Vestra Beatitudine, illos "trahere conabimur, nemini pietate aut auxilijs cedemus;" amonges which he dowteth that this woorde "auxilijs," which is referred "ad conciliationem "Principum" shuld be takyn in auxilijs dandis contra Turcam; so that his promise, as he thynketh, myght bynde hym to do asmoche as any Prince, that wolde do moste in that exspedition. I shewyd His Grace, what I thowght yt imported, and moreovyr, that those general termes cowde not specially bynde hym; notwithstonding he desireth Your Grace to think upon hyt, and, yf nede be, to qualifye the woordes, and make theym more clere.

Aftyr this, I shewed unto His Highnesse the hole effect of Your Graces letter sent unto M^r. More, wherein he commendyd gretely your cownsel in that, that the Pope shuld in no wise departe from Rome, but there to fortifye hymselve, for such considerations

shall put hys ennymise in fere, and shall encourage
that hath cawsed Cremona and Jenua to be besieged,
enterprise His Highnesse wolde have folowed in

addyng moreovyr, that where as Your Grace thynketh [*that*] in this tyme of tribulation and adversite, all Christian Princes shulde shew sum succours and gratuite for comforcte of His Holinesse; saying that yf yt wolde please the Kinges Highnesse to sende unto hym, by way of gratuite, 30[000 *or*] 25000 ducates, His Highnesse dyd nevyr employe money unto a more honourable purpose, and rather then yt shuld faulte, Your Grace wolde bere the moytie of the said sum; His Highnesse, withoute any refusal or other deliberation, sayde, that he was veari wele content to yeve unto the Pope 30000 ducates; which, in communication, and for the assured knowlege of his

his pleasure, I rehersed and repeted dyvers tymys, and allways he confermed and persisted in his graunte and gratuite of 30000 ducates; considering, and having in his ripe remembrance, the high pleasure and prouficte, that shall arise unto hym yerely, bi Your Graces meanys, in obteignyng the myenes of alume in Italye. His Grace thynketh good, that ye do send for the Popes Ambassadour, and allso for the French Ambassadour, and aparte to shew unto the Popes Ambassadour, that these inconvenientes hath ensued unto the Popes Holynesse, for asmoche as he folowed not Your Graces cownsel; and after to say unto the French Ambassadour, that the slak proceding of his mastre, in thaffayres of Italye, hath bene grete parte cawse of the sclanderous owtrage, that happenyd in Rome lately

sharply withall; for His Highnesse sayth, that albeyt conveniently cownsailed, or in tyme requyred to do thayre duety, that notwithstonding, yf bi theyr blame any inconvenientes do arryse, they shameth not oftentymys to put the same ovyr els where. His Highnesse saiyth, also, that it is highe tyme that the Popes Holynesse do send and wright unto all Cristen Princes, exhorting theym unto a universal peaxe, and that Princes do persuade the peaxe likewise everych unto othre; and in case, all other Cristen Princes beyng content to condescend unto the peaxe, thEmperour will not be reformed by reason, His Highnesse sayde that he wolde, with other Princes, effectuelly declare hym self against the saide Emperour.

All other writinges, with them before rehersed, I dyd rede from the begynnyng unto thende, and had of His Highnesse benigne audience; which all, according unto Your Graces commandement, I do remytt by this berer. The Blessed Trynyte preserve Your good Grace. At Ampthill, this 11th of October; which day the Kinges Highnesse removeth towardes Dunstable.

Your moste humble Bedesman,[1]

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[1] The signature is cut off; the tops of the capital letters only remaining.

CI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that this houre I have receyved letters from my Lorde of Bathe, your Ambassadour with the Frenche K[*ing*], making mencion not oonely of the grete displeasure, whiche the s[*aid*] Frenche King taketh with the late enterprise commytted against the Po[*pes*] Holynes, with other thinges concernyng that mater; but also of the depeche of Moret towardes Your Highnes, with suche charge as [*shalbe*] to your contentacion and pleasure; and semblably what wer the successes of Italye comen to his knowlege at that tyme, semyng to [*be*] veray good: like as by the original letter of my said Lorde of Bathe, whiche I sende unto Your Grace herwith, the same shal more largely perceyve.

I have also receyved newes of the affaires of Hungarye, confermyng the victory had by the Turke in the batail, more by violence of [*his*] artillary, then by any other feate of werre or puissance
After the corse of the King[2] was founde,
to be in the most solempne and honourable maner entered There is a Lorde[3], possessour of the countrey called Transil[*vania*], a Prince of grete power, and of the blood royal of the said realme of Hungary, whom they of that realme have crowned King of the same, and is in Buda, the principal citee therof; having gatherd to gidre of the powre of the said realme nere to the nombre of 40000 horsmen, and almost as many fotemen; with expresse determynacion to expone their lives, as al the hole con[*trey*], dailly drawing unto them, wol do for conservacion of that realme, and expulsion of the Turkes oute of the same. So as [*it*] is to be trusted that Cristen Princes, nowe putting their handes [*to*] helpe therunto, the said realme may yet, God willing, be preserved and releved; whiche I assure Your Highnes be newes right comfortable, and shalbe, I knowe wel, to your grete rejoyce.

As I was aboute to fynish this my letter, I have knowlege that Moret is arrived; howe be it, he is so beten with the stormes, wherin he hathe

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[1] This letter is torn, and somewhat injured by damp.

[2] Solyman the Magnificent overran Hungary in August 1526, and the King, Lewis, was drowned.

[3] John Zapol Scæpus, or Sepuse, Waywode of Transylvania, assumed the title of King of Hungary, in consequence of this election of the nobles.

ben

ben in extreme dangier, that he desireth som pawse to refresh hym self, whiche had, he wol make his repaire unto Your Highnes. And in the same passage, came also the Ambassadour of Venece; remaynyng in the way, after the grete danger of the see eskaped, and commyng towardes Your Grace, as the trouble that he hathe had woll suffre. At his commyng to London, I wol further geve Your Highnes advertisement therof, and of suche other newes as shal occurre. Beseching Almyzty Jhesu to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, this 23th day of October, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Fayth.

CII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes of the good newes and successes of thaffaires of Italy, aswel in the distressing of thEmperours army by see, and profligacion of the Lanceknightes, sent from the Archeduke Ferdinande in to Italy, as also of the ardent persecution of the Pope against the Columnes [1], with the reinforcyng of his army, able to attempte summe good enterprise and expedicion against the realme of Naples. And in myn opinion, Sire, if these newes be trewe, thEmperour shal not oonly be compelled to geve right effectual herkenyng to your good exhortacions, tending to universal peax, but also your matiers with Fraunce be like to take right good effecte, to your honnour, suertie, proufit and commodite.

And as towching the newes of Hungary, it is said in Flaunders, that the Marques of Brandenbrughis brother, named Grave Hans van Savenburge, the 11th daie of Novembre last past, was chosen to be King of Hungary; who, rather thenne thArcheduke Ferdinande shulde attayne the said realme, wil confedre himself with the Turke; wherby, besides the imminent daungier, that is like to ensue to Christendom by the said Turkes victory, lately had in Hungary, he shal, throwe the dissension bitwene these two Princes con-

[1] The Family of Colonna.

tending for the said realme, have the more facile accesse to other parties of Christendom. At Your Graces Manour of Hamptoncourt, the 15th day of Decembre, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

[The following intelligence, in the handwriting of Peter Vannes, was inclosed in the preceding letter.]

Nova de rebus Italicis.

Ex Gallia fuerunt allate litere, que significant victoriam classis confœderatorum adversus classem Cesarianam; scribiturque, qualiter ex triginta duabus navibus, sexdecim tum captæ, tum submerse, sunt; ceteras vero aufugisse, quas Petrus Navarra audacissime insequebatur; idque factum fuit die 22 preteriti mensis. Adhec feliciter pugnatum est contra Germanos, ad Locum Petre, qui est in Alpibus Veronensibus; reliqui autem pedites Germani, perterriti partim difficultate transitus, partim vero adversa pugna, dicuntur pedem recepisse.

Pontifex ardentissime pergit in supplicio sumendo de Columnensibus; et fere omnia illorum loca destruxit, preterquam unam duntaxat munitissimam arcem, quam etiam oppugnare sperat. Advenerunt nunc Romam, preter illas priores copias, mille et quingenti electissimi scoppetarij, quos misit Joannes Medices; adeo quod eorum numerus non solum satis sit ad puniendos Columnenses, sed etiam ad aggrediendam expeditionem contra regnum Neapolitanum.

CIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that upon knowlege of arrival of a servant of the Lady Margarettes to thEmperours Ambassadour here resident, and that he had sent a servaunt of his to Your Grace, to require audience of the same; being also advertised from your Counsaile, that the pleasure of Your Highnes was, if the said Ambassadour had receyved any letters of mater don sens the intymacion, he shulde repaire unto Your Grace to morowe, or on Wednisday; and ellis, being his letters of an older date, he shulde

shulde declare his charge unto me: forasmoche as he advertised me that the same his charge consisted upon matier being bifore the intymacion, I have had hym with me this afternone; and perceyve, aswel by his relacion, as by tenour of his letters, whiche he hathe shewed me, receyved bothe oute of Spayne, and also from the said Lady Margaret, that thEmperour, after the uttermost offres made unto hym, being advertised that for refusaile of them the werre shulde be intymated, proponed and offred to the Ambassadours of Your Highnes, and the Frenche King, to geve unto Your Graces handes hostages, suche as were geven for Tourney, and suche other sureties, as meritoriously Your Highnes shulde be contented, that he wolde delivere the Frenche Kinges children, upon the condicions, and at the tyme, that shalbe advised; with the revocacion of tharmye, and rendicion of Genes, and other peces, whiche the Frenche King shulde rendre; desiring that upon those hostages and sureties, it myzt please Your Grace to be bounden for hym to the Frenche King, for delyvere of his said children at the said tyme to be prefixed.

The said Ambassadour saithe further, that though werre be intymate unto the said Emperour, on Your Graces behalf, yet he is expresly determyned to make no werre against the same; saying, that he knoweth no cause, why there shulde be hostilite bitwene Your Highnes and hym; for as to your dettes, he is redy to take suche way, as may be to Your Graces satisfaccion, and that for his justificacion in al matiers, he sendeth by see a gentilman of his unto Your Highnes, for whose arrival the said Ambassadour loketh hourely; in suche wise, as by the said Ambassadours wordes, maner, and letters aforesaid, whiche though he afferme wer depeched bifore the intymacion, seme neverthelas, upon many evident conjectures, to be sent sens the same, I see wel there is right good light and apparance, that meanes may be studied and divised to conduce peax bitwene the Frenche King, Your Highnes, and the said Emperour: whiche, if it may so conveniently be don, with satisfaccion of al parties, shal be moche more to the honour of Your Highnes nowe, after the intymacion, then afore.

And forasmoche as this is matier of high moment and importance, the circumstances wherof be over long to be put in writing, I intende therfore, God willing, al other maters put aparte, to repaire on Wednisday, at nyght, to Hamptoncourte, and on Thurseday to be with Your Highnes, so to have mutuel conference with the same in al suche thinges, as be to be debated towching this mater; wherin is somwhat the beter apparance, for that the said Ambassadour is moche desirous, that a post be depeched in to Spayne for this purpose, in al diligence; offering, also, to write hym self, and rather then faile, to sende an expresse messenger with the same: like as at my

repaire unto Your Highnes, I shal declare to Your Grace more at large, by the grace of Almyzty God, whom I beseche to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 2nd day of Marche, at 8 of the clok in the evenyng, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CIV. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SIR. I sende unto Your Grace the minute of a letter, to be written with your awne hande to the Frenche Kyng, responsive to such, as he hath lately writen unto Your Grace; and in myne opinion, rebus stantibus ut modo, ye shulde not write other wise unto hym; most humbly beseching Your Highnes, that after the writyng therof, to remitte the same unto me, for the expedicion of the said French Kynges servaunte. At Westminster, this Friday, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moost Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

Mon bon Frere et parfaict Amy. J'ay receu, par ce present porteur, telz oyseaulx, que mavez envoiez pour le vol du heron; dequoy, pour autant quavez entendu que je prens en ce plaisir, vous men avez fourny; pour laquelle votre bonne souvenance, je vous en mercye cordiallement. Et vous estant en non moindre vouloir et intencion ala contynuacion de la bonne amytie et alliance, qui est conclute entre nous, que je suis, je ne estudiray pas seullement comme je pouvray recompenser votre gratitude; mais aussi me trouverez doresenavant personevantement votre bon Frere, Cousin, Compere, et Allye.

[1] The probable date of this letter is shortly after the treaties were concluded between France and England, on the 30th of April 1527; and this is confirmed by a letter from Sir Thomas Cheyne to the King, dated at Lyons on the 12th of April, in which he states that the King of France had sent the hawks promised in February; which letter is in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 6.}{6}$.

CV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understande, I sende unto the same, herwith, such letters and writinges as be nowe arryved, aswel out of Fraunce, as out of Italy[2], conferming the piteous and lamentable spoiles, pillages, with most cruel murdres, committed by thEmperialles in the citie of Rome, non parcentes sacris, etati, sexui, aut religioni; and the extreme daungier, that the Poopes Holines and Cardinalles, who fled in to the Castel Angel, wer in, if, by meane of the armye of the liege, they shuld not be shortly socoured and releved. Which, Sire, is matier that must nedes commove and stire the hartes of al good Christen Princes and people, to helpe and put their handes, with effecte, to the reformacion therof, and the repressing of such tirannous deamenour. And suerly, Sire, if the Popes Holines fortune eyther to be slayne or taken, as God forbede, it shal not a litel hindre Your Graces affaires, which I have nowe in hande[3], wherin such good and substancial ordre and processe hathe hitherto been made and used, as the like, I suppose, hath not been seen in any tyme hertofore. And what is the opinion of my Lord of Rochestre[4] therin, Your Highnes shal perceyve by his original letters, which I send unto Your Grace herwith; though verayly it may be thought, that having som conjecture or smelling of the matier, his said opinion procedith rather of affection, thenne of sincerite of his lerning, or scripture; like as Your Grace, reding the said letter, shal, by your lerning and high wisedom, facyly judge and perceyve; drawing and extorting "illud, quodcunque solveris, erit solutum," otherwise then, by al lerning and interpretacion of scripture, shuld be ment therby by our Savour Christe. For by that universal soo extended, Papa posset tollere omnia; like as at my repaire unto Your Grace, the same shalbe more amply advertised of al the hol ordre and processe, that hath been made in that behaulf, whiche I truste shalbe to your contentacion and pleasour.

I sende, also, unto Your Highnes, herwith, letters receyved from Sir John Wallop[5], mencioning that the King of Boheme[6], for the respectes and con-

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[1] In the hand-writing of Dr. Stephen Gardyner, at this time Wolsey's Secretary.

[2] A letter from the Bishop of Bath to Wolsey, dated at Paris, 28th May 1527, containing intelligence of the capture of Rome by the Imperial troops, remains in the State Paper Office.

[3] The King's divorce.

[4] John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

[5] This letter is dated from Olmutz in Moravia, 26th April 1527, and remains in the State Paper Office.

[6] The Archduke Ferdinand, who claimed the Kingdom of Hungary in right of his wife.

siderations

siderations specified in the same, wil not suffre him to passe unto Vayvoda[1], wherat Your Grace, I suppose, wil make no stikking, if the thinges conteyned in the said Sir John Walloppes letters be true. And moch fortunate wer it to the benefite of Christendom, if the newes therin comprised, concerning the death of the Great Turke[2], and his elder sonne, wer true; though doubtles the crudelite and tyrannie of such as professe the name of Christen Princes, is more to be doubted, thenne coulde have been the malice of the Turkes; who, if they had entred Rome, wold not have perpetrate gretter, ne soo many, abhominations, to the hindraunce of Christes name and religion, as thise have doon: wherwith to shewe Your Grace evidently not contented, shal stande with your honnour, name, title, and dignite of your estate royal. And as I shal have further knowlege of the successes, soo I shal not fayle to advertise Your Highnes with diligence, by the grace of Almighty God, whom I besech to holde his hande over us, and to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my place besides Westmester, the seconde day of June, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. After my moste humble recommendacions. These shalbe to advertis Your Grace, that thys present howre I have receivyd dyvers letters and newes of the successes off Italye[3], whyche I sende to Your Highnes by Maistre Pietre[4], your Secretorie in Latin tonge, to the intent he shuld rede the same unto Your Grace; by the contenu wheroff, Your Highnes shall not onlye be informyd off the moste detestable, cruell, and mauldict tirannye of the Emperialles, without any regarde ad sacra, et venerandum vernaculum Jhesu Cristi, reliquias sanctorum Apostolorum et Martirum, et preciosum sanguinem et corpus Cristi, omnibus Cristianis lugendum et lachrymandum;

[1] John Zapol, Waywode of Transylvania, who claimed the same Kingdom by election.
[2] Solyman, the Magnificent.
[3] See Vitellius, B. IX. leaves 105 to 116, letters to Cardinal Wolsey from Cardinals Farnese, Sanctorum Quatuor, &c., 6th June 1527.
[4] Peter Vannes.

but

but allso how the Popes Hollynes, and the Cardinalles, rather then they wyll submytt them selffes to suche dampnable condicions, as be demaundyd by the sayde Emperialles, be determined experiri extrema queque, trustynge to be releved and socouryd by Cristen Princes. And what provisions be made and sett forthe by the Frensche Kynge, Veniciens, and the armey of the leghe, aswell by see as by lande, for that purpos, Your Grace shall perceve by the said letters; praynge God, that suche diligence maye be usyd therin, as the same maye com in tyme. And considerynge with my selfe the contenue off the sayde newes, I have a ryghte good hope, that the Popes Hollynes, and the Cardinalles, shalbe delyverd by socours and rescue, or elles by escape; for the advauncement wheroff ther is asmoche done, on Your Graces behalff, as may be excogitat; as our Lorde knowythe, who preserve your moste noble and royall estate. At Your Graces Manour off Hampton Courte, thys Trinitie Sondaye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faythe.

CVII. King Henry VIII. *to* Wolsey.

A memorial of suche thinges as the Kinges most trusty Counsailour, the Lord Legat, shal, on the Kinges behaulf, treate and conclude with the French King.[1]

(*Signed*) Henry R.

First, that the determinacion of the alternative for the mariage of my Lady Princes[2], be in to the person of the Duke of Orliaunce[3], if the French King maye, by any good persuasions, be induced therunto; with assignation of the dote and demaunde of the dowarye, with al other provisions and

[1] These instructions were probably signed on the 18th June 1527, as Cardinal Wolsey's commission, as Ambassador Extraordinary to France, was dated on that day, (Rymer, Vol. XIV. page 198.) They are in the handwriting of Dr. Gardyner, who (with Dr. John Allen) accompanied Cardinal Wolsey in his Embassy to France, as secretary. The whole of the subsequent letters, during the Embassy, are written by either Dr. Gardyner or Dr. Allen.

[2] The Princess Mary, now in the twelfth year of her age.

[3] Henry, Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis I., now in his tenth year.

securites

securites requisite in that behaulfe; the same to be committed to the discretion of the said Lord Legate.

Item, if the French King cannot be induced therunto, thenne the said alternative to be resolved in neutrum, with suche provisions as in that cace be divised and mentioned in the treatie arctioris conjunctionis.

Item, to amplifie and extende the peace perpetual, and commute the werres, concluded to be doon in Flaunders, virtute federis offensivi, in to a contribution for defence of Italy; with al clauses opportune and necessary therunto; the said contribution to begynne at June, and to continue to Novembre, at the furthest: the ordre, paymentes, and maner of which contribution, by exchange, or otherwise, to be referred to the discretion of the said Lord Legate.

Item, to determine the place of the personal meting to be at Calays, with description of the nombre of personnes, ordre, fourme, apparel, and maner therof, and al other thinges necessary to the same, after the discretion of the said Lord Legate.

Item, to conclude, if it may be soo brought aboute, a liege bitweene the Poope, the Kinges Highnes, the French King, and the Venecians, for defence of Italy, and reintegracion of the state of the Poopes Holynes, and the Church, in to the pristine maner; with a pention to the Kinges Highnes of 30000 ducates or more, if it maye be attayned, and with al clauses requisite and necessary for the same.

Item, to treate upon universal or particuler peax, abstinence, trieux, or cessacion of werre bitwen al Christen Princes, beyonde, or on this syde, the montaynes, or both, with clauses necessary and opportune in that behaulf; and also for entercourse of marchaundise, by sauf conduyt, or otherwise.

Item, to declare the Kinges uttermost resolution, what His Grace canne finally be contented to condescende unto, for the last and moste large offres that shalbe made to thEmperour, for redemption of the French Kinges childern, payment and satisfaction of the Kinges dettes, and pretences, rather thenne to cumme unto the werre.

Item, to take substancial and good wayes with the French King, for withstanding of the indiction of a General Counsail by thEmperour, or by the Poope and Cardinalles, thereunto by thEmperour constrayned; the deprivacion of the Poope that nowe is; or erection of a newe Poope; or translation of the See Apostolique in to Spayne, Germany, or elliswhere, from Rome, Avinion, or other place, where the same hath been lawfully used to be kept.

And forasmoch as the said Lorde Legate hath had mutual conference with the Kinges Highnes, in and upon the premisses, knowing the intencion and

and mynde of His Grace therin, by mowthe, and that it shal not be possible to expresse the certaintes of al the circumstances and dependences therof, bicause the same cannot be nowe here specially knowen; the Kinges Highnes, therfor, remitteth the doing and ordering therof to the wisedom, discretion, and fidelite of the said Lord Legate; not doubting but that he wol, by his wisedome, conduyte the premisses to the Kinges most honnour, suertie, proufit, and advauntage: advertising His Grace of the successes, from tyme to tyme, as shal appertayne.

(*Signed*) Henry R.[1]

CVIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that aswel by suche communication, as I had yesterday withe Monsieur de Vaulx[2] the Frenche Ambassadour, as by letters sent unto hym from the Frenche King, whiche I sende unto Your Grace herein closed, I perceyve that the same Frenche King is so occupied, not oonly aboutes matiers of justice and his fynances, but also for the spedy depeche of Monsieur de Lotrect[3], and furniture of his renforcementes in Italy, and otherwise, that if he shulde, before the same were put in good ordre, leve those matiers unperfited, it shulde be long, bifore he coude redubbe or conduce them to good effect. So as, by the relacion of the said Monsieur de Vaulx, it appereth, that the Frenche King is desirous I shuld not overmoche accelerate my journey towardes hym; and, as I perceyve, he wolde I shulde differre my setting forthe til Monday or Tuesday[4] comme sevenight. Wherfore, Sir, sens the desire of this delay procedeth of the Frenche King, it were not wel don, in my pore opynyon, that I shulde make gretter hast, than shulde be agreable to his pleasure; lest he shulde thinke that I were importune, and to moche desirous to repaire unto hym. And considering that, in this meane tyme, I may do moche good, aswel in keping of your terme, as in the ordering of thise sedicious prechers, and other thinges tending to the weale and quiete of your people; remembring also, that by this demore the more convenient tyme shalbe geven to the perfiting of suche thinges, as Your Grace hathe divised to be don at Calaies, for your

[1] Both the signatures are in the King's own hand.
[2] John Joachim Passano.
[3] Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrec, Maréchal de France.
[4] The 1st or 2d of July.

bankettes

bankettes and disportes; and that, in this season, more certain knowlaige may be had bothe of the successes at Rome; and, percase, answer had from your Ambassadours in Spayne, wherin if nede shalbe to consulte further with Your Highnes, I may commodiously do the same: I thought therfore convenient to advertise Your Grace hereof, though I have not, ne wyl, determyn any thing therin, til I maye knowe the pleasure of Your Highnes, in that behalf. I most humbly beseche Your Grace, therfore, to advertise me of your said pleasure herin by this berer, to thintent I may not only geve knowlaige therof to the said Monsieur de Vaulx, and to my Lord of Bathe [1], to signifye unto the Frenche King the tyme of my setting forthe, but also that I may ordre my self accordingly.

And being advertised, that Your Graces pleasure shalbe, I do not set forthe before the said day, I wol, if it so stonde with your said pleasure, depeche M^r. Comptroller bifore; to thintent he may vieu what may be don at Calaies towching your said devices, and advertise Your Grace of the same bifore my departure, for further provision to be made here for that purpose, and ordering of every thing, as shal best accorde with Your Graces pleasure. Thus Almyzhty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At my poore house besides Westminster, the 21st day of June, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CIX. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

SIRE. After my most lowly and humble recommendacions. It may please Your Highnes to understande, that the message, sent unto me this mornyng from the same, by Master Wolman, hath not a litle troubled my mynde, considering that Your Highnes shuld thinke or conjecte, upon such message as I sent unto Your [*Highness*] by Master Sampson, that I shuld eyther doubte, or shuld your secrete matier. For I take God to recorde, that there is nothing erthely, that I covet so moch, as the avauncyng therof; not doubting, for any thing that I have herde this overture hath cumme to the Quenes knowlege thenne I have doon bifore:

[1] John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Ambassador in France.
[2] This letter is injured by damp.

and,

and, as I said unto Master Sampson, if your brother had never knowen her, by reason wherof there was noo affinite contracted; yet, in that she was maried in facie ecclesie, and contracted per verba de presenti, there did arrise impedimentum publice honestatis, which is noo lesse impedimentum ad dirimendum matrimonium, thenne affinite, whereof the bul makith noo expresse mencion: and the woordes that I said unto Master Sampson imported noo doubt in me, for these folowing were my very wordes. Whenne he shewed unto me, that the Quene was very stif and obstinate, afferming that your brother did never knowe her carnally, and that she desired counsail aswel of your subgettes as of straungiers, I said, this devise coulde never cumme of her hed, but of summe that wer lerned; and these wer the worst poyntes, that coulde be imagened, for the empeching of this matier: for that she wold resorte unto the counsail of straungiers, or she entended to make al the counsail of the worlde, Fraunce except, as a partie against it; wherfor, I [*think*] convenient, tyl it wer knowen what shuld succede of the Pope, and to what point the French King might be brought, Your Grace shuld handle her both g[*ently*] and doulcely, as I instructed the said Master Sampson. This was in effecte the hol substaunce of my charge committed unto him; at the declaration wherof was the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk present.

At the reverence of God, Sir, and most humbly prostrate at your fete, I besech Your Grace, what soo ever reaport shalbe made unto the same, to conceyve noon opinion of me, but that in this matier, and in al other thinges that may touch your honnour and suertie, I shalbe as constant as any living creature; not letting for any daungier, obloquie, displeasour, or persecution; ye, and if al did fayle and swarve, Your Highnes shal finde me fast and constant, according to my most bounden dutie; assuredly trusting, that Your Highnes, of your high vertue and most noble disposition, wil defende the cause of your most humble servaunt and subjecte against al those, that wil any thing speke or allege to the contrary; like as Master Wolman shal shewe unto Your Highnes, unto whom I most humbly besech the same to geve noo lesse credence then to myself; praying Our Lorde to preserve your most noble and royal astate, geving unto the same the accomplishement of your desires, to the atteyning wherof I shal stike with Your Highnes, usque ad mortem. At my place besides Westmester, the firste day of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sire. After my moste humble and lowly recommendations. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes of such successes, as have occurred synnes the taking of my journay from Westmester, which was on Wedonsday last past; where in passing through London, there was a gret multitude of people of every sorte in the stretes that I passed by, which continually, in countenaunce, behavour, and wordes, made demonstracion of favour, good wil, and harty love, with open acclamations and prayour to God, that I shuld wel spede in this my journay, and shortly retourne again; which I assure Your Grace, like as it is far discrepant from such vaine tales and untrue reaportes as have been made, soo it was not a litel to my rejoyse, counforte, and consolation, to perceyve the benevolent myndes of the people, whom also, in these parties, in progresse of my journaye hitherto, I finde of semblable good wyl and mynde; being glad, after the best sorte and facion, to enterteigne not oonly such of Your Graces servauntes as passe with me, but also myn, and al other gentilmens servauntes passing in my company. And commenyng with my Lord of Cauntorbury[2], Sir Edwarde Gildeforde, and other gentilmen of these parties, who have repared unto me synnes my cumming hither, and demaunding of them of the behavour, good ordre, and rule of the people, I understande by them, and by suche facion as they use to me, and al those that goo with me perceyve it to be true, that Your Highnes hath, in these parties, as loving, kinde, obedient, and wel ruled subgettes, as in any other quartier of your realme, clere without any such talkinges, rumours, or seditious spekinges as was reaported and noysed; inasmoch as my Lord of Cauntourbury, and the other gentilmen of this shere, doo afferme, that this contre was not more quiet this twenty yere, thenne it is nowe; which reaport I perceyve to be trewe, aswel by such serch and exploration, as I have caused to be made in every quarter of the same, as by that I have harde and seen myn owne selfe; and that Your Highnes is both loved, honored, and dred, as apperteynith, far otherwise thenne I wold have thought at myn entre in to the same.

The first night of this my said journay I lodged at Sir John Wiltesheres howse[3], where met me my Lord of Cauntourbury; with whom after com-

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1 This letter is a little injured by damp.

2 Wm. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

3 Cavendish describes this house to have been two miles beyond Dartford.

munication

munication had of your secrete matier, and such other thinges as have been hitherto doon therin, I shewed him howe the knowleage therof is cumme to the Quenes Grace, and howe displeasantly she takith it, and what Your Highnes hath doon for the staying and pacification of her; declaring unto her, that Your Grace hath hitherto nothing intended, ne doon, but oonly for the serching and trying out of the trouth, proceding upon occasion geven by the French partie, and doubtes moved therin by the Bishop of Tarbe.[1] Which facion and maner liked my said Lorde of Cauntorbury very wel. And noting his countenaunce, gesture, and manour, although he sumwhat merveled, howe the Quene shuld cumme to the knowleage therof, and by whom; thinking that Your Grace might constrayne and cause her to shewe the discoverers therof unto Your Highnes: yet, as I perceyve, he is not moch altered or turned from his first facion; expressely affermyng that, howesoever displeasantly the Quene toke this matier, yet the trowth and jugement of the lawe must have place, and be folowed. And soo proceding further with him in communication, I have sufficiently instructed him, howe he shall ordre himself, in cace the Quene doo demaunde his counsail in the said matier; which myn advertisement he doth not oonly like, but also hath promised me to folowe the same accordingly. Furthermore, I divised with him of this present calamite, nowe chaunced to Christes Church, by the miserable captivite of the Pope, and what detestable, enorme, and unchristen behavour hath been used in destroying the citie of Rome, and of what noble mynde and religious disposition Your Highnes is for the redresse and reformation therof, and what divises have been conceyved and opened unto me by Your Grace upon the same, and howe that for the execution of them, with the advice and assistence of other Cardinalles, nowe being at libertie, Your Highnes sendeth me chiefly in to Fraunce. Wherat he moch rejoysed, and said that if it may succeede according to your gracious entent, much honour must nedes redounde unto Your Highnes of this my journey, and the same shal moch conferre to your secrete matier. And soo finishing with him my communication, and bidding the same farewel, I toke my journey towardes Rochestre, where I arrived upon Thursday at night; and, in the way there, encountred with me Sir Edward and Sir Henry Gildeford, accompanied with a good nombre of the gentilmen of Kent, passing with me to your citie of Rochestre, where I was lodged in the Bishoppes place, and was right lovingly and kindely by him entertaigned; with whom I fel in

[1] Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, was one of those who came on an embassy from France in the spring of 1527.

communication of the lamentable successe of the Church, and what thinges wer divised, aswel in prayour and fasting, as other good deades, and at Your Graces commaundement by me indicted, for the redresse of the same. After which communication, I asked him, whether he had hard lately any tidinges from the Court, and whether any man had been sent unto him from the Quenes Grace. At which question he sumwhat stayed and pawsed; nevertheles, in conclusion, he answerd, howe truth it is, that of late oon was sent unto him from the Quenes Grace, who brought him a message oonly by mowth, without disclosure of any particularite, that certain matiers there were, bitweene Your Grace and her lately chaunced, wherin she [*would be*] glad to have his counsail, alleging that Your Highnes was content she shuld soo have; whereunto, as he saith, he made answer, likewise by mowth, that he was redy and prone to geve unto her his counsail, in any thing that concerned or towched oonly herself, but in matiers concerning Your Highnes and here, he wold nothing doo, without knowlege of your pleasour and expresse commaundement, and herwith dismissed the messanger. After declaracion wherof, I replied and said; "My Lord, ye and I have been of an "olde acquayntaunce, and the oon hath loved and trusted the other; wherfore, "postponyng al doubte and feare, ye may be franke and playne with me, like "as I, for my partie, wil be with youe." And soo I demaunded of him, whither he had any special conjecture or knowlege, what the matier shuld be, wherin the Quene desired to have his advise. Wherunto he answered, that by certain reaport and relation he knewe nothing; howbeit upon conjecture, rysing upon such thinges as he hath harde, he thinketh it was for a divorce to be had bitwene Your Highnes and the Quene; which to conjecte, he was specially moved, upon a tale brought unto him by his brother, from London; who shewed hym, that being there, in a certain company, he harde saye that thinges wer set forth, sounding to such a purpose: wherupon, and thenne calling to remembraunce the question I moved unto him, by Your Graces commaundement, with the message sent unto him from the Quene, he verayly supposed such a matier to be in hande, and this was al he knowith therin, as he constantly affermith, without that that ever he sent any worde or knowlege therof, by his fayth, to the Quenes Grace, or any other lyving personne. Upon this occasion I said unto him, that although for such considerations, as in further hering of the matier he shal perceyve, Your Highnes was mynded not to disclose the same to many, but as secretly to handle it as might be, and therfor did communicate it unto very fewe; yet nowe, perceyving your good mynde and gracious entent to be otherwise taken by suspicions and conjectures, thenne was purposed, Your Highnes

Highnes had geven me special charge and commission to disclose the same unto him; takyng an othe of him to kepe it close and secrete, and to shewe his mynde and opinion, what he thought therin. After the which othe taken, I repeted unto him the hol matier of Fraunce, and of the mariage entended bitwen the French King and my Lady Princesse; and howe that when, in processe of that matier, besides the expectacion of the Ambassadours of Fraunce, it was on this side objected, that bifore further entree in to the treatie of the said matrimonie, it shuld first be necessary and requisite to see, whither the French King wer in such state and condition, as he might, by the lawe, contraicte mariage with my Lady Princesse, forasmoch as it was noysid abrode, that he had made a precontracte[1] with Madam Elienor; and that they, having noo commission to treate therupon, wer compelled to staye for a season; alleging, nevertheles, that such objection semed unto them very strange, and that it was not to be thought, that a Prince of honnour, as ther master is, wolde sende them in such facion to so noble a Prince, requiring his doughter in mariage, oonles he might by the lawe accomplish the same: the Bishop of Tarbe, oon of the said Ambassadours, wrote unto me from his lodging, shewing howe he was very sory for such allegacions made on this side; and that for reciproque maner, on ther partie, they wer compelled to demaunde likewise, that, on Your Graces behaulf, it shuld be shewed and opened unto them, what had been here provided for taking awaye the impediment of that mariage, wherof my Lady Princesse cummith; and that although he doubted not, but Your Graces counsail had wel forseen that same, yet, for disharge of ther duties towardes ther master, they must nedes require a sight therof; fearing, lest upon such altercacion, on both sides, litel effecte shuld succede. Whe[*rupon*] Your Highnes had commaundement to make enserch for such dispensacions as wer obteyned therfor, to shewe unto them, when they shuld require it. And, finally, for the said Bishoppes satisfaction, shewed unto him the bul of dispensacion; which, after he had deliberatly perused and red, noting and marking every material point therof, although he said, for the first sight, he supposed the said bul was not sufficient, aswel for that this impediment was de jure divino, wherwith the Pope coulde not dispense nisi ex urgentissima causa, as for other thinges deprehended in the same; yet further disputacion upon validite of the said bulle, and the impediment of the French Kinges parte, was, by mutual consent, put over, untyl my cumming in to Fraunce: mynding, in the meane season, to see what might be said for the justificacion therof,

[1] By the Treaty of Madrid.

and

and to be riped, in al poyntes, to make answer to any thing, that might be objected on eyther partie; and howe that, by Your Graces commaundement, I had sworn certain lerned men in the lawe, to wryte ther myndes in that matier, who have right clerkly handled the same, soo as the bokes excrescunt in magna volumina. And forasmoch as the Bishop of Tarbe wrote unto me, that the impediment shuld be de jure divino, I moved that question unto him in a nother case, to knowe his mynde. And thus declaring the hol matier unto him at lenght, as was divised with Your Highnes at Yorke Place, I added that, by what meanes it was not yet deprehended, an encling of this matier is cumme to the Quenes knowlege; who, being suspicious, and casting further doubtes, thenne was ment or entended, hath broken with Your Grace therof, after a veray displeasaunt maner; saying that, by my procurement and setting forth, a divorce was purposed bitwen her and Your Highnes; and bi her maner, behavour, wordes, and messages sent to diverse, hath published, divulged, and opened the same; and what Your Highnes hath said unto her therin, to the purging of the matier, howe, and after what sorte, Your Grace have used yourself, to attayne to the knowlege of him, that shulde be author of that tale unto her. And I assure Your Grace, my Lorde of Rochestre, hering the processe of the matier after this sorte, did arrecte gret blame unto the Quene, aswel for geving soo light credence in soo weighty a matier, as also, when she harde it, to handle the same in such facion, as rumor and brute shuld sprede therof; which might not oonly be summe staye and let to the universal peace, which is now in mayning and treating, but also to the gret daungier and peril of Your Graces succession, if the same shulde be further spred and divulged; and doubted not, but that if he might speke with her, and disclose unto her al the circumstances of the matier as afore, he shulde cause her gretly to repent, humille, and submitte herselfe unto Your Highnes; considering that the thing doon by Your Grace, in this matier, was soo necessary and expedient, and the Quenes acte herin soo perilous and daungerous, if it be not redubbed. Howbeit I have soo persuaded hym, that he wil nothing speke or doo therin, ne any thing counsail her, but as shal stande with your pleasour; for he saith, although she be Quene of this realme, yet he knowelegith youe for his high Souverain Lorde and King; and wil not therfor otherwise behave himself, in al matiers, concerning or towching your personne, thenne as he shalbe by Your Grace expressely commaunded; like as he made answer unto the messanger sent from the Quene, as I have bifore writen. Wherfor there restith oonly the advertisement of your pleasour to be geven unto him, wheruppon he wil incontinently repare unto Your Highnes, and further ordre

ordre himselfe to the Quene, in wordes, maner, and facion, as he shalbe by Your Grace enfourmed and instructed. At this point and conclusion I departid from my said Lorde of Rochestre, towching sum what with him, in discourse of communication, the difficile pointes, that might be objected in this matier on the French partie; first, that the impediment was de jure divino, wherunto he said, as he thenne thought, answer might be made, that it is not; but not stikking with him moch therupon, I said that an impediment of mariage there was, which must be taken awaye by dispensacion sufficient; and he assented therunto. Then I shewed him the fawte of the bul, in the suggestion, which was false; forasmoch as it was shewed unto the Pope therin, that Your Grace shuld cupere contrahere matrimonium, ad hoc, ut pacis federa conserventur, not being, at that tyme, 12 yeres of age, and, as my Lorde of Winchester deposith, not made prive to the impetracion therof. As hereunto he said, it was not his facultie, any thing to judge in that matier; nevertheles he misliked it moch, and said he had ever hard that a dispensacion is nought, si preces veritate non nitantur, and gretly lamented the negligence of them, that soo handled that thing in the begynnyng; being of soo high importaunce and gret weight, wherupon might insurge doubte or question upon the succession of Your Highnes. And more and more, as I shewed him of your protestacion made, and the deth of the King, your father, bifore the execution of the bul, and soo, quasi causa cessante cessaret gracia, he noted the matier to be more and more doubteful, and the bul diminute; merveling that noon other bul was purchased, thenne that, being so slenderly couched, and against which soo many thinges might be objected. He wold not reason the matier, but noted grete difficulte in it, as I have rehersed. Thus I departed from him, advertising the same, that I wold signifie the premisses unto Your Highnes; taking conclusion with him, that whansoever Your Grace wil sende for him, he will not fayle to repare unto the same; and soo toke my jorney towardes Feversham: where, in the meane waye bitwene Sitenborne and Feversham, encountered with me an Ambassadour[1], sent unto Your Highnes, by post, from Vayvoda, namyng himself King of Hungary; a man of good eloquence, and, as it apperith, right wise. He made salutacions unto me from his master, saying he had letters unto me, for his addresse to Your Highnes, from the same. Howbeit, not having his letters at hand, and forasmoch as we wer not fer from Feversham, he prayed me that he might passe with me to my lodging, where he wold not oonly delyver his said letters, but also disclose such thinges, as

[1] Jerome à Lasco.

wer committed unto him, on his masters behaulf, to be declared unto me; soo that after my cumming to my lodging, and delivering of his letters, he shewed me, that his charge to Your Highnes, from his master, consisted in three thinges: first, to salute Your Highnes in his masters name; secondly, to shewe unto Your Grace the erection of his master to the kindam of Hungary; thirdely, to desire Your Highnes, that such ayde and assistence, as Your Grace had appointed to geve to the late King of Hungary[1] against the Turke, Your Highnes wold now geve the same unto his master, whom the nobilitie there had chosen, as having just title to the Crowne, to ther hed and Kinge; considering that he entendith, with al his might and power, having convenient ayde of Christen Princes, to jeoparde and expone his person, to defende that realme from the Turkes malice. And to thintent by divises, questions, and objections I might enserch, and cumme to the knowlege of what disposicion his master was of, soo as I might advertise Your Highnes therof, bifore his accesse unto your presence, I said unto him that the commen fame hath been, and reaportes therof hath cumme to Your Highnes, from diverse parties, that his master had intelligence with the Turke, and had treated and practesed with him; which if it were trewe, he nedyd have non ayde sent unto him by Christen Princes, but, being the Turkes college, must be reputed unto Christen Princes as ther commen enemy. Herunto he said, truth it is, that there be presently with his master two Ambassadours, sent from the Turke, who doo continually sollicite and presse him to a confederacion with the Turke: nevertheles, abhorring that, and trusting to thayde of other Christen Princes, by good meanes delayth and puttith over ther answer; loking, in the meane tyme, for summe good resolution from Christen Princes, and specially from Your Highnes, and the French King, unto whom he hathe chiefly sent for assistence; utterly determyned never to fal in treatie with the Turke, oonles, by desperation of al other helpe, he be, for savegarde of himselfe, driven and compelled therunto; wherof he wold be right loth and sory. And soo thus far entred in communication herof, he shewed me, further, howe he hath been with the French King for that purpose, who had, as he saith, afore his cumming unto him, sent an Ambassadour to his master, to make congratulacions of his erection to that dignitie, and to promise him ayde against the Turke, and howe honorably the French King enterteyned him, and made him Knight of his Ordre; adding therunto, what answer he nowe had of the said French King, concerning his request for ayde against the Turke; which was, as he saith, that althowe the French King, by

[1] Lewis II., who was slain, 1526, at the battle of Mohacz.

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his Ambassadour lately sent unto the said Vayvoda, promised to ayde him against the Turke, yet the miserable chaunce, which hath fortuned synnes that tyme in the Church, which is intestinum venenum, and spedely to be loked unto, purged, and clensed, lest therupon shuld ensue destruction and subversion of the hol, puttith him nowe to such charge and coste, as he cannot wel furnish both parties as he wold: nevertheles, these matiers oones componed and redressed, he wil not fayle, according to his former promise, to maynteyne and ayde the sayd Vayvoda, for his defence of the realme of Hungary, and expelling of the Turke owte of the same. Which answer, Sire, in my poore opinion, may be good, at this tyme, to be made by Your Highnes, wherby ye may honnorably put over the graunte of any ayde to the said Vayvoda, or doo any thing, that may be il interpreted or taken by King Ferdinande; alleging, that in the redresse and reformacion of the high attemptates, committed and doon against the Popes Holynes, and the See Apostolique, Your Highnes, as Defensor Fidei, shalbe dryven to concurre in charges with the French King; and that not oonly for that purpose, but also concluding of universal peace, Your Highnes hath nowe sent me unto the French King; remitting the further discourse therof to Your Graces high wisedom. And thus, wading further with the said Ambassadour, he shewed unto me, that he had a special commission from his master to commen with the French King upon aliaunce and mariage with Dame Rayneta[1], having ample instructions to conclude the same. Howbeit, when he sawe the personage of the said Madame Rayneta not mete to bring forth frute, as it apperith by the liniacion of her body, he forbeare, as he affermith, to open that matier unto the French King; and synnes, jorneyng in the waye towardes Your Grace, hath divised with himself upon the marriage of Madame Elienora[2] with his said master, desiring to knowe myn opinion in that matier. Wherunto I answerd, that I wold geve him noo counsail, tyl the further successes of Christen Princes wer knowen; and that the French King and Your Grace wer soo unite and knyt together in oon wil, mynde, purpose, and entent, in procuring and bringing to passe universal peace, that the oon wold nothing doo without the other, in these commen matiers. Wherfor now his opinion was, that his master, keping himself in suspense for a while, without determining himself eyther to the oon, or the other, tyl it shalbe seen what Your Highnes and the French King may nowe doo, for conducing

[1] Renata, youngest danghter of Lewis XII., and sister-in-law of Francis I.

[2] The person here intended seems to be the Queen Dowager of Portugal, who was, at this time, affianced to Francis I.

of universal peace, and componing of the matiers of Christendom, shuld doo that, that shulde be most to his benefit and commodite; and soo, conteyning himself for a season, and forbering any confederacion or intelligence with the Turke, he shal the rather atteyne his desire, aswel in alliaunce, as in the ayde and assistence of Princes. And albeit, for a season, his master dyd lak, and not have the ayde and assistence of Your Highnes, the French King, and other Christen Princes; yet, regarding what ignominie and dishonnour in this worlde, with daungier of his soule, shuld ensue unto him by adhering to the Turke, which with no honnour, preeminence, auctorite, riches, or possessions of realmes canne be contrevayled, he ought rather stande and contynue in daungier of losse of these transitory thinges, and departe from them with honnour, thenne dishonorably, contrary to the profession of a Christen Prince, falle in composition, treatie, or intelligence with the most cruel enemye of Christes religion, for the conserving and keping of the said realmes, whereby he might incite and provoke the indignation of God, and al other Princes against him.

This gentilman hath also shewed unto me, what disordre is in the French Kinges Counsail, and howe he is destitute and unpurveyed booth of good capitaynes and money; and that the said French King, considering the captivite of the Pope, the detencion of his childern with the Emperour, with the apparaunce of attayning Italy by the Imperialles, is mervelously perplexed, and for sorowe in maner gyven to a malencolye, not knowing howe to do, or the premisses may be remedied, but oonly by your high wisedom, reputacion, counsail, and assistence. This, Sire, hath been the discourse bitwen this gentilman and me; who I suppose, accompanied with a pursuyvant, which I sende with him, wil desire to have spedy accesse unto Your Highnes, and also depech.

Thus hitherto, Sire, I have declared unto Your Grace the successes of al such thinges, as have chaunced in my voyage; and as other thinges shal cumme to my knowlege, I shal not fayle to advertise Your Highnes with diligence accordingly; beseching God to geve unto the same the accompleshement of your most noble and vertuous desires. At Feversham, this Friday at night, at then of the clok, being the 5th day of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. Ensuyng the tenour of my last letters, these shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, though the same be of litel or noon importaunce, not mete or convenient wherwith to molest Your Grace, yet for exchuing the note of negligence in wryting, I thought I coulde noo lesse doo, thenne to advertise Your Majeste of myn arryval here, at your citie of Cauntourbury; where, for your sake, I have been by the Abbot of Saincte Austyns, the Priour of Christes Church, and other gentilmen of this shire, honorably accompanyed and wel entertaigned, with the harty good wil and benevolent visage of your people and subgettes: and the more I procede in this shire, the better I finde the same in good, obedient, and quiet ordre, without that any complaincte hath been presented unto me, synnes myn entre in to the same, or any maner of encling shewed for the repayment of the lone; not doubting but whenne experience shalbe made, Your Highnes shal finde the residue of your realme of semblable good disposition, wherwith Your Grace may take singuler consolacion and rejoyse.

I send, with these presentes, such letters as I have divised to be signed by Your Highnes, for the calling of such Cardinalles, as wer absent from Rome at the persecution therof, to mete with me in Fraunce; with whom I might consulte for the ordering of Christes Church, in cace thEmperour canne be, by noo reasonable and honnorable meanes, induced to restore to libertie the Poope, and such other Cardinalles, as be with him, according to such divises, as I desired your trusty Chapelain, Master Wolman, to declare unto Your Highnes. And forasmoch as that matier requirith gret celerite, it may like Your Grace to signe the said letters, and to remitte the same unto me again, with diligence.

Your Highnes, also, shal receyve herwith an answer[1], by conjecture divised, to such letters, as Vayvoda, the electe King of Hungary, hath sent unto Your Grace; the indosing and superscription wherof must be, albeit there is contencion bitwen him and the King Ferdinande for the same realme, as he namith himself; or elles he might despaire of your good wil towardes him: and serching old presidentes and writinges to Princes, I finde it hath been alwais used, that as oon Prince namith himself, soo the other writith unto him again, althowe he be not in possession therof, or for the tyme bee

[1] See Nero, B. VI. leaf 24.

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an usurper of the same, ne videretur alius Rex de alterius titulo, sine cause cognitione, judicare; oonles it be from him, that pretendith that title to belonge unto himselfe. And it is right necessary, in my poore opinion, ut Imperialium magnitudini obvietur, that this Prince be favorably and lovingly entertaigned, lest that, he depressed, Ferdinandus nimium exaltetur; against whom, to kepe him occupied from geving assistence for the matiers of Italy, or against Fraunce, it shal not a litel conferre, that this man be a bogge; and if the werre shall fortune and succede, bitwen Your Highnes and the Emperour, this Prince maye serve to a high purpose.

As thinges shal further succede, from tyme to tyme, and place to place, I shal not fayle to advertise Your Highnes with diligence. And thus Almighty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At your citie of Cauntourbury, the 8th day of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. I sende unto Your Highnes, herwith, such letters, as I have receyved this morning, from your Ambassadours, my Lord of Bath and Sir Antony Browne[1]; by the continue wherof Your Highnes shal not oonly perceyve that the French King is delyvered of his fever, but also howe he is determined, for the mitigacion of my travayle, by the latter ende of this moneth to mete and encountre with me at Amyas[2], oonles any gret impediment, in the meane tyme, should chaunce to the letting therof. And glad I am, Sire, that the overture of the declination from the Poopes obedience, for the tyme of his captivite, hath been made to your Ambassadours by my Ladye; wherupon good grounde may be taken to proceede further in that matier, according to such divises, as have been bitwen Your Highnes and me, to the which purpose the spedy acceleracion of the repare of such Cardinalles in to Fraunce, as be absent, shal moch conferre.

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1 See their letter of 2d July 1527, published by Strype in his Memorials, Vol. I. Appendix, page 31. No. XIV.

2 Amiens.

I sende

I sende, also, unto Your Highnes, herwith, such newes, as I have receyved from Sir Gregory de Cassales, translate out of Italian in to Laten[1], wherin I note diverse good thinges: first, that the Pope, notwithstanding any pacte made with thImperialles, hath geven expresse commaundement to his capitaynes, that Parma and Placentia shal not be delyvered; secondly, howe that God hath sent such hunger and pestilence in Rome, amonges the maledicte Almaynes and Spaniardes, that they be reduced to the numbre of 12 or 13 thousand men at the most, and that with[2] thousand Swiches, wel electe, there is noo doubte, but they may easely be distrussed. There is also good apparaunce of the retourne of the Duke of Ferrare, cui Cesaris magnitudo jam incipit esse suspecta, to the parties of the liege. It servith wel, also, to the purpose, that the Cardinalles absent, being in Italy, wil gather themself togither in to Bononye[3], from whense they maye easely be induced to cumme in to Fraunce, wherof the Popes Ambassadour, now being with me here, makith noo doubte. There is good hoope, also, that by the good dexterite of Sir Gregory, the Florentines, licet non aperte, wil adhere to the liege; and as I canne conjecte by the said letters, which I pray God may be trewe, the Pope is yet in Castel Angel, from whense he shalbe more sonner and facilly delyvered, thenne out of Gayeta; whose spedy deliveraunce I besech Almighty God to accelerate, and sende unto Your Highnes your most noble and vertuous desires. From Your Graces citie of Cauntourbury, this Monday, the 8th day of Julye, at afternoon, by your

Post scripta. In the pacquett with my Lord of Baths letters, I receyved certeyn duplicates from Your Hieghnes Ambassiadours in Spayne, beryng date the 28th and 31st of Maye, of the contynewe wherof Your Grace was asserteined before my departing; wherfor it shall not be nedefull to molest and troble Your Grace with the redyng of the same.

I receyved, allso, other letters of the 16 daye of Juny; the oon from my Lord of Worcestour[4], the other[5] from Maister Almoner[6]; there is no grete

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[1] This is one of several instances, where Wolsey caused Italian despatches to be translated for the King's use into Latin. Henry probably did not understand Italian, but no reason appears for the letters being rendered into Latin, rather than English. Did it arise from his real, or affected, preference of the learned language? or from the accident, that the translator was Peter Vannes, the Latin Secretary, an Italian, who had an imperfect knowledge of English, and rendered the contents of the papers more readily into Latin?

[2] A figure is lost here.

[3] Bologna.

[4] Jerome Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester.

[5] British Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 154.

[6] Dr. Edward Lee.

mater

mater conteyned in them of importaunce, worthy to be consulted uppon, as Your Grace shall perceve by redynge of the same. The Busshopp of Tarbie[1] at that daye was not aryved at Bayona, et hoc solum boni est, quod illius adventus cum desiderio in Hispania expectaretur.

I have allsoe, Sir, as I was inclosing these my letters, been advertised from my Chauncelour of Durham, of an heynows attemptate doon by Sir John Lisle[2], and his sone: who, committed to ward at Newcastel by my Lord of Richemontes[3] Counsaill, as well for murdre and felonye, as for diverse other grevouse offences, hath not oonly broken the pryson, wherin they were themself, but allsoo other prisones ther, wherin was dyverse owtlawes kept, some for felony, some for murdre and treason. They be fledd and escaped into Scotland, and with them, at their issuyng owt of Newcastell, joyned 20 other owtlawes. By the reason of this attemptate, the saide Sir John Lisle hath not only forfeitted his lond; but his suerties, which were bond that he shuldbe trew prisoner, hath forfeitted the somme of 500 poundes. I doubte not but Your Hieghnes shall have many cravers and suters for the saide forfeittes; among whom it may like Your Hieghnes to have in your gracyouse remembraunce Sir Willyam Parr, who taketh grete payne with my Lorde of Richmonde: the saide Sir John Lisles land, or a good part therof, shalbe a verye good reward for hym. With the 500 poundes rest, Your Hieghnes maye doo your moost gratiouse pleasour. And right expedyent it shuld be, that good letters be wreten unto the King of Scottys, that these your rebelles and owtlawes be not recepted, favored, nor interteyned within his realme; and that, allso, good watche be maade by the Vicewardens of your Graces Marches foranenst Scotlond, for the taking and apprehension of them with all celeritie and spede; or ellis, tanquam desperati, they shall not faile to gether unto them moo yll disposed persons, and doo muche hurt unto Your Graces subjectes in those parties.

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

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[1] Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes.

[2] Much will be seen of the offences committed by Sir William Lisle, and his son, in the Scottish Correspondence. Cardinal Wolsey calls him Sir John Lisle, but Knighte, in a subsequent letter, 10th July 1527, states his name to be William; which is confirmed by the Scottish Correspondence above referred to.

[3] Henry Duke of Richmond.

CXIII. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understond, that the Kinges Highnesse received from yow letters, the 7th day of this moneth, and this day receipved your second letters, by which he perceyveth thoverture, that ye made unto my my Lordes of Canterbury and Rochester, with thair opynyons in the same, which His Highnesse accepteth veari thankfulli, and in the best parte, and rejoyseth inwardly, that the nobles and gentlemen of that contree hath done so faithfully and lovyngli thair deutises towardes Your Grace, and of the highe reapporte that Your Lordship maketh of the good disposition of the communes, and good ordre of justice in the same parties; right hertily desyryng yow, that ye, in all occurrentes as thei shall happen, wyll oftyntyme wright unto His Highnesse; for undowbtydly yt shalbe synguler comforcte unto hym to here, howe ye prospre in your voyage, and thoftener, the more acceptable it shalbe unto His Highnesse. And forasmoche, as in your jorney ye shall not, by chaunce, have allwayes venyson aftyr your appetite, His Highnesse hath sent unto Your Grace, at this tyme, a red deere, by a servaunt of his owen; and that, not becawse that it is a deere excellent, but forasmoche as it is, at this tyme, novelte and deynte, and moreovyr slayne of his owen hand.

Fynally, His Highnesse departeth this day from Wyndesore unto the Moore, and entendyth, God wyllyng, to be at Endvelde[2] upon Friday, at nyght, and, upon Saturday, to geve audyence unto thAmbassatour of Hungary. And if any thing be omytted in that letter, that Your Grace hath sent hither, for the depeshe of the sayde Ambassatour, His Highnesse will yeve unto me enformation; which I shall supplie, and advertise Your Grace of the same. His Highnesse, aftyr information made unto me for makyng of this, dyd here hit red at lenght. Our Lorde Jhesu preserve Your good Grace. At Wyndesore, the 9th day of July.

Your moste humble Bedesman,

(*Signed*) WILLIAM KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. VII. No. 66.
[2] Enfield in Middlesex.

CXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. In disciphring the duplicates, wherof I made mention to Your Highnes yesterday by my letters, I have founde certain newe additions, not conteyned in the other duplicates; by the continue wherof it may be perceyved, that al thEmperours and his Counsails drifte is, under colorable delayes and fayre wordes, to put over the conclusion of peace with the French King, at Your Graces hande; converting utterly, in the meane season, al ther procedinges to thatteyning of Italy; conantes, sub clipeo confidencie in Majestate Vestra, ac remissionis conditionum pacis ad eandem, rem protrahere, quo rebus interim Italicis facilius pociantur; like as Your Highnes shal more clerelye perceyve by the reding of the same: and that the denyal made by the Duke of Burbon, of admission of the trieux, taken bitwen the Pope and the Viceroy, was doon by thEmperours consent and knowlege. And thus praying our Lord, that Your Highnes may be mery at my[1] poore howse of the Moore, I most humbly bid the same farewel; trusting, that if this wynde continue, I shal take my passage tomorowe towardes Calays, from whens, of myn arryval there, and such other thinges as occurre, I shal not fayle to advertise Your Highnes accordingly. At Your Graces citie of Cauntourbury, the 9th daye of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXV. Knighte *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleasith it Your Grace to understond, that your letters, dated at Canterbury the 8th of this moneth, I received the 9th day, and immediatli delyverid your letter unto the Kynges Grace; and inasmoche as Your Graces letters dyd conteigne a grete parte of the substaunce of thother letters, and allso that it was late, and His Highnesse had laboured that day from Wyndsor

[1] This is an exception from the remark made in page 177.
[2] From the Chapter House, Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VII. No. 50.

unto

unto the Moore, he differrid the heryng of thother letters unto the next day; at which tyme I dyd rede my Lorde of Worcesters letter, and Gregori de Casselis allso; the contentes whereof, when His Highnesse had well pondred, he thowght right exspedient to advertise and desire Your Grace to make diligent request unto the Frensh Kyng, to commaunde Mouns^r^. de Lawtreck to marche and advaunce hymself, inasmoche as yf it be, as Gregoris letter makyth rapporte, there beth meny good occasions, as famyne and pestilence, to encourage the lege to revenge the enormytese doone unto our Holy Fadre, and See Apostolique. And where Your Grace cownsailed the Kinges Highnesse to send his letters unto the Kyng of Scottes, for thapprehension of Sir William Lisle, Humfrey his sonne, and others, that bi Sir Williams meanes had broken the prisone in Newcastel, and were fledd for thair refeuge into Scotland; so yt is, that the Kynges Highnes cawsed me to depeche letters for the said purpose[1], thre dayes bifore his departure from Wyndesore, unto the Kyng of Scottis, and allso unto thErle of Angwishe, in so good forme, that it is to be supposed, that the yong King and thErle wil execute the Kinges desyr effectuelly.

His Highnesse hath commaunded me, tadvertise Your Grace, that he hath bene credibli enformed, that there is a servaunt of the French Kynges, called William Steward, lateli arripved in Scotland, with letters and credence unto the Kyng of Scottes; which had not lateli declared his credence, forasmoche as the Cowncel, that shuld geve audience, lykyth hym not: the saide Stewarde bringeth horsees, swerdes, and other nouveltese, unto the saide Kyng, from the Duke of Albany; and more ovyr hath conduced certaine masons, at thinstaunce of the sayde Duke, for thamendyng and reparing of the Castell of Dombar.

The Kynges Highnesse hathe bene ascertayned of the fervent and grevous syknesse, that is chaunced unto M^r^. Bryan Tuke, and shewed hymself verri sory therfore. The Holigoste preserve Your Grace. At the More, the 10th day of July.

Your moste humble Bedesman,

(*Signed*) W. Knighte.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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[1] See the Correspondence with Scotland.

CXVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. Sone after my commyng to Dover, arrived there your trusty servaunt Basing, withe a greate, goodely, and fatt hert, sent unto me by Your Highnes; and howe gretely the same hathe ben to my consolacion and rejoysement, I can not by these my letters expresse, not only for the goodnes of the said venyson, and that the same was of your most gracious killing, but also that therby I do perceyve, to my most inwarde compforthe, that Your Highnes hathe your most humble Chaplain in your blessed remembrance: and wher I can not give sufficient and condigne thankes for the same, I shall supplye the lak therof withe my dailly prayer and diligent service, in avauncing, to my possible power, all suche thinges as may be to the accomplishement of your most vertuous desires, and exaltacion of your honour. And thus, with this determinacion to my lives ende, and remembrance of your most gracious goodnes, to morowe, at three of the cloke in the mornyng, hilari animo, I entende to take my passage to Calaies, from whens I shall not only advertise Your Highnes of myn arrivall ther, but also of all other occurrantes, from tyme to tyme; as our Lord knoweth, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Dover, the 10th day of July, by

Your moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. This daye, ensuyng the tenour of myn other letters, sent unto Your Highnes by your servaunt Basen, I entred in to my ship, in Dover Rode, bitwen thre and fowre of the clok in the mornyng; and, our Lord be thanked, had soo good and pleasaunt passage, that I arryved here, at Your Graces towne of Calays, with the Ambassadours, and a right good parte of my trayne, by nyne of the clok. At which myn arryval, I was lovingly and honnorably receyved by Your Graces Deputie, Tresaurer, and other your officers and counsailours here; with whom, after dyner, having a long discourse

course of the state of your said towne, I founde the same in noo litel disordre, and, for lak of reparations, in mervelous decaye, clerely unfurnished of tymbre, ston, borde, and of every other thing requisite for the same, gretly unpurveyed of vitayl, and the poore souldgiers far behinde and unpayde of ther wages; al which fautes, errours, and lakkes, I trust to redubbe, afore my retourne unto Your Highnes out of thiese parties.

I founde here, also, newes sent from the Prothonotary Cassales [1], dated at Venise, the 14th daye of June, which I have caused to be translated out of Italian in to the Laten tounge [2], sending the same unto Your Highnes herwith.

Other newes I have noon, at this present tyme, to advertise Your Highnes of, save that tomorowe I entende to sende letters unto your Ambassadours resident with the French King, to intimate unto him myn arryval here, and knowe what conduyt he wil assigne and appoint for my conveyaunce from hens unto Amyas, and at what tyme his pleasour shalbe, that I mete with His Grace there, to thentent that I may ordre my departing from hens accordingly.

Thus I praye Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal astate. From Your Graces towne of Calays, the 11th daye of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXVIII. Knighte *to* Wolsey. [3]

Please it Your Grace to understand, that the 10th day of this present moneth, I received from Your Lordship a pacquet of letters, and amonges the same, oon directed unto the Kinges Highnesse, whiche I delyvred immediately at the Moore. And this day, beyng the 14th day of this moneth, I received oon other pacquet, and in the same a letter for His Highnesse, then beyng at Endvelde, which was delyvred incontynently. This day Seigniour Jeronimo de Lasko, Ambassatour for the new elect Kyng of

[1] Giovanni da Casale, brother of Sir Gregory.
[2] See the first note to page 207.
[3] From the Museum, Vespasian, F. I. leaf 71. This letter is printed by Ellis.

Hungary,

Hungary, declared his charges before the Kyng and his Councel oonly, withowte any other audience; which, in the begynnyng of his oration, spake of the miserable chaunce of Hungary, and that with a good circumstaunce; shewyng aftyrwardes, how by free election of the noble men of Hungarye, Vayvoda, his mastre, beyng chosen Kyng, refused, for certayne considerations, taccept the same; neverthelesse, by importunyte of the noble men and communes of that contre, he was in a manner compelled to take the governaunce upon hym, being in ferme and good hope, that all Cristen Princes wolde accepte, and take in goode parte, his election and admyssion unto the governaunce of Hungarye. And forasmoche as the Turkes, beyng possessed in the chiefe castelles and holdes of that contree, havyng there grete nombre of men of warre in garnisons, yt is supposed and feared, that a general conquest of Hungary is by them purposed and determyned; he therefor desired sum ayde of the Kynges Highnesse, for resistence of the Turkes, and defens of the contree; and, fynally, shewed the singulier good mynde that the King of Hungarye bereth unto the Kynges Highnesse, and moreover, the grete confidens that he hathe in His Mageste; and thus makyng an ende of his oration, retyrede. Upon this the Kyng rehersed effectually, bifore his Councel, the hole contentes of the saide oration, and, shewyng his pleasure, commaunded the Deane of his Chapel [1] to exequute the same, in awnswere; whiche in effect was this. The Kynges Highnesse was right sory of the grete calamyte and ovyrthrow of the Hungaryons; and ensuyngly sayde, that forasmoche as the new Kyng was elect by thassent and consent of the nobles and communes of that reame, yt was to be thowght, that thei dyd knowe suche qualitese of vertue in his personage, as was requysite to be in hym, that shulde not oonly governe in tyme of peaxe, but allso in case of invasion bi the Turkes, shuld be moste mete to defende and resiste. Wherefor the Kinges Highnesse dyd congratulate, and was verai glad of the sayde Kynges assumption unto the governement of Hungarye. As towchyng ayde and succours, yf the contrees dyd so nere adjoyne, that His Highnesse myght conveniently, and in tyme, cum or send ayde unto theym, he wolde neyther spare his tresore, nor other thing beyng within his dominions, nor refuse to adventure his owen parsone, yf the case so requyred; but the distaunce of the regions considered, and moreovyr the cruel warre, that is norished, susteyned, and contynued in Cristyndome, not oonly betweene meane Princes, which, by mediation and persuasion of the chieffes and heddes, myght be easily reconciled, but by extreme tirannye, executed agaynst the

[1] Dr. Richard Sampson.

See

See Apostolique, and the Vicare of Criste, by hym, that of veari dueti owght to supporte, maynteigne, and defend the same; yt myght so chaunce that His Highnesse shulde see cawse to employe and bestowe all his myght and power, for redresse and reformation thereof. And, finally, thankes was gyven for the King of Hungares good mynde, and was recompensed with offerts of like kyndenesse. ThAmbassadour had a brodre with hym, called Stanyslaus de Lasko, whome, at the request of thAmbassadour, the Kyng dyd make knyght; and this doone, thei departed frome the Courte. And forasmoche as the Kinges Highnesse wold, that Your Grace shulde be participant of that that occurreth, or is by His Highnesse and Cowncel doone here, he commaunded me immediatli to wright the premisses, and afterwardes dyd send for me unto a secrete place, and willed me to wright unto Your Grace, in moste secret and diligent manyer that I cowde, this that foloweth.

So yt is, that Frauncoise Philip, Spagniard, Sewer unto the Quene, hath instauntly laboured for licence to go into Spaigne, pretendyng cawse and colour of his goyng to be, forasmoche as he sayeth he wolde viset his modre, whiche is verai sore syke. The Quene hathe bothe refused to assent unto his goyng, and allso laboured unto the Kinges Highnesse to empeshe the same. The Kinges Highnesse, knowyng grete colusion and dyssymulation betwene theym, doyth allso dissymule; faynyng that Philip his desyre ys made upon good grownde and consideration, and easyli hath persuaded the Quene to be content with his goyng; and bicawse it was thowght daungerous for hym to passe throwgh Fraunce, or, at this season, by the seeys, the Kyng hath sayde, that in case Philip be taken by ennymyse, His Highnesse will redempe him, and pay his rawnesome; and this police the Kyng useth to bring Philip in more ferme confidence: but his pleasure ys, and allso he desireth and prayeth Your Grace to use suche policie, as, notwithstanding any salveconduct that the saide Philip shall obteigne, ether by Your Graces meanes, or any other, of the Frensh King, he may be let, empeshed, and deteigned in sum quartier of Fraunce, so that it be not in any wyse knowen, that the saide lett, arrest, or deprehension shulde cum by the King, by Your Grace, or any of the Kinges subgectes. The Kinges Highnesse doith perceyve, that the Queene is thoonly cawse of this mannys goyng into Spaigne, as he that is, and hath bene allways prive unto the Quene his affaires and secretes. And where as the said Philip hath his passe-porte delivered, signed, and sealed, and hath shewed unto the King, that he entendyth to passe by Calays, and by Your Grace, and peraventure not havyng trust and confidence in any salveconduct to be grawnted in Fraunce, doith but dissymle, entendyng to passe with

with the first that will contynue the passage by see, His Grace hertili desyreth yow, in this case, to advertise my Lorde of Worcester; requiryng hym, by all manyer of ways, to herkyn, espie, serche, enquyre, to what personages in thEmperours Courte, Philip shall frequent and reasorte, and what he doyth, and what he entendyth there. The Holigoste preserve Your Grace. At Envelde this 15th day of July.

Your moste humble Bedesman, &c.

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Wm. Knighte.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendations. [*This*] shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that synnes myn arryv[*al here*], unto this daye, by reason of contrarious and tempestuous whether, I have been compelled of necessitie to make m[*yn*] abode in this Your Graces towne, for transporting of myn, [*and*] other Your Graces Counsailours horses, servauntes, and baggages h[*ither*]. By al this daye, I trust in God, al shalbe conveyed hither in good savete, soo that by Thursdaye I shalbe redy and prest to set forwardes on my journay towardes the French King, oon[*les*] that for lak of conduyt, and appoynting of the places whe[*reat*], from journaye to journaye, I shalbe lodged, wherof as [*yet*] from any of the French Kinges folkes I have no maner of kn[*owledge*], I shalbe compelled to make lenger abode here; for the acce[*leration*] of whiche conduyt, I have not oonly sped in post Monsr [*John*] Joachim to the French King, but also duplicated and tr[*ansmitted*] my letters to Your Graces Ambassadours; considering [*that*] of my long tarying here, canne cumme noo fruyte, [*but only*] detriment to the commen affaires.

After the writing of this letter, thus far, arryved post with letters from my Lord of Bath, which I sende un[*to your*] Highnes herewith; wherby the same shal perceyve, that [*although*] the French King, by his wordes, makith semblaunce and [*demon*]stracion, that he wold cumme to Amyas, yet it may [*be*] conjected, what for his debilite, and my Ladyes gowte, [*that*] he entendith to trayne me to Parys; whether to goo I [*have*]

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[1] The lacunæ in this letter arise from a small part of the margin having been torn off.

at

at al tymes shewed myself prone and redy, not refu[*sing*] any paynes or travayle, rather thenne any hindraunce shuld cumme to his personne, or empechement to his [*and*] the commen affaires; like as I have, by my diverse letters, signified unto Your Graces Ambassadours, to be declared unto the said French King.[1]

And glad I am, that the said French King likith the di[*vise*] of the assembling and calling of the Cardinalles, being at libertie, in to Fraunce; for whose cummyng thither he hath sent forth his letters, wherunto if they may be induced, the same shal not a litel conferre to Your Highnes entended purpose. For if the Pope be conveyed unto Gayetta, it wilbe long, or he shalbe recovered and put to libertie, considering the high displeasour and grudge, that thEmperour bearith towardes him; who, with the Lady Margaret, and Governers of these Lowe Parties, as I perceyve by the reaport of Master John Hacket[2], which is nowe here with me, in Calays, rejoyse noo lesse with the Poopes captivite, and depopulacion and sacking of Rome, without any respecte or compassion of the greate immanite and crudelite used there, thenne if they had goten out of the handes of the Turkes and infideles the citie of Jerusalem and the Holy Crosse; which makith me moch to feare quod induratum est cor Pharaonis, et non dimittet Pontificem, nisi in manu forti.

Your Highnes shal also receyve, herewith, a copie of such newes, as be writen to the Poopes Ambassadour here from his college in Fraunce, conteyning two good clauses; the oon is, that the Florentines have enterd in to the liege, and confermed such chapiters, as have been concluded bitwen the Marques of Saluce[3], the French King, and the Venecians. The other is, that Mons[r] de Lautret makith gret diligence in his voyage towardes Italy, where diverse bandes of the Swiches be arryved.

Thus, having noon other matier of importaunce to wryte unto Your Highnes at this tyme, I most humbly besech Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal astate. From Your Graces towne of Calays, the 16th day of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CAR[lis] EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

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[1] This appears from the despatch referred to in page 206, note 1.
[2] Envoy at the Court of the Archduchess Margaret.
[3] Mark Antony, Marquis of Saluzzo.

CXX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. Immediatly after the depech of myn other letters, and passing of the same towardes the ship, I receyved fresh letters from Mons[r] Joachim, writen in Italian tonge, which I have caused to be translate in to Laten, sending them herwith unto Your Highnes; wherby the same shalbe advertised, not oonly of such conduyt, as is appointed by the French King for my journay throught Picardie to Amyas, but also what personages be assigned to mete and encountre with me, at myn entring in to his dominions; and howe that tomorowe, Mons[r] de Buyes [1], capitayne of Boleyn, and Mons[r] de Langes [2], entende to be here at Calays, by whom I shalbe instructed of the French Kinges further pleasour, concerning my departing and setting forwarde hens. And thus, with my most humble recommendations, I besech our Lord, preserve your most noble and royal astate. From Your Graces towne of Calays, the 16th day of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXXI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that yesterdaye, at thre of the clok in the afternone, arryved here, at your towne of Calays, Mons[r] de Buyes, capitayne of Boleyn, and Mons[r] Largery, sent hither from the French King, not oonly to visite, salute, and welcom me, on His Graces behaulf, in to thiese parties, but also to divise and take ordre for my journying and conduyt unto Amyas, where the said French King, being nowe wel recovered, is determined to mete with me; saying, furthermore, that for myn accompanyng hens, and sauf conduyting, the Cardinal of Lorayn [3], with a gret nombre of gentilmen, and the Countie de Brion [4], Governour of Picardye,

[1] Odoard du Biez, Governor of Boulogne. [2] William du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey.
[3] John de Loraine, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Narbonne.
[4] Philip Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, Admiral of France.

with

with 1200 horsemen, and a good nombre of fotemen, be appointed to repare hither for that purpose; whose reaport is also confermed by such letters, as have been sent unto Master Peter Vannes from Mons[r] Joachim, conteyning also such newes as wer thenne occurrant in the French Kinges Courte; which letters, translate out of Italian in to Laten, Your Highnes shal receyve herwith.

And albeit in divising with the said Capitayne of Boleyn and Mons[r] Largery, I shewed myself very desirous to departe hens to morowe, being in convenient arredynes therfor, yet I perceyved that they wold not gladly I shuld soo doo, aswel for lak of provisions, in such places as I shuld be lodged in, as also unredynes of ther horsmen; instantly desiring me, therfor, to differre my setting forth from hens unto Monday next cumming; unto whose request, though the same was moch contrarious to myn appetite and desire, forasmoch as therby myn accesse to the French King shalbe sumwhat retarded, I was, of necessite, dryven to agree; soo that, Sire, I have concluded with them without fayle, God willing, to departe hens on Monday, in the mornyng, towardes Boleyn, and there to lodge that night; on Tuesday, from Boleyn to Montrel[1]; and on Wedonsday, from Montryl to Abavyl[2]; and there to tary, untyl such tyme, as I shalbe advertised of the French Kinges arryval at Amyas, and have knowlege of his pleasour, whanne I shal have accesse to his presence; which knowen, to remove from Abavyl to Pikeney[3], and ther tarying al night, the next daye to repare unto Amyas.

And althowe the French Kinges pleasour is, that the Cardinal of Lorayn, and the Countie de Brion, shuld cumme hither to Your Graces towne of Calays, accompanyed, as is bifore expressed, for my conveyaunce fromhens, yet I have desired and appointed with them, that they shal forbere soo to doo, without meting with me, afore myn entre in to ther Pale; from whens ordre is taken, howe they shal passe with us, from place to place, as shalbe for the suertie of us, and our baggages.

Furthermore, Sire, I, with other of your Counsailours, for the tyme of our abode here, have taken ordre, aswel for the reparacions of the gret decayes of this your towne, and specially of the jietty, wherof a gret part, yesternight, by the tempestious whether, was broken and taken away by the rages of the see, as also for the repare of your subgettes hither, with ther clothes and other merchaundizes; by the meane wherof there be certain shippes alredy arryved here with clothes, and, as the owners of the same doo afferme, there wilbe here by Saturday, if wynde and whether wil suffre, a

[1] Montreuil. [2] Abbeville. [3] Péquigny.

dosen

dosen moo, semblably laden with clothes; soo that, by litel and litel, I trust in God they shalbe trayned and allured to cumme hither, to Your Graces singuler proufit, and enriching of your towne.

And thus, Sire, as other thinges shal occurre, worthy knowlege, I shal not fayle to advertise Your Highnes accordingly; beseching God to sende unto the same the accomplishement of your noble desires. From Your Graces towne of Calays, the 18th day of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. These shalbe to geve my most humble thankes unto Your Highnes, that it hath pleased the same, by letters directed from your Secretary, to make me participant of such oration, as was made unto Your Grace, by Segniour Jheronimo de Lasko, Ambassadour from the newe electe King of Hungary, and also of the most prudent answer made unto the same; wherin, in my poore opinion, nothing was omitted, that ought to be spoken of or touched; and with the same I doubte not the said Ambassadour is, and ought to be, satisfied and contented; and moch the rather, that Your Grace hath made congratulacions, for the assumption of his master to the Crowne there, tempered and qualified in soo good maner, that noo displeasour may of reason arrise to the King of Boheme therby.

And as touching the going of Fraunces Phillipes in to Spayne, fayning the same to be for visiting of his mother, nowe sikely and aged, Your Highnes takith it suerly in the right, that it is chiefly for disclosing of the secrete matier unto thEmperour, and to divise meanes and wayes, howe your entended purpose might be empeched. Wherfor Your Highnes hath right substancially and prudently divised, like as it is more thenne necessary, that his passage in to Spayne, in any wise, shuld be letted and stopped; for if the said matier shuld cumme to thEmperours knowleage, it shuld be noo litel hinderaunce to Your Graces particuler, and the commen affayres of Christendom, which be nowe in hande. Ensuying, therfore, Your Graces pleasour, if he cumme by this way, I shal not fayle soo to ordre al thinges, that

that he shalbe stopped in summe convenient place, without suspecting that the same procedith eyther of Your Highnes, or of me. Howbeit, if he passe by see, there canne be noo provision divised, but that he, arryved in Spayne, shal have opportunite and meanes ynowe to cause the said matier to be brought to thEmperours knowlege, althowe he be not seen in his Courte, or repare unto his presence. And, in this cace, it shalbe right expedient, that my Lorde of Worcestre be instructed to have a special harkening, and, by al maner of meanes, to enserch, if, at any tyme heretofore, or upon the cummyng of the said Fraunces into Spayne, if he passe by see, there hath, or bee any spech of your said secrete matier, and what answer he shal make, for inducing of al them, that shal speke any thing therin, to interprete and take al your procedinges and doinges, in that behaulf, in good and agreable part. Howbeit the best shalbe, that the said Fraunces in noo wise doo passe in to Spayne; and if, afore the cummyng of thiese my letters unto Your Graces handes, he shal not be departed thens, there might be summe message divised to be sent from Your Highnes by him unto me, by the meane wherof he shalbe constrayned to take his journay by lande in to Spayne, wherin I doubte not to fynde meanes, that he shalbe stopped without any suspition, as afore. As our Lord knowith, who preserve your most noble and royal astate. From Your Graces towne of Calays, the 19th day of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXXIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SIRE. To thentent Your Heighnes may be advertised [*according to the*] tenour of my former letters, of the successes as they have occurred from daye to daye, [*it may please Your Grace*] tunderstande, that taking my journay by [*to*] Montrell, wher I am arryved this night, [*accompay*]ned with the Cardynall of Lorayn, [*and such other*] personages, as met with me bifore , wherof I advertised Your Highnes in my last

[1] This letter is much injured by damp.

[*letters*]

[*letters*][1], allso conduyted by the men of armes
who contynually passed with me, and garded me, as
on the frontiers towardis Flaundres. Whan I approached [*unto*] Montrell, and within a myle of the towne, encountred with me the capytayne of the leight horses of the saide towne, with a Secretary, lerned in the Laten tongue, saluted and welcumed me, offering hym and his retinue redy to attend uppon me, and to do me suche service and pleasour as might lye in theym; seying, that he had speciall commaundement from the [*King*], his maister, soo to doo; adding evermore, how moche [*the said*] King was and is bounde unto Your Grace, and sake they wer obliged of necessite to make all tions and demonstrations of kindenes . After I had made answer, in fewe woordes, that purpose, I approched the towne, with stode in aray the fotemen, and allso c of the towne, with many banerettes splayed, processions, with all dew cerimonyes me, wher the Priour of the White Fryers lerned, made an oration unto me, in Laten. Answer being made therunto, passed through the towne to my lodgyng, wher wer a gret multitude of people, on booth sydes of the streates that I passed by. And at dyverse parties in the towne, pagentes well dyvised, tending all to theffect of u[*niver*]sall peace, now soo necessary to be conduced, and the calamities of the Churche, and the redresse [*and preserva*]tion therof, to ensue by the auctoritie of Your Highness [*and*] the Frenche King, conjoyned and knit [*together in*] concorde; the particularities wherof, because [*I wold not*] truble Your Grace therwith, I have caused Maister Stevens[2] to wryte unto Maister Secretary[3], to be declared unto Your Majestie by the same.

Furthermore, the French King hath signified unto me, how his pleasour is, I shuld, as I thought good at my owne arbitre, in all suche placis as it shall fortune me to passe by in this journay, to release, pardon, and put at

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[1] This despatch was written from Boulogne on the 22d of July, and remains in the State Paper Office, but so greatly injured by wet, as to appear unworthy of publication. It described Wolsey's being met at Sandingfeld by the Cardinal of Loraine, the Lieutenant of Picardy (de Brion), and a retinue to the number of 1000 horsemen, who congratulated him in the name of the French King, and expressed Francis's gratitude to Henry VIII. and to Wolsey, for their exertions in his favour, during his captivity. The Cardinal was complimented with artillery, on his reaching Boulogne, and visited by the Mayor and his brethren, who presented him with conies and capons, and entertained him with pageants. An accident had nearly happened to Wolsey, through the "obstinacy of his mule," which was frightened by the noise of the guns.

[2] Dr. Stephen Gardyner.

[3] Knighte.

libertie

libertie, all suche transgressours as be detayned in prison, of what soo ever qualitie ther offence bee [1]; soo as ther is here pretermitted nothing, that may be any argument or token of my wellcommyng hether; neyther on the said Frenche Kinges behaulf, ne his subgettes, who hathe hetherto shewed themself very glad and joyeulz therof, for the good expectation and hope they have of theffect of the same.

Thus, succinctly advertising Your Highnes of my journay hitherward, which, by reason of the foule wether, and longe delaie, hath been in the travaile therof very tedyous; I desire Your Grace to take it in good part, and to impute nes therof to the necessyty of my journaye; wherin, [*by reason of the*] long waye from hens to Abavile, I am enforced [*to set*] forthe from this towne this mournyng, at 6 of the clok. At Montrell, at the said howre in the morning, the 24th daye of Julye, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faithe.

CXXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII. [2]

Sire. Althought by reason of the long waye from Montrell to this towne, being nere upon thirty Englishe melys, whiche I was compelled to passe this day, withowt tarying or pausing by the waye, I, and all suche as shuld serve me, be very wery; yet, postponyng al labours and paynes, I thinke it my dutey to advertise [*Your Highnes*], from tyme to tyme, and place to place, of my procedyng [*on my*] journayes with all dyligence. According wherunto, Y[*our Grace*] shall understand, that I, and all my trayne, ar t at Abavil, and have passed hither in good , accompayned in suche sorte and maner, with the Cardynal of Lorayn, the Chauncelour of Alanson [3], and suche oth[*er personages*], as I, in myn other letters, signified unto Your Highnes to [*have*] mett me betwixt Bolayn and Calays; assuring Your Highnes that, for your sake, here, and in my receving into this towne, ther [*hath*] been shewed me the gretest honnour, that they could devise. [*And*] to shew Your Highnes succinctely therof,

[1] The commission of Francis I. for this purpose, dated at St. Denis, in July 1527, is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 202.

[2] This letter has suffered some injury from damp.

[3] John Brinon.

First,

First, within two myles of Abavil, encountred with me the Maior of this towne, who, by ther Secretory, had an oration unto me, in Laten, of good lenght, conteyning like effect in words, as the other bifore. And as I approched nerer this towne, met with me the Justices of the same towne, and such as have [*thadminis*]tracyon of the lawe here; who, likewise, had prepared [*redy to*] make an oration unto me, in Laten, on ther behaulf, which was of good lenght.

Within a quarter of a myle from this towne, as I passed by, wer set in or[*der*] and placed, the dayly retinue of fotemen of this towne, both gonners, archers, halberders and alsoo crosse bowes; which wer in numbre, by estimation, two hundreth, or ther abowtes, wel trymmed and furnished, with ther dromslades, trompettes, and banerettes. And, or I entred this towne, ther was shote many gret pecis of ordynaunce, and owt of oon bolewarke a gret peale of gonnes.

At the gates of this towne, wer assembled all the processions, with suche other solempnities as they coulde devise out of the Scriptures, and other devises, confourmable to suche, as wer in Bolayne and Montrell, and tending to the same effect; the specyalties wherof be sent nowe to Maistre Secretary, to be declared unto Your Highnes.

Thus, Sire, for the acceleration of my meting with the French King, and exchuyng suche detrement as might ensue to Your [*Graces*] affayres by tract and delaye therof, I have hitherto spared no labour, ne payne, but have, with all diligence and spede possible, endevored myself to attayne the said Frenche Kinges presence; not cessing, by my letters wreten to Mons[r] Joachim, to offre and presse myself to make like diligence to passe hens to Parys, rather then any occasyon shuld be geven, wherby my commyng to the Frenche Kingis presence shuld be any more retarded. For answer of which my letters and requestes, for my going to Parys, the saide Mons[r] Joachim hathe wreten unto me, that the French King, his maister, is utterly resolved and determyned to mete with me at Amyas, according to his first appoyntment; and that, ensuying the same, he, and my Lady, his mother, entendithe, uppon Saterday next comyng, to take ther journay towardys Amyas from Parys; wher he now is constrayned so to be, for finall execution to be had of the attaincture of the Burbons [1] landes, the totall exclusyon and utter extinction and debarre of that name, blod, and familie, for ever, from that succession; for which matier, being of hight importance, and not determynable but in the French Kinges presence, for as muche as it touchith

[1] Charles Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, who was slain at Rome in May 1527.

a Pere

a Pere of that realme, the same was compelled to repaire thether; and finisshing that matier, entendith, upon Saturday, to take his journaye towardes Amyas, and to mete with me upon Wennsday next commyng; afore which tyme, oonles he shuld ride by post, consydering the distaunce betwen Parys and Amyas, whiche is fowre dayes journay after 20 myles a daye, the said French King canne not come to Amyas, wher I might have accesse unto his presence; ne I canne be suffred to passe from hens towardes hym, untyll suche tyme as as he be aryved at Amyas. Hereof I have been advertised by Mons[r] Joachims letters, who will arrive here to morowe himself, and will advertise me of all thinges accordingly.

I understand allsoo by hym that Sir G[*regory de Cassales*] is arryved in the French Court, for whom I loke howrly to come unto me, being desirous to know certenly by hym the state of the affayres of Italy. Wherof as I shall have knowlege, and suche other thinges of importaunce, I shall not faile to advertise Your Highnes, as apperteyneth. Soe I praye Allmighty God to preserve your moost noble and royall astate. At Abavile, the 24th daye of July, [*by your*]

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moost Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faithe.

CXXV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that yesterday I receyved letters from your Oratours in Spayne; and with them a scedule, conteyning suche demaundes as thEmperour (nowe upon this last requisicion made by Your Graces and the Frenche Kinges Oratours, joyntly to geders[1]) did propone; the originalles wherof reteynyng with me, to be shewed at all suche seasons as necessite shall require, I sende unto Your Highnes the copies of the same, with suché apostilles and declaracion in the mergentes, as in reding of them with good deliberacion, came unto my mynde.

[1] The original and secret instructions from Henry VIII. to Sir Francis Poyntz, sent on a special mission to the Emperor, to solicit, jointly with the French Ambassadors, the deliverance of the children of the King of France, detained as hostages under the treaty of Madrid; and also the additional instructions of Cardinal Wolsey to Sir Francis Poyntz, in May or June 1527, are in the University Library at Cambridge, E. e. 4. 27. page 43. & subs.

 And

And albeit aswel by Your said Graces Oratours letters [1], as also by the said scedule, it dothe appere that the Emperours demaundes be veray high, fer exceding and discrepant from those, that Your Highnes thought convenient to be offred by the Frenche King for redempcion of his childerne, and suche, as doubtles, without greate modificacion, the same Frenche King wyll never condescende unto; yet forasmoche as the said Emperour maketh semblance, that Your Grace shal have a greate stroke in the lymytacion and modificacion of his said demaundes, (yf he meane as he saithe) some good hope, trust, and comforte, in myn opynyon, is to be had, that by my mediacion in Your Graces name, and in straynyng also the Frenche King to that, that shalbe thought reason, some good effecte of peax may ensue; ascerteyning Your Grace, that I do not myslike that thEmperours demaundes do yet beire a visage of some difficulte, unto suche tyme, as I shalhave concluded suche thinges, as I have to do with the said Frenche King on Your Graces behalve. For the more difficulte the said Frenche King dothe nowe fynde with thEmperour, the gladder and more easy shal Your Grace have hym to treate and conclude with the same, in all thinges according to Your Graces desire. Wherin, albeit I can not well write unto Your Highnes non other particularities, or give certain jugement or counsaile, unto suche tyme, as I shalhave conferred and debated thies matiers with the Frenche King; nevertheles, by that whiche alredy my Lady hathe caused to be shewed and declared unto me, aswel by the Chaunceler of Alanson, as Mons[r] John Joachim, I am in right good hope, that your matiers shall passe, and be brought to good effecte with the said Frenche King; assuring Your Grace, that because the importance of the affaires doth require celerite and hast, I have used all possible diligence, and have made suche jorneyes hitherto, as I am sure were never made by suche a greate trayn; and have preced to comme unto the said Frenche Kinges presence, offering my self to resorte to hym, whersoever he shulde be, not bringing with me passing 10 or 12 horsses: but the said Frenche King hathe writen unto me sundry letters, of his oun hande, that he is resolutely determyned to mete me in the cite of Amyas, and in non other place, instantely praying and desyring me to be content, without further soliciting hym to the contrary. And albeit he did appointe to be ther upon Wendesday next commyng, yet being letted, partely by the disease of my Lady his moder [2], who wol in any wise also

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[1] Letters from the Bishop of Worcester and Dr. Lee, to the King and Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Valladolid, 5th, 16th, 27th, and 29th June, and 4th and 5th July 1527, are in the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaves 126—154.

[2] Louisa of Savoy, Dowager Duchess of Angoulême.

come

come thider, and partely by suche processe, as necessarely hathe required his personal presence, concernyng the atteyndour of the late Duke of Burbon, he can not be ther bifore Thurseday; so, on Friday next commyng, I trust to come to his sight and presence.

Your Grace shall also perceyve by the letters sent from Spayne, that thEmperour intendeth to trayn and conduce the Pope thider, and that His Holynes is veray desirous of the same. I doubt not but Your Grace, of your high wysedome, dothe considre what inconvenientes might hereof folowe: first, thEmperour hereby shulde easly (the Pope being absent) establishe his oun See Imperiall in the cite of Rome, adquire, possede, and take into his oun handes, the landes and patrymony of the Churche, without contradiccion, or any effectuell resistens; secondeley, he might kepe the Pope in Spayne at large, and suffer hym, under a colour of liberte, to use his adminstracion spirituall, and yet, in very dede, His Holynes shulde be in servitude, and thEmperour shulde extort of hym, from tyme to tyme, at his pleasour, aswel concernyng contribucions of sommes of money, as in compelling His Holynes to make Spenyshe Cardinalles, or to do any other thing, that may be prejudiciall to other Princes, thair frendes, and subjectes; thridly, if thEmperour shulde allecte the Pope, with his Cardinalles, into Spayne, and, by reason therof, encreace the nomber of them at his pleasour, ther is no doubte, but in cace the Pope shulde dye, he wolde fynde suche meanes, that ther shulde be a newe ther chosyn and electe at his pleasour, so that the See Apostolique shulde perpetually remain in Spain. Whiche thinges, as they be likely to ensue, I doubt not but Your Grace, of your high wisedome, can considre in what cace the See Apostolique shalbe inne, and what daunger and displeasour shulde aryse unto Your Highnes, and other Cristen Princes, by the same. For remedy and withstanding wherof, I have sent unto the Frenche King, exhorting and moving him, with diligence to advaunce and set forthe his army by see, under the conducte and leding of Andrea Doria, that he, with the same, may lye in suche awayte, as the Popes transporting into Spayne may be impeched and lett. I purpose, also, to sende unto His Holynes, advertising the same of suche good waies and meanes as be divised by Your Grace, and the Frenche King, for his spedy delyveraunce; reducing to his consideracion and remembrance, the greate and immynent perilles and dangers that may ensue, aswell to His Holynes, and the See Apostolique, as to all Christendome, yf he shulde be transported and conveyed into Spain; trusting, onles he be destitute and alienate from all reason, that he will conteigne from the said viage, and not be hasty in graunting therunto, seing

that the same can not be but to his oun distruccion, and the ruyn of all Christendome.

Here is arryved, yesterday, Myssieur Gregory de Cassales, with whom I have had a long discourse of the hevy and lacrymable successe of Rome, the particularities wherof Your Highnes shall receyve herewith; whiche be so heynous and detestable, that the same wold move any Christen mans hert to compassyon and indignacion, and specially Your Graces noble corrage, whiche hitherto hath shewed your self Christianissimum fidei et religionis cultorem ac defensorem. And moche I doubte not the Popes lamentable letters[1] directed to Your Highnes, writen with his oun hand, shall provoke and encorage the same to have Cristes and the Churches causes in your most gracious remembrance; in whose zeale, religion, feithe, magnanimyte, and comforte, the healthe and restitucion of the same to the pristyne dignitie holy dependeth. I, also, have receyved, by thands of the sayd Myssieur Gregory, not oonly from the Popes Holynes semblable letters, writen with his oun hande, plenas lacrimarum et miserie, but also from all the Cardinalles being in captivite, and from the most parte of them that be absent; the reding wherof hathe not only moved me to grete sorowe and hevenes, but also so inflamyd myn hert, that, for the reparacion of the said calamites, I am, and shalbe, redy to expone my live and blode; praying God that I may have grace so to serve, and as a most humble mynister, concurre with Your Highnes, for the redubbing of the premisses, and delyvery of the Pope and Cardinalles oute of captivitie: that it may be saide of Your Highnes per secula sempiterna,

Redijt, Henrici Octavi virtute serena,
Et fidei nitor, perpetuumque decus.

And surely, Sir, the said Myssieur Gregory hathe used hym self so wysely, and herdely, in Your Graces and the Popes causes, that aswel His Holynes, as all the Cardinalles, repute that Your Highnes hathe of hym a singler good servaunt and treasure; whom I entende, for his feithe, experience, hardines, and good activitie, to make not only your Commissary for taking of the viewes and moustres of suche fotemen, as Your Highnes is bounde to have at your charges in Italy, but also to induce the Frenche King, that some good parte of them may be under his conduct and leding; with whom I fynde hym so anymate, that he assureth to do acceptable

[1] In the British Museum, Vitellius, B. IX. leaves 111 b. to 116, are letters addressed to Wolsey by the Pope, and by several Cardinals, and conveyed by Sir Gregory da Casale. But neither the Pope's letter to the King, nor da Casale's paper here referred to, are found there.

service,

service, besides the good counsail that he can, and intendeth to give to Mons[r] de Loctryk and other capitains of the liege, which have hym, aswell for Your Graces sake, as for his good qualities and desertes, in right singler reputacion: and his being ther shall not a litle conferre to other Your Graces besynesses, by whom also, from tyme to tyme, Your Highnes shalbe truely advertised of all the successes in those parties. And forasmoche as he hathe practised with the Marques of Mantua [1] to comme into the parties of the liege, he thinketh that Your Graces letters to the said Marques, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herewith to be signed, shall moche conferre therunto. It may like Your Grace, after the signature therof, to remyt the same unto me with diligence. It shalbe, also, right expedient that Your Majestye speke roundely to thAmbassadour of Venece, by whose Seniours slak dealing thaffaires of the lege hathe hitherto yll proceded; exhorting the same to be from hensfourthe more diligent, and to have suche capitains and souldyours, as will give batail to thenemyes, without lying a loffe, to the fynall ruyn of the entended expedicion.

Fynally, Sir, I can no les do, but to advertise Your Highnes of the grete chier, and honerable enterteynment, whiche here, with as good countenaunce and doulce langage as can be divised, is shewed unto me, dailly and hourly, from place to place, by the Cardinall of Loreyn, the Countie de Brian, and suche other noble men, aswell spirituall as temporall, amounting to a greate nomber, appointed by the Frenche King to attende upon me, and to conducte me unto his presence; assuring Your Grace, that thair humanite and enterteynment is so good, the state of the countrey considered, that the same can not be amended: howe be it, in the townes and places wher I have arrived, I fynde grete derthe, skarcite of vitaile, moche disolacion, mysery, and povertie in the commen people, and veray yl logeing for me, and suche folkes as attende upon me, far discrepant and inferior to the lodging of England; notwithstanding they make the best shifte and provision that they may, with as good will and herty maner, as can be wyshed or divised.

Your Grace shall receyve, herewith, a summary of suche thinges, as the Bishop of Worcestre [2] hathe writen unto me in cifres, whiche it may like Your Highnes to take pain to rede; for by continewe of the same, Your

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[1] Frederic Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

[2] A letter from the Bishop of Worcester and Dr. Lee to Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Valladolid, 17th July 1527, is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 162; but the cyphered and separate letter of the Bishop is not to be found.

Grace

Grace shal perceyve many thinges worthy to be noted, and howe thEmperour and his Counsail (fearing the conjunccion bitweene Your Majesty and the Frenche King) entende to sowe the seedes of suspicion bitwene the same; whiche I trust to God shall not lye in thair power to do; who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Abbivile, the 29th day of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXVI. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. Dayly and howerly musing and thinking on Your Graces gret and secret affayre, and howe the same maye cumme to good effecte and desired ende, aswel for the delyveraunce of Your Grace out of the thraulde, pensif, and dolerous lif that the same is in, as for the continuaunce of your helth, and the suertie of your realme and succession, I considre howe that the Popes Holynes consent must concurre, aswel for the approbation of such processe, as shalbe made by me in the said matier, as in cace the Quene wold appelle (as it is not unlike she wil doo) or declyne from my jurisdiction; whose consent fayling, and not possible to be had, then the approbation of the Cardinalles, to be convoked in to oon place, representing the state of the College, is necessaryly requisite: for the spedy atteyning of the which consentes, I canne imagine but two remedies; the oon is the Poopes delyveraunce and restitucion to libertie; that fayling, the other is the convocation of the said Cardinalles in to summe convenient place in Fraunce; for the which purpose, both Your Highnes, the French King, and I, have not oonly sent forth our letters to al such Cardinalles as be absent, but also divised offres, allectives, and practises to be set forth, to induce them to assemble in Fraunce; of whose repare thither ther is good hoope and apparaunce.

As towching the first, that is to saye, the Popes short delyveraunce out of captivite, the same dependith moch of the peace to be concluded bitwen thEmperour and the French King; of the good succeding wherof as yet there is lytel apparaunce, considering that thEmperours demaundes be soo high, soo unresonable, and far discrepant from such offres, as wer thought by Your Highnes mete and convenient to be purposed, by your Ambassadours, for the redemption of the said French Kinges childern. And wer

it

it not, that thEmperour said to your Ambassadours, that he wold, at Your Graces mediation, relent in his demaundes, and cumme to more easy conditions; whose seing in that behaulf, it is to be doubted, whither the same procedith of good faith, or be for putting over, and tracting of the matier, as hitherto he hath doon; I shulde be in utter despaire, that the said peace shuld take effecte or succede. Nevertheles, at my cummyng to the French King, I shal not fayle, by al politique meanes, to induce, persuade, and move him, in consideration of the gret calamite of Christes Church, and delyveraunce of the Hede therof to libertie, as a most Christen King, to strayne himself to asmoch of thEmperours demaundes, as may stande with honnour and rayson, and the suertie of Your Graces and his affaires; being also contented, that, for a while, Your Graces intimation of hostilite may be forborn, put over, and delayed, to thintent that Your Highnes, using the partes of a mediatour, may knowe and experiment, whither the said Emperour meanith, and wil doo, in the mitigation of his demaundes, as he saith; whose dedes if they doo not corresponde to his saying, the same shalbe an honnorable occasion for Your Highnes to make your intimation and declaracion.

And in cace the said peace cannot be, by these meanes, brought to effecte, whereupon might ensue the Poopes delyveraunce, by whose auctorite and consent Your Graces affayre shuld take most sure, honnorable, effectual, and substancial ende; and who, I doubte not, considering Your Graces gratitude, wold facyly be induced to doo al thyng therin, that might be to Your Graces good satisfaction and purpose; thenne, and in that cace, there is noon other remedye, but the convocation of the said Cardinalles; who, as I am enfourmed, wil not, ne canne, conveniently convene in any other place but at Avinion, where the administracion of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been, in semblable caces, heretofore exercised: to the which place, if the said Cardinalles canne be induced to cumme, Your Highnes being soo contented, I purpose also to repare; not sparing any labour, travayl, or payne in my body, charges, or exspences, to doo service unto Your Grace in that behaulf, according to my most bounden dutie and hartes desire, there to consulte and divise with them, for the governaunce and administracion of the auctorite of the Church during the said captivite, which shalbe a good grounde and fundament for the effectual execution of Your Graces secrete affayre.

And forasmoch as thus reparing to Avinion, I shalbe nere to thEmperours confines, and within an hundred English myles of Parpinian [1], which

[1] Perpignan.

is

is a commodious and convenient place to commen and treate with thEmperours personne, I thinke, in my poore opinion, that the conducing of peace, by Your Graces mediation, not being desperate, nor intimacion of hostilite made on your behaulf, it shuld moch conferre, aswel for the delyveraunce of the Pope, as for the concluding of the peace bitwen the French King and thEmperour, if His Majestie canne bee soo contented, that a meating might be bitwen him, my Lady the French Kinges modre, and me, at the said Parpinian; to the which meating, as I doo perceyve, the French King and my Lady his mother, rather thenne the peace shuld not succede, wil facyly be induced: wherunto, also, if thEmperour wil condescende and agree, there is gret apparaunce that the peace bitwen him, and the French King, shal ensue, and consequently the restitucion of the Poopes Holines to libertie; besides that, that the drawing and approching of the French King, his modre, and me, towardes Italy, shal geve noo litel reputacion to the commen army there. And, furthermore, if thEmperour thus cummyng to Parpynian, as afore, shal make any gret stikking, eyther in the conditions of peace, or restitucion of the Poope to libertie, thenne the Cardinalles, being nye therunto, in such a greate and honnorable numbre, representing the hol bodye of the Colleage, may interpone themself for the inducing of the said Emperour to honest and reasonable conditions; whose mediacion, prayours, and intercession, it is to be judged, in al honnour and reason, not to be lightly estemed or neglected of the said Emperour; but he moch the rather therby induced, to the said peace and delyveraunce of the Popes Holines: which fayling, and His Majestie persisting in unreasonable and wilful demaundes, deteyning also the Poopes personne in captivite, without putting the same to such libertie, as that high administration doth require, I, with the rest of the Cardinalles, may, there and thenne, make protestacion, declaring howe we be not bounde, ne wil obeye or folowe any thing, that shalbe administred by the said Pope, as long as he shalbe soo deteigned, but wil take ordre for administracion of the Church during his said captivite; wherby thEmperour, perceyving that by deteyning of the said Poopes personne, he shall have noo benefit, neyther in his temporal possessions, ne such commodites, as shuld arrise by spiritual administration, shal moch the lesse esteme the keping of the Popes said personne, and the rather restore him to his libertie; with which our protestacion, Your Graces intimacion of hostilite, upon soo honorable occasions and groundes, may also concurre.

And althowe, for the avauncement of your particuler affayre, I have imagined and divised the premisses, being redy and prone to doo al thinges that may conferre therunto, yet, Sire, myn entent is, not that the said convention

convention of thEmperour, my Lady, and me, shal succede, oonles I shalbe enforced and constrayned to passe to Avinion, there to mete with the said Cardinalles, pro administratione rerum ecclesiasticarum, as afore; with that also, that the French King wilbe content to forbere Your Graces declaration tyl that tyme; experymenting, in the meane season, what thEmperour will saye to such newe offres, as nowe, secondly, shalbe purposed unto hym by the said French King; the same being of such good sorte, as His Majestie ought in honnour and reason to admitte and accepte. And howe Your Grace doo like the forsaid divises, it may be your pleasour to advertise me; most humbly beseching the same to take my folish fantasies in noo lesse good parte, thenne I meane in the setting forth of them. From Abavyl, the 29th day of July, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Fayth.

CXXVII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that albeit I signifyed by myn other letters unto the same, that, upon Friday next commyng, the Frenche King was determyned that I shuld occurre, encountre, and mete with hym at Amyas; yet nowe, forasmoche as my Lady, his moder, commythe with hym, the Quene of Navarre[1], and Dame Rayne[2], as also his legg, by a little clawing with chafyng of his bote and hosse in his jorney, is swelled and grevith him sore, he hathe, therefore, sent unto me Mons[r] Rochepot[3], oon of the Gentlemen of his Privey Chamber, with letters of his mynde and credence, declaring not oonly the premisses, but also to shewe unto me that it wolbe Fryday or Saturday next commyng (the wekenes of my Lady, and the sorenes of his legg considered), or he can come to Amyas; praying me to take my tarying and demore here in good part, whiche I am enforced and constrayned to doo, forasmoche as by no maner of persuasions, letters, or messengers, I can not induce the said

[1] Margaret, the King's sister, married first to the Duke of Alençon, and secondly to Henry II., King of Navarre.

[2] Renata, sister-in-law of Francis I.

[3] François de Montmorency, Sieur de Rochepot.

Frenche King to be contented, that I shulde repaire unto hym in any other place, than the said Amyas; whiche is not a litle, I assure Your Highnes (for losing of the time) to my discomforte. Notwithstanding, being in a strange Princes realme, I must conforme my self to his pleasour, wherof I thought convenient to advertise Your Highnes. Signifying unto the same, that I have receyved newe letters from your Ambassadours in Spayne, dated the 21st day of July.[1] And forasmoche in maner they be but as duplicates of thother, I thought not convenient to molest and encombre Your Highnes with the reding of them, but brevely and summarely to declare unto Your Grace, what is more conteigned in these newe letters, than in the other, whiche be fyve thinges:

The first is, your Oratours thinke that thEmperour woll not but stikk at the article, wherin he demaundeth that the French shulde pay your debtes.

The seconde is, the ayde to be geven by the French King, for the matiers of Almain.

The thride is, the payment, by the Frenche King, of suche charges, as thEmperour hathe susteyned in the werre.

The fourthe is, the article, wherby Your Highnes shulde be bounde to make warre, at your propre expences, against hym, that shulde infringe the peax, by Your Graces mediacion, to be concluded bitwene thEmperour and the Frenche King.

The fyft is, the blynde and doubtefull overture made by Monsr Buclans[2] for the aliaunce of the Duke of Richemount[3] to the Doughter of Portugale[4], with the gift of the Duchy of Myllain, in contemplacion of the same aliaunce; meanyng therby to interrupte and lett the conjunccion of Your Highnes with the Frenche King.

Your Graces Ambassadours doo not affirme, certainly, that the Emperour will relent in the foresaid foure poyntz, but oonly thair judgement procedeth of conjecture. In the residue of the demaundes, they have litle trust that thEmperour, of hym self, onles it be by Your Graces mediacion, or by some other meane, will relent; like as it is conteigned in the Bishop of Worcestres letters, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herewith; wherin yf he persist, ther

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[1] This letter from the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Lee, and Sir Francis Poyntz, to Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Valladolid, July 21, 1527, is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 174.

[2] John Almayn, or l'Alemand, Seigneur de Bouclans, Secretary to the Emperor.

[3] Henry Fitzroy.

[4] Probably Mary (daughter of Emanuel and Eleonora), whom Francis I. had, by the treaty of Madrid, engaged that his son, the Dauphin, should marry, when they should arrive at a competent age.

is

is litle apparance of peax to succede. Nevertheles, at my commyng to the Frenche King, I shall persuade and induce hym, for the good of peax, and the universall benefite of all Christendome, to condescende to as moche of the said Emperours demaundes, as may stonde with reason, Your Graces, and his suretie. As knoweth our Lorde, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Abivile, the last day of July.

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXVIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. After my most humble and lowely recommendacions, this shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that on Saterdaye last passed[1], I removed from Abivile, to a toun called Pykeney[2]; wher, in a castell belonging to Monsr de Vidams, accompanyed with the Cardinal of Loreyn, and som parte of his and myn trayne, leving the residue at Flisco[3], I was lodged that night.

On Sonday[4], after dyner, about oon of the cloke, I, likewise accompanyed with the said Cardinal, the Counte Brian, and suche other gentlemen as met and encountred with me at my first entre into this realme, I deperted from Pykeney, taking my jorney towardes Amyas; wher, the day bifore, at 5me of the cloke in the afternone, the Frenche King, with my Lady his moder, the Quene of Navarre, and many other nobles and grete personages, arrived. And passing thiderwarde, approching and drawing nigh to the said toun, within 2 myles of the same, met and encountred with me the Bailif therof, with the Burgenses and Aldermen of the same, who, by the mouthe of thair Secretary, had an ornate oracion unto me, comprising not oonly thankes and congratulacions of myn commyng and arrivaile into thise parties, but also by the same recognised, howe as well they, as al other the subjectes of the realme of Fraunce, were most astringed, obliged, and bounde to Your Highnes, for that it pleased Your Majesty[5] (thair Soverain

[1] 3d August. [2] Péquigny. [3] Flichecourt. [4] 4th August.
[5] This appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style "Majesty" in addressing Henry VIII. The title was first assumed by the Emperor Charles V. (see Note to page 127.), to whom it is frequently applied by Wolsey in this despatch.

Lord

Lord being in captivite) to take peax, at the humble pursuite and mediacion of thexcellent Princesse, Madam Regent, with the realme of Fraunce; wherby they were not oonly delyvered of Your Graces grete, puissante, and formidable power, whiche to resist they were insufficient and unable, but also, therby, thair King was restoured to his said realme and liberte; wherfore they reconned and accompted them selfes, all thair successours, and posterite, to be perpetually astringed and bounde to beire unto Your Grace thair herty service, honoring the same no les thanne thair oun Soverain Lord and Prince. And forasmoche as they knewe that myn intervencion and mediacion toward Your Highnes did not a litle conferre therunto, they, for the same, gave unto me thair most herty thankes; with demonstracion that my commyng into those parties was to thair singler rejoyse and comforte; with ferme hope and confidence, that like as by your gracious meanes and auctorite, and myn intervencion (it liked them so to say), the said peax was concluded and thair master delivered, so they trusted the Frenche Kinges childern shulde be restoured, and universall peax thrughoute all Christendome ensue; with many other good eloquent wordes, tending to that purpose and effecte. Wherunto after myn answer made, we merched forwarde; and, within a litle distance, eftsones mete with me the Bailif, Minstres and Justices of the said cite, who, with a semblable oracion, of like purporte and contynue, saluted and welcomed me; wherunto after convenient answer made, we proceded further, and within a myle and a halfe of the cite, the Frenche King, riding upon a grey jenet, apparelled in a cote of blak velvet, cut in diverse places for shewing of the lynyng therof, whiche was white satyn, accompanyed with the King of Navarre[1], the Cardinal of Burbon[2], the Duke of Vandome[3], the Counte Saintpole[4], Mons[r] de Gize[5], Mons[r] Vaudamount[6], the Grete Mastre[7], the Seneshall of Normandy[8], with diverse Archbishops, Bishops, and other noble men, avaunced him self towardes me; to whose person (assone as I had the sight therof), deviding my company on bothe handes, in most reverent maner, sole and alone, I did accelerate my repaire and accesse;

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[1] Henry d'Albret.
[2] Louis de Bourbon, Bishop of Laon, and Cardinal.
[3] Charles de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme.
[4] Francis de Bourbon, Count of Saint Pol.
[5] Claude de Loraine, Duke of Guise.
[6] Louis de Loraine, Count de Vaudemont.
[7] Anne de Montmorency, who was made Great Master of France, on Francis's release from captivity, in 1526.
[8] Claude de Luxembourg, Count of Brienne and of Roussy.

and

and His Grace doing the semblable for his parte, being discovered, with his bonnet in his hande, encountred, and with most herty, kinde, loving countenaunce and maner, embraced me, presenting unto me the King of Navarre, with the Cardinall of Burbon, the Duke of Vandome, and the forsaide noble personages, by whom also I was likewise welcommed; in the tyme of doing wherof, the Frenche King saluted my Lord of London [1], my Lord Chamberlain [2], Master Comptroller [3], the Chaunceler of the Duchy [4], and such other your servauntes and gentlemen as accompanyed me. After whiche salutacions fynished and made, on bothe sydes, the said Frenche King retourned with loving and joyewes countenaunce, most hertely demaunding of Your Highnesses good welfare and prosperite, wherof to here was most to his consolacion and comforte, for Your Highnes was the Prince, whom he most loved, honored, and estemed, and was most indebted unto, forasmoche as by your only meanes his realme was preserved from all parell and daungiers, and he hym self, deteyned in captivite, was also restoured to his said realme and libertie; for the whiche your noblenes and gratitude, he, duering his lif, shal not only be to Your Highnes as most humble servaunt, but as a slave; accumylating as many good and well set wordes to that purpose, as coude be devised, in suche a constant, assured, and loving maner, that the same appered not to be fayned, but to procede of an entier mynde, affection, and hert. Wherunto after I had gyven suche answer as apperteyned, with making of Your Graces most cordiall recommendacions, declaracion, and rehersall of the herty good mynde and will, that Your Highnes beireth unto hym, I shewed that hering of his, and my Ladies, his moders, diseases, was verey hevy, and sory, that he and she had taken so grete payne, in making so grete jorneys and travaile to mete with me; for the aleviacion wherof I was not only desirous, yf I might have been suffred so to have don, but also I had in commaundement from Your Grace, to have repaired unto Parys. To the whiche he sayde and answered, the innumerable benefites of Your Highnes considered, and that I was sent from the same as your Lieutenaunt, being alwaies propice and redy to entercorre, as a loving mynister, for thestablishing, contynuance, norishing, and encreace of god amyte bitwene Your Highnes and hym, your realmes and subjectes, hit had ben his duete to have met me in the confynes of his realme. And so, passing to gedre by the waye, placing me (albeit I refused the same) on his lift hande, he was glad to

[1] Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London.
[2] William Lord Sandys.
[3] Sir Henry Guildford.
[4] Sir Thomas More.

fynde

fynde and take occasion to talke and speke of Your Highnes vertuous noble personage, excellent qualities, and pastyme; remembring oftentymes, and alwaies repeting, the grete humanite, kindnes, and gratitude, that he hathe founde in the same. And to thintent, as me semed, I shulde thinke that he gretely estemed all suche thinges, as were sent from Your Highnes unto hym, he caused the Counte Saint Pole, Mons[r] de Gize, and Mons[r] de Vadamount, to ryde next affore hym, upon three of the horsses, that Your Highnes had sent unto hym; wherof the one, being a beye, he sayd was the best, the lightest, and most mete for the warre, of any that ever he sawe, or coulde be founde in Christendom, and most resembled, as he had apparelled hym, to the horsses of Turkey, farr surmounting any, that might be founde or recovered in the same. And thus entring and passing thorugh oute the cite, whiche was mervelously replenished with people, crying "Vive le Roy," he forgate not, farre above my dessertes, to recognise howe moche he, his moder, and realme, were bounden unto me, and howe hertely I was welcome unto them. And bicause he did knowe (so it pleased hym to say), that Your Highnes used me in al your affaires, as your chiefe and principall Counsaillour, so he from hensforthe wolde do the same; praying me, therfore, to be contented with no les affeccion to embrace his affaires, than I dailly do, and have done, Your Graces oun; assuring me, that whatsoever I shulde thinke to be don therin, he wold folowe, and put the same in execucion accordingly; taking and reputing me, from this tyme forwarde, as a common Chaunceler and Minister; trusting therby, that all his causes, whiche hitherto, for lak of good handling, have not had the best and most fortunate successe, shulde revive, and be of a better sorte, than they have ben heretofore.

Declaring, furthermore, howe that Mons[r] Moret had distrussed, taken, and brent 2 grete carrikes of Jeane, laden with ordenaunce, municions, and vitall for defence therof; and that thEmperours Chaunceler[1], nowe arrived ther (for the apprehencion of whose person ther be practises set forthe not unlikely to take effecte), skaped narowly the handes of the said Mouret. And so still riding thorugh the stretes, in the principall places wherof were diverse pagentes wel divised, expressing the grete desire that they have to peax, the reparacion of Christes Churche and See Apostolique to the pristyne dignite, with perfite hope and trust that the same shall succeede by Your Graces high polycy, wisedome, auctorite, and mediacion,

[1] Gattinara.

intermyxting

intermyxting me, in the abett of a Cardinall, as Your Graces Minster and servaunt, for thaccomplishement and attayning therof.

And albeit I often demaunded what His Graces intent was, seing we were past his palaice, wherin he was lodged, to go and procede any further thorugh the cite, conjecting therby that his intent was to accompany me to my lodging, whiche to do I refused, with as many humble persuasions and exhortacions as I coulde divise; yet it was not in my power to disuade hym, but in any wise he wolde accompany me to the same, without suffring me to retorne with hym to his palaice. And so, after demaunde whider I wolde see my Lady that night (wherof I shewed my self to be veray glad and desyrous), I departed from hym, and, by the Cardinall of Loreyn, was brought and accompanyed into my lodging, whiche I founde richely and pomposely apparelled with the Frenche Kinges oun stuff; as the utter chamber, with riche clothe of tyssue and sylver, paned, embroderd with freres knottes, wherin was a grete and large clothe of astate of the same stuff and sorte. The seconde chamber was apparelled with crymyson velvet, embroderd, and replenished with large letters of gold, of F and A [1], crowned, with an other veray large clothe of astate, of fyne aras. And the thrid chamber, being my bedd chamber, was apparelled with riche clothe of tyssue, raised, and a grete sparver and counterpointe to the same. And the 4th, being as a closet, was hanged with clothe of bawdikyn, wherunto was annexed a litle gallary, hanged with crymyson velvet.

And after a litle pawse, and shifting of my self, ther was sent unto my lodging the Cardinall of Burbon, the Duke of Vandome, with many other prelates and noble men, to conduce me to my Ladies presence, who was lodged in the Bishops palaies; in the hall wherof, being large and spacious, richely hanged and apparelled with aras, was placed and set in right good order, on bothe sydes, the Frenche Kinges garde, my Lady his moder, the Quene of Navarre, Madam Reynet, the Duches of Vandom, the King of Naverres suster, with a greate nomber of other ladies and gentlewomen, stonding in the myddes; to whose presence I sumwhat approching, and drawing nìgh, my said Lady also avauncing her self forwardes, in most loving and pleasant maner, encountred, welcomed, and embraced me, and likewise saluted my Lord of London, my Lord Chamberlain, Master Comptroller, the Chaunceler of the Duchy, and most parte of suche gentlemen as came with me, and most specially thErle of Derbye [2], whom it liked Her Grace to kisse, and right lovingly to welcome. In the tyme of doing

[1] Probably for "Francis," "Angoulême."

[2] Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby.

wherof

wherof I, for my parte, semblably saluted the Quene of Navarre, Madame Reynet, the Duches of Vandome, the King of Navarres suster, and a grete parte of thother ladies; whiche done on bothe sydes, my Lady retorned, and taking me by the arme, ledd and conveyed me into her inner chamber, wher, under a riche clothe of astate, were sett twoo cheyres garnished, oon of blake velvet, and thother with clothe of tissue; wher, after delyvery and reding of Your Graces letters, whiche semed to be veray pleasant unto her, and making of Your Highnes most cordiall recommendacions, she demanded right hertely of Your Graces welfare and prosperite. Wherunto after I had made answer, her pleasour was, that we shuld sitt down, to entre into further communication; in the begynnyng and commencing wherof, she, with well sett and cowched wordes, declared and accumylated the grete benefites and gratuities, whiche Your Highnes, in her perplexite, hevenes, and adversite had exhibite and shewed to her, and the King, her sonne, whose deliverance and restytucion to liberte, she only referred and ascribed unto Your Highnes; for the whiche bothe she, her said sonne, and all those whiche were, or shuld hereafter, descende of hym and his, were bounden to do service unto Your Highnes, and dailly to pray for the contynuaunce and prosperous astate of the same. And after a right pleasant and elequent discourse made to this purpose, she diverted her communicacion to the rehersall of suche travaile, as I have taken for the conducing and setting forthe of good amite and peax bitwene Your Highnes and her son, whiche she trusted, by my repaire into thise parties, shulde not only be corroborate, but also, by som good aliance, made perpetuall. In the advauncement and setting forward wherof, she wolde, with all her power, auctorite, and industrye, with no les desire and affeccion, concurre with me, than she had hitherto done in making of the peax temporel, and all other treaties concluded bitwene Your Highnes and her said sonne; offring and declaring, furthermore, that if in the communicacion or debating therof, either with her sonne, or his Counsail, ther shulde insurge any doubte or difficulte, whiche might be to the impechement or hindrance of the said peax and aliance, she wolde so interpone her auctorite, and helping hande, that all thinges shulde be brought to honorable ende and effecte. For the whiche her offres after I had geven convenient thankes, shewing that Your Highnes had chefely sent me hidre for that purpose, without descending to any other particler pointe of my charge, forasmoche as it was 8 of the cloke, and my Lady had not supped, I toke my leve, and retorned home to my lodging, accompanyed with the forsaid Cardinal of Burbon, and Duke of Vandome.

Thus

Thus is the summary rude discripcion and rehersall of suche thinges, as was don at this our first meting and entervien.

On Monday[1], in the mornyng, ther came unto my lodging thEmperours Ambassadour[2], here resident; who, after mutuell salutacions, sayde, that forasmoche as he was informed, that Your Highnes, for the delyvery of the Frenche Kinges childern, and conducing of the peax bitwene hym and thEmperour, had not only, by your Oratours, proponed certain offres and condicions to His Majesty, but also sent me hider for the avauncement and spedy setting forward therof, he could no les do, but to repaire unto me, and to desire and pray me, for the zele and good will that I have alwaies borne to the peax, and in consideracion of the grete trust and confidence that his master hathe in Your Highnes, at whose request and contemplacion he had departed from oon of the weightiest and most importane article of the treaty of Madril, and was commen and descended to certain reasonable demaundes, whiche were delyvered in writing to Your Graces, and the Frenche Kinges Oratours, that I wolde induce and persuade the same Frenche King to condescende and agree therunto, considering they were but reasonable and honorable. To whom I made answer, that it was not unknown, but manifest and open, aswel to thEmperour, as to al other Cristen Princes, what grete zeale and ardent desire Your Grace hathe, and alwaies hathe had, like a most noble, vertuous, and catholique Prince, to the procuring and setting forthe of peax bitwene Christen Princes, and what studye, labours, expences, and travaile, aswel by sending of oratours, as letters, Your Grace hathe susteyned in and aboutes the same. And to thintent the said peax might spedely be conduced, and take effect, as the thing most necessary, the grete calamite, ruyn, and myserable state of Cristendome considered, and for putting over of further delaies and tracte of tyme, Your Highnes had sent me hider to the Frenche King, to induce and persuade hym, at Your Graces contemplacion and instance, for the attayning of his childern, and the said peax, to condescende to all reasonable and honorable condicions; and likewise by my letters, on Your Graces behalfe, to exhorte and move thEmperour, for his parte, to do the semblable, wherby universal peax folowing, som notable provision and expedicion, by commen consent of all Princes, might be had and made for the

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[1] 5th August 1527.

[2] Probably Nicolas Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle, who is stated by Du Bellay to have been received by the King of France, as Ambassador from the Emperor, on the 28th March 1527.

 redubbing

redubbing of the said calamities, repressing of heresies, and withstanding the malice of the Turke. And bicause thEmperour, in diverse his commynicacions and conferences with your Ambassadours, hathe affermed and sayde to them, that he is not mynded to stik upon his hole demaundes, but, at your contemplacion, instance, and arbitre, to mitigate som good part therof, it woll nowe pleas and like His Majesty, sithins that I am sent hither by Your Highnes commaundment, chiefely and principally for the avauncement of the said peax, to shewe and declare, by his dedes, in what pointes he wold, for Your Graces sake, so relent; wherof I, being advertised, I doubt it not, but the Frenche King, for the reverent love and affeccion, that he hathe and beireth toward Your Highnes, woll and shall agree to asmoche of his desires, as with honour, equite, reason, and lawe shall stonde and accorde: being nevertheles in utter dispaire, that if His Majesty, having no regarde to Your Graces mediacion and intercession, wold persist in his hole demaund, it shall not lye in Your Graces power, to bring and induce the Frenche King therunto; the same being so excessive, and farr discrepant from al conscience and reason, tending by the exsample therof to the prejudice of al other Cristen Princes, whiche be subject to like chances of captivite, as the Frenche King hath been. And thus the said Emperours Ambassadour, promysing that he wolde certifie his master of all this our commynicacion, departed from me.

At after none, aboutes 3 of the cloke, the Counte Saintpole, sent unto me from the Frenche King, brought me worde that, if I were so content, His Grace wolde that I shulde eftsones comme to his presence, for declaracion of my further charge, whiche, with grete expectacion, he was desirous to here: upon whose advertisement I repaired, with the said Counte, to the Frenche Kinges lodging, wher in the hall on bothe sides were placed his garde, bothe of Scottes and Swices, being in nomber (as I coulde, passing by the waye, esteme) 300. And at my entring into the grete chamber, ther mete with me the King of Navarre, who conduced me to the Frenche Kinges bedd chamber, wher he lay upon a cowtche, covered with a white shete, without any clothe of astate, or sparver, over the same, made for the easement and staying of his legg, whiche, by the travaile of the day bifore, was moche altered, and in suche wise swelled, that, without grete pain, he coulde not goo, ner stonde upon the same. On the right syde wherof, was placed my Lady the Frenche Kinges moder, the Quene of Navarre, and a litle distance byneth them, the Lady Reynet, the King of Navarres suster, and other ladies and gentlewomen to a grete nomber; and, on thother side, the Cardynalles of Burbon and Loreyn, the Duke

Duke of Vandom, the Counte Saint Pole, the Grete Master, with many other prelates, nobles, and gentlemen. And incontinently, as I was commen to the Frenche Kinges presence, he excusing the maner of his lying ther, and being sory that he coulde not use hym self other wise unto me, and I again repeting howe glad I wolde have ben to have taken more payn upon me, wherby I might have alleviated His Grace of the greate labor and travaile that the same hathe susteyned, by the whiche I perceyved that his disease was not a litle augmented and encreaced, he sayde he knew well my good wyll and mynde in that behalve; nevertheles, for declaracion of his duetie towardes Your Grace, he wold not have omytted any thing of that he hathe done, though the same shuld have put hym in gretter daunger; whiche his pain, that he nowe susteyneth, proceding of a light hurt in his legg, is not, by Goddes grace, to be moche regarded or feared.

And herewith he (taking with hym my Lady and me) withdrewe hym self into a litle secrete chamber, excluding all other; wherin was a litle cowtche for His Grace to lye upon, for staying of his said legge, and by the same, twoo cheyres sett, thone for my Lady, and thother for me. And albeit stonding I wold have delyvered Your Graces letters, and, the same redd, proceeded to the further declaracion of my charge, yet His Grace, tyll I and my Lady were sett, wolde in no wise permyt and suffre me so to do. Wherfore, conformyng my self to his pleasour, I made delyvery of your said letters, with declaracion and repeticion of Your Graces most herty recommendacions; in thextending wherof, I did not omytt to shewe, what herty entiere love and affeccion Your Highnes bare unto hym, for the parilite of your mutuel indumentes, bothe of grace and nature, with the like symylitude in your pastymes, maners, behavours, and appetites; the rehersall wherof, as I might perceyve by his countenaunce, was to his comforte, and nothing to hym displeasant, ne tedyous. And so, further proceding in declaracion of my charge, I shewed that I was sent unto His Grace, for the accomplishement, determynacion, and finall perfiting of suche thinges, as hath ben left to be determyned and concluded at your mutuel meting and entervien, according to the treate; orelles at the sending of suche a personage as His Grace, as shulde represent your oun spyrite and person. And albeit I was ferre unmete, unable, and not worthy to have so high a charge committed unto me, yet it hathe pleased Your Highnes, more of your goodness than of my desertes or sufficiency, to auctorise me, as your Lieutenaunt, for the doing and final concluding of the premisses, in as available maner as Your Highnes were here

present; offring my self to be reddy, at al tymes, to common and devise with hym uppon the same; wherwith he being contented, than and ther, to here what I wold say further, in that behalf, I shewed unto Hys Grace, that my principall charge consisted in three poyntes; that is to say, the determynacion of the alternatyve for the mariage of my Lady Princes; thother was for the procuring of peax, bitwene His Grace and thEmperour, for the spedy attayning and delyveraunce of his childern; and the third was to devise with His Grace, by what meanes and waies the Popes Holynes might be delyvered oute of captivite and thraldom, and the Churche of Crist, with the See Apostolique, restoured to thair prystyne dignite.

To the whiche 3 poyntes, so purposed, the Frenche King, without any avice taking of my Lady his moder, answered and sayde, that as touching the determinacion of the alternatyve mariage of my Lady Princes, he trusted veryly that Your Highnes wold be contented, the same shuld be determyned into his oun person; the hope and trust wherof, as often as he reduceth and calleth to his remembrance, can not a litle be to his consolacion, gladnes, and rejoyse; not only for that he desireth therbye to be fermely and indyssolubly conjoyned and knyt with Your Highnes, your realme, and successours, to the grete tranquilite and enriching of the same, but also for thexcellent qualities, education, vertue, favour, and beaulte, that my said Lady Princes is of. In the extending and declaracion wherof, he lakked no good and well accommodate wordes, in suche forme, fashyon, and maner expressed, that I could not imagyn or conjecte, but that the same proceded of an inwarde love towardes Your Highnes, and of singler good favour and will to my said Lady Princes; concluding, that sens, by this mariage, Your Grace, he, your realmes, and subjectes, shalbe so perpetually unite and knyt to geders, and that my said Lady Princesse, whom he loveth above all creatures, shalbe lapis angularis, for the contynuance therof, he must humbly besought Your Highnes, though he reconed hym self farr unable to have so excellent a Princesse, being the only doughter of the most puissant and estemyd Prince of Cristendom, to vouchsaulf to bestowe her upon hym; whiche, if it may like Your Highnes to do, he wol not only rekyn hym self a most happy Prince, and therby to recover and redubbe all his adverse chaunces, but also Your Grace shulde have of hym as humble and obeissant a servaunt and son, as any man shulde have in erthe; estemyng and reputing the same more than the recovery of his childern, or any other thing in this worlde; to the furtherance of whiche matier, ther lakked no good or vehement persuasions of my Lady. And bicause I perceyved that this thing was set forthe vehemently, partely to

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tast and prove what answer I wolde make, I, replying, shewed that Your Highnes no les desired the said mariage, for conjoynyng of thise two realmes in perpetuell amite, than His Grace did; and that I, being her godfader, loving her entierly next unto Your Highnes, and above al other creatures, was desirous that she shulde be bestowed upon his person, as in the best and most worthy place of Cristendom; being reddy and furnished with sufficient and ample commission, upon reasonable condicions and provisions, whansoever it shalbe his pleasour to conclude the same. Nevertheles I demaunded of hym, and my Lady, if the said mariage shulde take effecte, howe, and by what meanes, his childern might be delyvered, and peax succede bitwen hym and thEmperour. He answered, he was in dispaire therof, and knewe non other meane for the attayning of them, but only by making of actuel and freshe warre, aswel in Italye, as in Flaunders, and diverse other parties, against thEmperour. I replied, saying; "Thende and sequele of this meane, Sir, is veray incertain, ambiguous, and "doubtefull; and yet, finally, after a long prosecucion of the said warre, "thEmperour having your childern stil in his possession, Your Grace shalbe "fayn, the warre notwithstanding, to offre reasonable condicions for redemp-"cion of them." He answered; "Vous dictiz vray, Mons[r] Cardinal; I pray "you therfore shewe me your avice, whiche I gretely esteme and regarde, and "am determyned to folowe, what shalbe best for me to do, in this behalf." And so, after a litle pawse and making of protestacion, desiring that whatsoever I shulde say therin might be taken and enterpreted in good parte, as a thing being farre discrepant from Your Graces private affeccion and desire, whiche is, that the said mariage might be with His Graces oun personne, and in no other place; nevertheles, having respecte to the present state of Christendom, and to the redubbing of the grete ruyn of the same, wherunto prostrate upon my knees, as a pore member of the Churche, I besought bothe Your Majesties, Your Grace, as Fidei Defensor, and he, as Christianissimus Rex, setting a syde and a parte al particler desires and affeccions, in and towardes the mariage of my said Lady Princes, to have speciall regarde; in the bestowing of whose person dependeth not only the particler peax, bitwen His Grace and thEmperour, but also the universall peax of all Christendome, fearing and doubting not a litle, that if the said mariage shulde be made with his person, (the stifnes and wilfulnes of thEmperour considered) he shuld never have recovery of his childern, or attayn the said peax; and wer it not for thexchewing of this inconvenient and daunger, I wolde never give myn avice that he shuld make any aliance with thEmperor. Howbeit, for recovery of his said childern,

childern, whiche be so precious gages, I could not see, but Your bothe Majesties must supersede and give place to your ardent appetites, in concluding of the said mariage. Wherunto the said Frenche King, after a long processe and discourse, moved more, as he affermed, for necessite, than any private favour towardes my Lady Elyonore, was contented to agree; and, upon reasonable communicacion and condicions, after avice taken, to treat with me, of and upon the said mariage of my Lady Princesse to the Duke of Orleance.

To the 3de poynte, as touching offres to be made to thEmperour, he sayde he had differred to write any thing to his Ambassadours therin, till my commyng to his presence; and were it not for the grete affeccion and devocion that he hathe, and beireth in his hert, towardes Your Highnes, thEmperours demaundes being so unreasonable and dishonorable, without making any newe offres, he wolde furthewith intymate unto hym the warre, trusting that Your Highnes wold do the semblable: albeit, afore he intended so to do, he was no les desirous to here myn opynyon therin, than in the mariage of my Lady Princesse. And so, proceding to the particler discussion of the Emperours demaundes, from poynt to poynt, and article to article, wherin was consumed and spent a grete tyme, I besought His Grace that likewise as, for the good of peax, and recovery of his childern, he was contented to forbeire and relent in the said mariage of my Lady Princesse, so, for Goddes sake, the wealthe and repose of all Christendom, and specially at Your Graces mediacion, who tendred no les his honour and proffyct, than your oun propre, and, at my most humble poursute, he wold, in lyke maner, strayn hym selfe, and condescende to suche, and as many, of the said Emperours demaundes, as might stonde and accorde with honour, reason, and the commodite of Christendom; declaring therby to all the world, the affeccion and grete zele that he beireth towardes Cristes religion, and the Hede of the same being, for his sake and cause, brought to miserable captivite and thraldom. Wherunto he made answer and sayde, with teres descending from his ies, that, by his truthe and feithe, he wold do more at Your Graces contemplacion and request, than at all the worldes, as at our next conference, whereat he desired me that his Counsail might be present, I shulde evidently perceyve. And as touching the delyverance of the Pope out of captivite, with governaunce and ordenaunce of the Churche, for the tyme of the same, he wolde do therin whatsoever Your Grace shulde think convenient, determyn, and avice; most hertely praying me, that sens he is mynded to here and folowe my counsaill, in all his causes and affaires, that, according to his expectacion, I wolde have no les good respecte unto his

his honour and affaires, than I have to Your Graces propre. This, Sir, was in effect the contynue of the hole communicacion and discourse, had at this seconde audience with the said Frenche King, and my Lady his moder; after the fynishing wherof, taking my leve, I retourned to my lodging, bitwen 8 and 9 of the cloke in the night.

Tuesday[1], at after none, I repaired eftsones to the Frenche King; who, takyng with hym my Lady his mother, me, his suster, and other of his Secrete Counsail, that is to saye, the Cardinal of Loreyn, the Duke of Vandam, his Grett Chaunceler[2], the Seneshall of Normandy, the Archbishop of Burges[3], the President of Rone[4], and Mons[r] Robertet[5], went a parte into my said Ladies bed chamber; wher, after we were placed, he desired me, that suche thinges, as in the commynicacion the day before I had shewed unto my Lady and hym apart, the specialties wherof I have signifyed unto Your Highnes in this my letter, I wolde nowe, before his Counsail, newly repete, reaporte, and declare the same, to thintent that he and they might, I being present, consult, debate, and take suche good resolucion therupon, as shulde apertain: whose commaundement and desire in that behalf accomplishing, I rehersed and extended, at good lengthe, all suche thinges as I had the day bifore opened unto His Grace; in the explicacion, rehersall, and discussing wherof, ther were diverse answers, replicacions, reasons, and opynyons interlaced, bitwene the said Frenche King, my Lady his moder, his Chaunceler, other his Counsaillours, and me; and many grete difficulties and objections concernyng the said peax and mariage, with all thinges depending upon the same, were brought in medium; the discripcion of the particularities, and speciall rehersall wherof, like as the same, growing, for the diversite and greatnes therof, in volumen maximum, shulde be to tedious to Your Highnes to rede, so the explicacion therof shulde be unfayseble unto me; considering what busynes I have on every syde, aswel in making expedicions to Rome, Venece, Spayne, and conceyving of the treaties, to be concluded bitwene the Frenche King and Your Highnes, as also in the contynual enterteynment of straungers and Ambassadours, and the Frenche Kinges Counsail, whiche dailly, by His Graces commaundement, repaireth unto me for the disposing and traynyng of his affaires, whiche I fynde in no small disorder. For the whiche respectes and considerations, I shall brevely and summaryly signifye unto Your Highnes the

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[1] 6th August 1527.

[2] Antony du Prat, President of the Parliament of Paris.

[3] Francis de Tournon, heretofore Archbishop of Ambrun, and now of Bourges en Berri, afterwards Cardinal.

[4] John Brinon.

[5] John Robertet, Secretary of State.

substanciall

substanciall pointes of all suche conferences, as I have had with the said Frenche King, my Lady his moder, and his Counsail, and to what pointes they be, unto this day, condescended and agred.

Begynnyng first, at thEmperours demaundes; wherin I have not a litle travailed, persuading and exhorting the Frenche King, for the good of peax, and the atteyning of his childern, so to strayn and declare hym self, that it might appere to Your Highnes, and all the worlde, that he wolde omitte nothing, thowe the same shulde be moche to his prejudice and detryment, wherby the lak of concluding and perfiting of the said peax might be ascribed or imputed unto hym. And on my feithe, Sir, I fynde in His Grace suche perfite, unfayned, and reverent affeccion towarde Your Highnes, whom he affermythe no lesse to love and esteme, than his oun propre childern, that he is contented, for Your Graces sake, and at your mediacion, reputing the same as a commaundement, whereunto he entendeth most humbly to submyt hym self and obeye, hathe resolved hym self to suche offres and poyntes, as I have thought it had not ben possible that he wold, or coulde have ben induced unto; the particularites wherof be conteyned in a boke herin inclosed, with a summary of the same, in Englishe tong, wherby Your Highnes shall evidently perceyve, that the Frenche King hathe, in effecte, agreed to al the treatie of Madril, and thEmperours demaundes: wherunto, were it not for the Popes delyverance, whiche dependeth moche upon this peax, reparacion, and redubbing of the calamities of Cristendom, I am sure Your Highnes, of your grete noblenes, honour, and conscience, wold never have persuaded the said Frenche King; ner I my self, though I have alwaies and shalbe most obedient to your commaundmentes, wold gladly have ben a ministre in the same. Wherfore, Sir, inasmoche as the Frenche King (in right loving and franke maner, contrary to the opinion of all his Counsail, and specially of Monsr de Vaulx, who is well nigh oute of his wyt, and the Frenche Kinges favour, for his inconformite and abstinate reasonnyng he hathe made therin) at Your Graces only desire, mediacion, and instance, for the good of the said peax, and deliverance of the Popes Holynes out of captivite, is content to strayn hym self, and condescende to the said condicions and offres, whiche farr surmount those, that Your Grace, by the deliberate advise of your Counsail, thought sufficient and convenient, according to the treate arctioris conjunctionis, to be joyntly by your Oratours proponid and offred to thEmperour, for the redempcion of the said Frenche Kinges childern: whiche, being by the said Emperour not admitted, or rejected, your declaracion (onles the stikking were but in some small point) shulde be made;

made; considering, also, that thise offres, wherunto the Frenche King is nowe agred, be in effect thEmperours oun demaundes, corresponding to the hole contynue of the treatie of Madril, Burgon oonly except, in the lue wherof, the said Emperour is content with the payment of twoo mylions; perceyving, also, that the said Frenche King by no maner of meanes or persuasions wold or coulde be induced to the determinacion of the alternative in personam Ducis Aurelie, ner to the perpetual peax, except Your Highnes wolde resolve and agree that the said offres, being so farre discrepant from reason, and tending so highly to his incommodite, prejudice, and dammage, wherunto, by the feithe of a gentleman, and word of a Prince, he wold never have condescended, or be induced, but only by your commaundent, persuasion, and mediacion, though his childern shulde ever have ben deteyned and remayned in captivite, might be those, whiche, fynally and joyntly, by yours and his Ambassadours, shulde be eftsones presented unto the Emperour; upon the refusail wherof the intymacion of hostilite, according to the former treaties, reason, and good congruence, shuld folowe; and bicause, furthermore, it is veryly to be thought by all wise men, that thEmperour, except God hath indurat his hert, and be destitute of all grace and counsail, regarding neither Goddes cause, ne the intervencion of Your Majesty, who hath most doon for hym, and been his best frende, will accepte and embrace the said condicions, being in maner his oun propre demaundes: the premisses, therfore, with deliberate avice well digested and pondred, I thought I could do no les, in demonstracion and correspondence of mutuel kindnes, than to condescende and agree, that the said condicions and offres shulde be those, whiche, fynally, by commen consent, shulde be proposed to the said Emperour. Wherupon, after long and stiff stikking by the Frenche Kinges Counsail, His Grace, recounting howe moche your conjunccion in oon will and proceding shulde conferre, aswell to your realmes and subjectes, as to the benefite and reparacion of the grete decaye and ruyn of Cristendom, hathe agreed and resolved hym self, that the alternatyve of my Lady Princes mariage shalbe in personam Ducis Aureliani secundo geniti, with the perpetuall peax; the same ever to endure, sive matrimonium sorciatur effectum, sive non; whiche is of a fer better sort than is conteyned in the article of strayter conjunccion, purporting thise wordes, sive succedat, sive non, implying an actuel mariage, whiche nowe shalbe in Your Graces pleasour and arbitre; and albeit the same take non effecte, yet the perpetuel peax shal ever stonde in vigour and force, with all the articles and condicions of the same. All whiche thinges and commodities shall folowe, without that Your Highnes is, or

shalbe, bounden to do any further thinges, than is conteigned and comprised in the treaties alredy passyd, concluded, and ratifyed; so that, Our Lord be thanked, the perpetual peax bitwen England and Fraunce, the contrary wherof hathe ben, in maner, the ruyn of bothe realmes, by your high wisedome and providence, shall nowe folowe, and take the long desired effecte, to your eternall honour, glory, and renowne, and to the repose, enriching, and tranquilite of your realme and subjectes for ever. And semblably, God willing, ther shal folowe, if reason and grace maye have place, by the acceptacion of the said offres, nowe eftsones to be proposed on the Frenche Kinges parte unto thEmperour, by Your Graces intervencion and mediacion, particuler peax bitwen them: and moche the rather and sonner, yf he will do in any part conformably to suche wordes, as he had to your Ambassadours, of his prepenced mynde to the peax and regarde to Your Graces intervencion; wherupon the Pope is, in apparance, to be restourid to his liberte, and the Churche, with the See Apostolique, to thair former dignite, and finally universall peax to succede thorugh all Cristendome, ad perpetuam gloriam et exaltacionem nominis Majestatis Vestre.

And thus, resting uppon this determinacion, to morowe we shall procede to the pennyng of the forsaid peax, and determinacion of the alternatyve; wherin I trust suche diligence shalbe used, that the perpetuall peax, keping secrete the determinacion of the said alternatyve, shalbe on Our Ladies day, the Assumpcion[1], published, confermed, sworne, and ratifyed here, in Our Ladyes Churche of Amyas, whiche is a convenient, propice, and mete place for so excellent and high an acte. All the premisses notwithstanding, I do not omytt, ne forgett, dailly and hourely, to call upon the prosecution of the warr of Italy, and the effectuall proceding of Monsr de Loctrek; who hath used, syns his first setting forwarde, suche diligence, that every houre we loke here for worde and tidinges of the taking of Alexaundria, in merching towardes wherof he hathe supprised a place called Bosco, wherin were 1500 Almains, whiche be all killed and distrussed. Ther be also practises set forthe for the revolting of Jeane, whiche, as they afferme and say here, be in greate apparaunce to take effecte. It is also thought, that upon the arrivail and delyvery of Your Graces letters to the Marquis of Mantua, he woll adhere and fall into the lege, whose reputacion shall motche conferre, and be beneficiall therunto. As touching the proceding of thEmperialles, and in what cace Rome stondeth in, Your Highnes shall perceyve by a litle abstract, whiche I sende unto Your Grace herewith.

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[1] 15th August.

And

And as touching the entervien and meting of Your Highnes with the Frenche King, extending and declaring what grete preparacions and provisions Your Grace made, aswel in divising of howses for bankettes and pastyme, as in provision of deynties and costly vyandes, with preparacion of shippes and men of warre for Your Highnes transporting, wherby evidently might appere what ardent desire Your Grace had to the said meting, thinking non otherwise but the same shulde take shortely effecte; notwithstanding the Frenche King, for his parte, made demonstracion of semblable desire, yet His Grace was right well content (by my Ladies meanes and myn, for the exchewing of grete expences, whiche shuld be profunded and consumed in the said intervien, wherof ther is no nede here, considering the grete sommes of money that promptely be to be payde unto thEmperour, for the recovering of the childern) that the said entervien might be put over; wherunto considering it proceded of thair desire, I facilly agreed, so that the same is nowe discharged, to thair good satisfaccion, without that they conjecte or suppose the said putting over dothe procede of or by Your Graces desire.

And wher as the Frenche King, rather than the peax shulde not succede, is content to renounce, for ever, al his pretence and interesse in Mylain, whiche is to no person known, but only to my Lady his mother, Robertet, and me; it may, therfore, be Your Graces pleasour, that the same may be kept secrete, in suche wise, that the knowlaige therof comme not unto the eres of thAmbassadours of Venece and Mylain, lest that by the Frenche Kinges abandonnyng of Mylain, and dispaire of the contynuance of Duke Forcia[1] in the same, they might, as desperate, prevent and fall in with thEmperour, to the hindrance and empechement of the said peax; for avoyding of whiche suspicion here, bothe the Frenche King, my Lady, and I, ex mutuo consilio, in all our communication and conference with thAmbassadours and agentes of Italy, put them in good hope, that the mariage of my Lady Princesse, yf thEmperour wol not be induced to reasonable condicions, is in grete apparance to be in the Frenche Kinges oun personne, whiche is doon, ne interrumpant presentem pacis tractatum.

Fynally, Sir, into this honerable trayn your affaires be brought, beseching God, that all other thinges may semblably succede, and than I shall thinke my jorney and travaile to be well emploied; in the conducing wherof, ther shall lakk no thing, that possibly may be thought, imagyned, or devised to be done, for my parte, according to my most bounden duetie and

[1] Francisco Sforza, who was, by the treaty of Cognac, to hold the Milanese.

hertes desire; as Our Lord knoweth, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Amyas, thys Fryday, the 9th day of August.

Post scripta. Sir, after I, with Your Graces Counsail, had entred into communicacion with the Frenche Kinges Counsail, for the pennyng and divising of the treaties to be concluded bitwene Your Highnes and the Frenche King, in the doing of whiche like thinges, as Your Grace knoweth by your accustumed wisedome and experience, commenly grete difficulties insurge and arrise; my Lady (being advertised by the Grete Master, as I have lerned and perceyved synnes, that ther was many and grete altercacions bitwen the said Frenche Kinges Counsail and me, aswel in the treatye of peax, as in the determinacion of the alternatyve, far contrary and discrepant from suche resolucion, as was taken bitwene the Frenche King, her, and me, the day before, wherwith I beganne sumwhat to waxe warme) she, without geving any knowlaige or advertisement therof before, sodenly entred into my lodging, and cam to the place, wher we were assembled in counsail to gether for the forsaid purpose; and after mutuel and reverent salutacions made on bothe sydes, and Her Grace placed, as to her honnour apperteyned, she demaunded, whither we were agreed in al poyntz, or noo; wherof to knowe she was moche desirous, the same being the cause of her soden commyng; and if any difficulties were risen and sprong bitwen us, whiche might be to the disturbance, hindring, or empechement of the said perpetual peax, or determination of the alternatyve, according to suche promise as she had made unto me at my first repaire to her presence, she was come to redresse, and to be a stikler in the same. And after convenient thankes geven unto her, for her benevolent and towarde mynde, with rehersal of the said difficulties, she said to the Chaunceler, and such othre as did stikk in the matier, bothe roundely and sharpely, with a right severe countenaunce; "Ye be men that have "more knowlaige in merchandise, than in the nobilite and high courage "of Princes hertes and affeccions. I assure you, if the King, my sonne, "were here, he wolde give you litle thankes for your stikking, for I knowe "well, not doubting but ye, my Lord Cardinal, do the same, that he most "inwardely coveteth and desireth to be knyt perpetually with the King of "England, his good brother; to whom he recogniseth hym self to be "somoche indebted and obstricte, that non of thise your difficulties shalbe "the stop or let of this desired conjunccion." And as she was thus speking thise wordes, sodenly cam in the King; who, after the declaracion unto hym of the said difficulties, perceyving my Lady and me not to be al the best

best content, openly and frankely, in the presence and hering of Your Graces Counsail, sayde these wordes; "For the grete and entier zele and "love, that I have alwaies borne, and do beire, unto the King of England, "my good brother, whose manifolde vertues and benefites, shewed unto me "and my realme in my adversite, cause me not only to esteme hym as "the most noble Prince in the worlde, and the personne unto whom I am "most obliged, but compelleth, enforceth, and constrayneth me to desire "and covete perpetually to be conjoyned and maryed unto hym in my herte, "whiche I regarde and esteme more highly than any mariage, that may be "bitwen our childern; wherfore, notwithstanding any reasons, persuasions, "or difficulties, that ye shall devise, fynde, or make, I will conclude the "said perpetuall peace with hym, albeit ye allege and say, as in dede I "shall so be, a perpetuall trybutary to the Kinges and realme of England "for ever." And therfore, sive matrimonium sorciatur effectum, sive non, Your Grace doing and observing, for your partye, all suche treaties as alredy be concluded, ratifyed, and confermed bitwene you, all though to morowe he were sure to atteyne his childern, and that peax shulde succede bitwen hym and thEmperour, the perpetuall peax shulde endure and contynue. Whiche wordes were spoken, not only with teares in his ies, but in suche constant fashion and maner, that I assure Your Highnes, your Counsaillours and I greately rejoysed, and were moved with the same; like as, at our repaire home to your presence, Your Grace shalbe more amply advertised. Wherfore, in declaracion that Your Grace beireth semblable, and no lesse good will towardes hym, and making of the said conjunccion, it may be your pleasour, by the next post, to declare the same by som litle letter, writen with Your Graces oun hand to the Frenche King, whiche shalbe to his inwarde comfort and rejoyse, and shall gretely conferre to al other your bysynesses to be communicated and intreated with hym. Assuring Your Highnes, on my fidelite, that I cannot expresse with penne the herty, unfayned, and reverent affeccion that this Prince and his mother beireth towardes Your Highnes; as our Lord knoweth, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Amyas, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. These shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that albeit I finde asmoch entier love, good wil, affection, and kindnes in the French King towardes Your Grace, as I canne imagine, wish, or desire, being redy to doo al thinges, that may be to your pleasour and satisfaction, desiring nothing in erth more, thenne to be fermely conjoyned and knit with the same, yet I have forborn to make any overture of your secrete matier; fearing that, by the disclosing therof, the same might cause the said French King to be more slak, and stande further alofe, in the concluding of the alternatyve, the perpetual peace, and strayning himself to such offres, as be to be made unto thEmperour, of and upon his demaundes; purposing to differre the same, tyl I have put your affaires in assured perfection and trayne, and tyl I may have knowlege, howe the matiers of the Poope, and Rome, with the assemble of the Cardinalles, shal procede. Howbeit, I have assured hope that the French King wil agree, and gladly set forth al thinges, that may serve to your desire, entent, and purpose: for the avauncement wherof, besides myn other importable buysines, both day and night, I doo studye the wayes and meanes, howe your mynde may take effecte, and be accomplished. And forasmoch as, sythens my cummyng hither, I have receyved, out of Flaunders, letters from Master Haket, Your Graces Agent there, conteyning that it is cumme to my Lady Margarettes knowlege, by secrete wayes and meanes, as she affermith, that Your Grace entendith to be separate and divorsed from the Quene, and that the said Lady hath broken with the said Master Haket therin; wherby it may be conjected and veryly supposed, that not oonly thEmperour hath knowlege therof, but also they wyl doo, and set forth, al that they canne at Rome for the interruption and letting of Your Graces purpose: I have, therfor, by thadvise of my Lorde of Bath, divised certain expeditions to be made to Rome, aswel by the Bishop of Worcetour, for whom I have sent with al diligence to cumme hither, as by Gregory de Cassales, and the Poopes Ambassadour [1], ut, in omnem eventum et casum, if the oon expedition fayle, the other maye take effecte. And I have set forth such practises, not sparing for offering of money, that by oon meane, or other, there is gret apparaunce that oon of those, I purpose to sende for the said expeditions, shal have

[1] Cardinal John Salviati.

accesse

accesse unto the Poopes personne; to the which if they, or any of them, may attayne, there shalbe al possible wayes and practises set forth for the obteyning of the Poopes consent, aswel in the convocation of Cardinalles, and administracione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante captivitate sua, as making of protestacions, and graunting of other thinges, which may conferre and be beneficial to Your Graces purpose.

And albeit by myn other letters, dated at Abavyl, I signified unto the same, by waye of devise, not knowing thenne to what conditions and poyntes the Frenche King wolde be induced for the good of peace, that rather thenne the same shuld not succede, I offred myselfe, if the French Kinges modre wold doo the semblable, to repare to thEmperour in the confynes of Spayne, if he might be also induced to cumme thither, for the concluding and bringing to passe the said peace; yet nowe, considering that the French King, at Your Graces intervencion, and by my poore persuasions, is agreed, in substaunce, to al thEmperours demaundes, without apparaunce or possibilite that the said French King wold any further strayne himself, as in reason, honnour, and conscience it wer not convenient he shal doo, my said traveling in to those parties maye nowe be wel forborn and put over; for there is noo semblaunce that any good maye, or canne, ensue therof, but extreme peril and daungier; like as Your Highnes most graciously and kindely hath advertised me, by such letters[1], as in the inditing herof, I have receyved from your Secretary. And where, in the same your pleasour is, that I shulde sende Master Stevens[2] immediatly to Your Highnes, to thintent that by him I might be sufficiently instructed of your opinion, pleasour, and mynde, whiche Your Grace coulde better expresse and declare, by mutual conference, thenne by your letters; it may please Your Highnes to forbere the sending of the said Master Stevens, tyl ye shalbe advertised of such expeditions, as I have and shal conceyve for the advauncement of your secrete matier; wherin I trust nothing shalbe omitted, that may serve or conferre to that purpose. And forasmoch as in making and divising of the said expeditions, I have noon other help or instrument, but the said Master Stevens, and if I shulde sende him with diligence to Your Grace, he shalbe in noo litel daungier and peril of life; for both he and I, by the excessive hetes which be nowe here, and our contynual travayl, be not oonly put from our slepe and appetite, but marveliously weked and altred in oure bodies, quia vix datur unum momentum respirandi; and, in the lieu of the said Master Stevens, I shal sende unto

[1] Not found.

[2] Gardyner.

Your

Your Highnes, Doctor Alen [1], aswel to enforme Your Grace of the premisses, as to have knowlege of your further pleasour. Praying Almighty God to preserve your moste noble and royal astate. From Amyas, the 11th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Faith.

CXXX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that albeit, by myn other letters, I advertised the same, that I trusted suche diligence shulde be used and made in the pennyng of the treaties, nowe to be concluded bitwene Your Majesty and the Frenche King, that the same shulde, on Our Ladies Day next ensuying, be ratifyed, sworne, and confermed, yet the ingrossing and pennyng therof in mundum is so grete, requiring suche a tracte of tyme, that it wolbe Saterday at night, or the same can be perfited; wherfore the said ratificacions and confirmacion, with the ceremonyes and solemnities therupon depending, be put over, tyll Sonday next commyng; on whiche day, without further delaye, God willing, all thing shalbe done and accomplished, as shall apertain.

And being, on Our Ladyes even [3], occupied with the Frenche Kinges Counsail, in divising and pennyng of the said treaties, ther cam to my lodging the Grete Master, sent from the Frenche King, to signifye unto me, that His Grace was that night mynded to go to the Cathedrall Churche, dedicate in honorem Dive Virginis, ther to here evynsong; praying me, therfore, yf I were semblably mynded to here evynsong in that churche, I wolde repaire thider, wher His Grace wolde mete with me, and so to gether we shulde passe to suche places as were prepared for that purpose. And after most humble thankes gevyn, for that it pleased His Grace to notyfye unto me his pleasour by suche a personage, utterly refusing

[1] See notes to pages 154 and 191.

[2] This letter is published from the original, which remains in the State Paper Office. The minute of it, (slightly corrected by the Cardinal,) with the exception of the last paragraph, is in the British Museum, Caligula, E. III. leaf 74.; but it is so much burnt as not to supply any of the lacunæ, which have occurred in the original.

[3] 14th August.

to

to mete with His Grace in the churche, I, accompanyed with the said Grete Master, and other my folkes, went unto the said Frenche Kinges lodging in the myddes of the grete chamber; wherof His Grace met and encountred with me, and with loving countenaunce and maner, being uncovered, with his bonet in his hande, saluted me; and so passing to and thorugh the churche and quere, we proceded to the high aulter, where were made redy and prepared twoo travesses, thone for the Frenche King on the right hand, and thother for me on the lift hande; the Frenche Kinges traves was of riche clothe of tyssue, being like to a square selour and testour, with curteyns of redd dammaske, whiche were tukked upp, so that His Grace, kneling or sitting in the same, might be seen of all the people. Ther were also in the same twoo cheyres, covered with riche clothe of tyssue; and although, after I had brought hym to his sayd traves, I was mynded to go to the place prepared for me, most humbly beseching His Grace that I might so do, yet in no wise I coude persuade hym, but that his pleasour was, I shulde bothe knele and sytt with hym in the same; and so, conformyng my self to his commaundement, we kneling to gither, making to the Sacrament a fewe prayers, without suffring me to say to hym evynsong, or hering the same sayde by suche Bishops and Prelates as were present at his privey aulter, alleging that, in the mornyng, he had herd and sayde his said evynsong, he satt doun in oon of the cheyres, causing me to do the same in thother, notwithstanding any refusail that I coude make to the contrary. And, in conspectu tocius populi, cuntis serventibus, he enterd into communicacion of thaffaires of Italy, and proceding of Monsr de Lotrik, from whom, he sayde, a litle afore myn commyng he had receyved letters, by contynue wherof he understode, that albeit that the said Monsr de Lotrik hathe gotyn the town of Bosco, yet he founde som smale resistens at the castell therof; not doubting but, within three or 4 daies, he shulde here of the wynnyng therof. And thus, Sir, having good occasion to enter further communicacion with hym, in the said affaires of Italye, to thintent I might ascertain Your Highnes in what cace and forwardnes the same stode, and were in ther, wherof to here I thought shulde moche be to Your Highnes contentacion, I desired His Grace, frankely and overtely, to declare unto me, howe, and in what maner, Monsr de Lotrik was furnished and eskipped, aswel [*of*] men as money; and after a long discourse in declaracion of the same, I founde that the said Monsr de Lotrik was not so well purveyed of men and money, as were requisite to suche an enterprise as he hathe in hande; wherfore I shewed unto His Grace, that it shalbe right

expedient that this matier be better, and more substancially, loked on, for therupon not only dependith his honour, good fame, ruyn, and reputacion, but also the delyverance of his childern upon reasonable condicions and offres; for in cace the said expedicion goo and procede well forwarde, ther is not only grete and manifest apparance of victory, but also thEmperour shal the soner be moved and induced to accepte suche offres, as, by mutuel consent, shalbe nowe fynally proponed unto hym, wherby consequently the Popes Holynes shalbe restoured to liberty, with the delyverance of his childern, and succeding of peax; wher as, if the said army, for lak of good furniture either of men or money, or intending to any other private or particuler enterprise, but only to seke thair enemyes, and to give them bataile, his honour and reputacion shalbe blemyshed utterly, and thEmperour therbye so elevate, that he wol and shal the lesse esteme the said offres, and, with more difficulte, be induced to the Popes delyverance, and the said peax. Wherfore, I besought His Grace, that he wold put aparte al particuler enterprises, and substancially furnishing the said Mons[r] de Lotrik, geve to hym expresse commission and commaundement to entende to non other thing, but only to geving of bataile to thenemyes; for it shulde be no litle regrete and displeasour to Your Highnes, seing that Your Grace concurreth with hym in contribucion for the said expedicion, yf good frute and effecte shulde not folowe therof. So finally, Sir, upon my persuasions, which were to long to be described in thise my letters, the Frenche King was utterly determyned, that this my pore counsail shalbe effectuelly and really, with diligence, put in execucion. And for that purpose, Mons[r] de Vademount, with John Joachim, and also Gregory de Cassalys, shal, with all celerite, be sent into Italye, not only for declaracion of the Frenche Kinges said determynacion and pleasour to the said Mons[r] de Lotrik, but also to see that he shalbe substancially furnished with men, taking the moustres of the same monethely; for payment of whose wages ther is nowe sent 150000 Crounes; and furthermore to laye and order the postes, that contynually knowlaige and newes, from day to day, may be brought, howe the said army dothe procede; upon advertisement wherof, good consultacions may be taken, as shall [*confer*] and be beneficiall to the said expedicion; having good hope, that by taking of this order, and the reall and effectuel execucion therof, som notable exployte, to your bothe high honours, shall succede, and thEmperour made more tractable. So that, Sir, in my poore opynyon, more can not be devised or imagined for the atteynyng of peax, than is nowe, by my commyng hither, set forthe; that is to saye, the reall and actuel prosecucion

of

of the werre, and the proponyng of so high and large offres unto thEmperour; whiche, if he be not destitute of all goodnes and grace, it is veryly to be supposed His Majesty woll accepte and embrace the same. And proceding in further devising with the said Frenche King, His Grace enterd into communicacion of the perpetuel peax, and the conjunccion of Your twoo Majesties in oon hert and will, highly estemyng and rejoysing therat; and having the Colour of his Order[1] aboute his neck, and holding the image of St. Michaell, appending therunto, in his hande, sayde; "Nowe "the King my Brother and I be thus knytt and maryed in our hertes to "geder, hit were well don, me semythe, that we shulde be knytt par colletz "et jambes[2]": meanyng therby, that ye shulde interchangeably take and receyve iche others Order. For the whiche his overture, proceding of hym self, and of so good mynde, after I had geven convenient thankes, not mysliking the same, I sayde I wolde with deligence advertise Your Highnes therof. It may, therfore, be your pleasour to notifye unto me Your Graces determinacion herin, to thintent that if it shalbe thought to Your Majesty that this permutacion of Orders may conferre and be beneficiall to the corroboracion of the said union and perpetuel peax, as it is grete semblance and likely the same shalbe, I may cause that the Grete Master (who, with the President of Rone, shall passe with me, at my retourne, to your realme, for taking of Your Graces othe and ratificacion of the perpetuel peax, and suche other treaties as be nowe concluded here) shall bring to Your Highnes the said Order; and Your Grace, after the presentacion and receyving therof, or affore, (remitting most reverentely the resolucion of the same to your high wisedom and pleasour) may determyn what shalbe done for the collacion, disposicion, and sending of your said Order.

I have furthermore, Sir, enterd into communicacion with the Frenche King, aswel of the Popes and Churches astate and calamyte, as also upon thEmperours entended purpose for the indiccion of the Generall Counsail, with suche appellacions, as he, or any other person hathe, or may make to the same. And surely, Sir, I fynde the Frenche King of as good [*mynde*] and conformite, as I can wishe or desire, whom I h[*ave*] induced to agree to suche articles as be conteigned in a mynute therof, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herewith; not doubting but, after Your Grace, by your grete wysedom, shal have deliberately perused, overseen, and pondred the contentes of the same, Your Highnes woll judge and thinke that the same

[1] The Collar of the Order of St. Michael.

[2] By neck and knees, that is, by St. Michael and the Garter.

 shall

shall not a litle conferre to Your Graces intended purpose, and that nothing more can be imagined or devised, to be entreated, capitulated, or done, with the Frenche King here, concernyng those matiers.

Fynally, Sir, forasmoche as the same redoundeth more to Your Graces benefite and profict, than to your hinderance or prejudice, I have accorded, that Your Highnes shal not (yf ye may honerably put over the same) take the proteccion of the treaty to be concluded bitwen thEmperour and the Frenche King, onles the lak therof shulde be the impechement of the said treatie: nevertheles, yf Your Grace shal fortune to accept and take the same proteccion, yet Your Grace shal nothing do, by the pretext or colour therof, that may be prejudiciall to this newe conjunccion and perpetual peax. And, in like manner, the Frenche King is contented to be bounden, that, notwithstanding any aliances or mariage of my Lady Elyonore, favour, intisement, persuasion, love, or affeccion hereafter to be borne unto her, he shal never have any suche intelligence with thEmperour, or consent, directly or indirectely, to any thing, that may be to Your Graces prejudice, or to the hindrance of the said peax and straite conjunccion. So that nowe, Sir, ther is litle or nothing more to be capitulated or treated with the Frenche King, onles it be the opennyng of your secrete matier; the disclosing wherof I purpose to differre, tyll I shalbe at the poynt of my departing: handeling the same after suche a clowdy and dark sorte, that he shal not knowe Your Graces utter determynacion and intent in that behalf, tyll Your Highnes shall see, to what effect the same wolbe brought; nevertheles, yf Your Grace do not like this myn opynyon, advertised of your contrary pleasour, I shall not faile most humbly and lowly to accomplishe the same. As Our Lord knoweth, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Amyas, the 16th Day of August, by your most

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^{lis} Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensor of the Feithe.

CXXXI. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY. [1]

THIS is to advertyse Your good Grace, that my Lordes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Rochefort [2], and Mr. Tresorere [3], beeth preve unto thother letter [4], that I do send unto Your Grace, at this tyme, with these; aftyr thopen redyng whereof, the Kyng delyvered unto me your letter, concernyng the secretes; commaundyng me to yeve unto yow his moste herti thankes, for abydyng a tyme convenyent, bifore that ye discovre any parte of the saide secret unto the French King; item, for the good dyvises, that ye have studyed for setting furthe of his pleasur towardes the Popes Holinesse. In whiche doyng, he sayth, that ye have fulfylled asmoche as he entended to commyt unto Mr Stevyns; so that now ther is no cawse, whi he wolde that the saide Mr Stevyns shulde departe from Your Grace. And, Sir, in case Mr Alayn be not departid hitherwardes in your message, or may be in tyme revoked, Your Grace myght use better any abowte yow for your message unto the Kyng, then hym. I have herd the Kyng, and noble men, speke thinges incredible of thactes of Mr Alayn and Cromewell [5]; a greate parte whereof it shalbe exspedient that Your Grace do know, as at your cummynge ye shall, not oonly by me, but by other of your faythfull and lovyng servauntes, amonges which I assure Your Grace ye have a treasore of Sir William Fitzwilliams; beseking the same to accept my pore writinges in good parte, inasmoche as I am olde, and my sight faylyth [6], and I have no help, that shall medle in any matiers concernyng Your Graces letters from the Kyng, tyll ye cum home, but myself. Our Lord Jhesu preserve yow, and send yow shortely, as ye wolde, into England. At Beaulieu [7], this 19th day of August.

Your moste humble bedesman
and servaunt,
(*Signed*) Wm KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legats good Grace.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 7. No. 75.

[2] Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford, 18th June 1525.

[3] Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded Boleyn, as Treasurer of the Household, in 1525.

[4] It does not appear to be extant.

[5] This passage, no doubt, alludes to the part Allen and Crumwell had taken in the dissolution of certain religious houses, for the endowment of Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. See above, p. 155.

[6] Knighte, notwithstanding these infirmities, was afterwards employed in various missions, and being promoted, in 1541, to the See of Bath and Wells, he held it for seven years.

[7] Beaulieu, in Essex. See p. 10.

CXXXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. This shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that, according to the continewe of my last letters, dated at Amyas, the 16th day of this monethe, on Sonday [1] the perpetuell peax bitwene Englande and Fraunce was, by the Frenche King, and me as Your Graces Lieutenaunt, in the Cathedral Churche of Our Lady here, with grete triumph and solempnite, sworne, and by hym, for his parte, ratifyed and confermed, with suche other treaties [2], as, by myn other letters, I have ascerteyned and signifyed unto Your Grace, to the grete rejoysement of the King, my Lady the Princes, nobilite, and people here; not doubting but the same shalbe the semblable to Your Grace, your nobles, and subjectes. And with what ceremonyes and solempnities the said thinges were done, Your Grace shalbe more amply informed by my Lord of Bathe, whom, within thise 2 or 3 daies, I purpose to sende and depeche unto Your Highnes, for declaracion of certain thinges, whiche I have devised for your perticler affaires; forbeiring, therfore, the explicacion and discripcion therof, in these my letters; being constreyned and compelled so to do, forasmoche as the Frenche King, my Lady his moder, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal of Loreyn, Madame Reynet, the King of Navarres suster, the Duches of Vandome, and Madame de Nevers [3], the Grete Master, with al other nobles and ladies of the Courte, do dyne with me this day; thorugh whose enterteynment I am unpurveyed of tyme, at this season, to endite any long letters to Your Highnes. Nevertheles, to thintent Your Grace might not only be advertised of the premisses, but also of suche good newes as, this mornyng, be commyn out of Italy, I thought convenient to spede this post, with these my short letters; wherby Your Grace shal perceyve that, by your conjunccion with the Frenche King, ther is brought unto hym, and his affaires, good lukk, prosperous and fortunate successe. For as Your Highnes shal understonde by suche letters as be intercepted, sent from thEmperours Chaunceler to the Vice Roy, written with his oun hand, the doubles wherof I sende unto Your Majesty herewith, upon the dedicion and taking of Jeanes dependeth the totall ruyn of thEmperours affaires in Italy; whiche, as it shall appere to Your Grace by suche other advertisementes as be commen, this present houre, from Monsr de Lotrik,

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[1] 18th August 1527.

[2] These treaties are printed by Rymer.

[3] Charles Clèves, Count of Nevers, married Margaret, daughter of Charles Duke of Vendôme.

Andrea

Andrea Doria, and Theodorus Trivoulcius[1], oon of the Mershalles of Fraunce, who is sent and goon to Jeane to take the possession therof, the same is, by this tyme, reduced to the Frenche Kinges obeissance, besides the dedicion and taking of the castell and tounes of Bosco, Novya, Gavy, Sarreval, Ova, and Chanery, being strong holdes bitwene Alexaundria and Jeanes; whiche Alexaundria is likely, also, shortely to be recovered, forsomoche as the souldyours therof were enterteyned with the stipend of Jeanes. So that, Sir, Mons[r] de Lotrik, proceding further with the commen army, after this good sorte and fashion, ther is undoubted, God willing, grete apparance of victory, whiche is, ought, and shalbe holly ascribed unto Your Highnes, and Your Graces concurrance with the said Frenche King; by meane wherof not only thEmperour shall, with more facilite, embrace and admyt suche high and honerable condicions (though the same were les), as shalbe nowe finally offred and proponed to hym, on Your Graces and the Frenche Kinges behalve, but also ther is grete semblance that the peax shall succede, and the Popes Holynes, with the Cardinalles, and Italy, restoured to liberte and thair former dignite and astate; wherby Your Grace may condignely be intitilled and called, Pacis Auctor, Patrie Pater, et Ecclesie ac Libertatis Restitutor.

After dyner, the Frenche King, with my Lady, and all the Court, shall departe hens to visite certain devoult places, wherunto His Grace avowed piligremages in the tyme of his sikenes and captivite; the doing and performyng wherof wol cost hym 9 or 10 daies travaile. In the meane season, I, with the Frenche Kinges Chaunceler, the Archbishop of Burges, Robertet, and the Chaunceler of Alonson, be left here byhynde, in this toun, for making of expedicions, aswel into Italy, as into Spayne, and diverse other parties. In whiche tyme of myn abode here, the Legate Salviates, with the Cardinalles of Fraunce, and a grete part of the sadest and best lerned, and most estemed Prelates of the same, shall assemble and convine with me, here, to consult, dyvise, and determyn what shalbe done, in administracione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante captivitate Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, with making of protestacion, yf thEmperour shall induce or compell the Pope to do any thing, that may or shal redounde to the prejudice of Your Grace, and the Frenche King, your realmes or subjectes; with suche other provisions, as shalbe requisite for the spedy deliverance of the Pope, and withstanding of thEmperours intended proposses. And after the premisses thus done, the Frenche King

[1] Theodore Trivulce was made Marshal of France in 1526.

hathe

hathe appointed, that I, removing hens, shall repaire and mete with His Grace at Compein[1], ther to take my leve. And wher as thEmperours Chaunceler, Sir, hath alwaies disdayned that Your Highnes shulde have suche a stroke in Christendom, setting forwarde alwaies suche thinges as might let or interrupte the same, I trust, nowe, the cite of Jeanes being in this towardnes of dedicion, he shal scape narowly, but he shalbe brought unto Your Graces handes, and than he shal perceyve and see, to what purpose his blynde imaginacions and profyces hathe served. As other thinges shall succede and comme to my knowlaige, I shal not faile to advertise Your Highnes therof, with diligence. As our Lord knoweth, who preserve your most noble and roiall astate. From Amyas, the 19th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXXIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sir. Albeit Your Highnes shalbe informed by my Lord of Bathe, whom I have amply instructed for that purpose, not only of all suche thinges as have ben done and concluded here, with suche expedicions as be devised to be sped at Rome, concerning your secrete affaire, but also of myn answer and opynyon in and upon all such poyntes as be conteigned in your Secretaries letters, dated at Beaulieu, the 19th day of August, whiche cam to my handes yesternyght, bitwene 10 and 11 of the cloke; after declaracion wherof, I doubt not but Your Highnes shalbe well content, and take my doing here in agreable parte, forsomoche as the same is most to Your Graces suretie, benefite, and avauntage; yet I thought convenient, ex superabundanti, for Your Graces satisfaccion in the meane tyme, sumwhat to towche, in thise my letters, the causes of myn agrement with the Frenche King, concernyng suche finall offres as be to be purposed to thEmperour, for atteynyng of his childern, and the good of peax; whiche be otherwise, in my pore opynyon, understonden and taken there, than is intended or thought here. For it is not mente, that the said final condicions

[1] Compiegne.

shulde

shulde be nowe offred or made to thEmperour, but afore the conclusyon of the perpetuel peax, and determynacion of the alternatyve; wherunto the Frenche King wold never agree or be induced, onles it were first accorded and capitulated, bitwene His Grace and me, what fynall offres shulde be made to the said Emperour; upon refusail wherof, Your Grace shulde declare yourself enemye to the same, and your intymacion of hostilite succede. Wherupon it was thought to me, and your Counsail here, that to the higher, and the more ample, and larger condicions the said Frenche King did condescende and streyne hym self, the same shulde be the more to Your Graces benefite and commodite; and the lenger your declaracion of hostilite shulde be put over and delayed, whiche having the perpetuel peax, sive matrimonium succedat, sive non, et sive bellum geratur, sive non, shulde most highly serve to Your Graces purpose; onles than, upon the proponyng or refusail of more basser and meigre offres, Your Highnes were mynded to comme to the werre; wherof the Frenche King, and al his Counsail, wolde be the gladest men on lyve, reputing therby Your Highnes to be a most loving, kinde, and assured frende. Nevertheles, whither that were best to be done or not, I doubt not but Your Grace, of your excellent wysedome, can facilly judge. And Your Highnes shall not nede to doubt, but that thise men woll use degrees, and stonde a lofe inoghe, in making thair offres to the Emperour, having right good yee and respecte to the proceding of thaffaires of Italy; whiche as they shall laughe and aryde on this syde, so (Your Grace being content) thEmperours condicions shalbe the more exile and lowe. And they here be moche desirous of the interponyng of Your Graces frendely mediacion, to the reducing of thEmperour to more easyer condicions; reputing themself moche astringed unto Your Highnes, yf the said Emperour, at Your Graces contemplacion, wol mitigate any parte of his demaundes, whiche they have good hope here he woll nowe do, considering that his affaires in Italy procede not to his pleasour. For ther is, this mornyng, letters come from Mons[r] de Lotreke, by the contynewe wherof, and of suche other letters, as the Frenche King and the Grete Master hathe, this present houre, sent unto me, Your Highnes shall perceyve what exploytes Mons[r] de Mouret, with Andrea Dorea, hath done upon thEmperours galies and grete shippes, laden with vitaile for the socours of Jeanes; whiche, being in extreme penurye and skarcite of vitailes, by reason wherof many of the citizens be dede by famyn, is undoubtedly, by this tyme, reduced to the Frenche Kinges obeissance; ex quo bono principio, Deo juvante, sequetur ruina rerum Cesarianarum in Italia. And albeit it is to be thought and

jugged that this good successe shall cause thEmperour to be in his demaundes more moderate, and the Frenche King more remysse and slak in proponyng the finall offres; yet affore any suche newes were commen or loked fore, it was accorded, bitwene the said Frenche King and me, that Your Graces and his Ambassadours shulde, in no wise, propone or speke of the renunciacion of Mylain, ne of the aide to be geven for thEmperours Corone Imperiall, or thexcluding of the Venecians oute of the treatie of peax, ne of the abandonnyng of the Duke of Gilders[1], Robert de la Merche[2], and other the Frenche Kinges olde frendes, ne confederates, but fermely to persist and stik in the Popes deliverance, and thother the Frenche Kinges offres, without proceding any further, tyll they shulde have other advertisement and commaundent from Your Grace and the said Frenche King; experymenting, by all good meanes and wayes, in the meane tyme, whither the Emperour, as John Almain hathe reaported to your Ambassadours, be mynded, at Your Graces contemplacion, to give the Duchy of Mylain to the Duke of Richemount, in dotem with the Doughter of Portugale[3], and under what forme, maner, and upon what condicions; wherby Your Grace shall dissyfer, whether thEmperour entende and do meane, as the said John Almain hathe reaported; like as Your Grace shall more distinctely perceyve by the reaporte of my Lord of Bathe, and the copy of suche instruccions whiche he bringeth with hym, that shalbe depeched to morowe to your said Ambassadours; thexpedicion and sending forthe wherof I have hitherto, not without som difficulte, delayed and put over, abiding the commyng of som letters and knowlaige from Your Highnes. So that by the purporte of thise my letters, and my said Lord of Bathes instruccions, Your Highnes shall perceyve perfitely, I trust, that nothing is neglected, forgoten, or amytted, as fer as my litle and semple wyt can devise, that may be to the suretie, profytt, and thadvaunce-ment of Your Graces affaires, whiche, at my commyng to Your Highnes presence, I shall more at lengthe enforme and declare unto the same; whom I beseche our Lord long prosperously to preserve and contynue. From Amyas, the 24th day of August, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

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1 Charles Duke of Gelders.
2 Robert de la Marck, Sieur de Sédan.
3 See page 234.

CXXXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sire. Aftyr my moste humble and lowly recomendacions. With moste entier desyre to here of Yowr Gracys prosperyte and goode welfare, for the longe contynuance wheroff I do, and shall, dayly pray to Almyghtty Gode, thynckyng every day to be one yeere, tyll I may atteyne the syght of your noble and royall persone; thes shalbe to advertyse the same, that I send, at thys present tyme, unto Yowr Hyghnes, your trusty Concellor, the Bushop of Bathe, to declare, dyscusse, and debate with Yowr Majeste, not only suche thynges as be devysyd and set forthe, to be opteynyd and sped at the Popys owne hand (yf any possyble accesse may be had to the same), for conducyng of your secret mater to the desyryd ende; wych to bryng to passe ys my dayly study, and most inwarde desyre; but also to declare the ordyr, forme, and maner of all suche thynges as hathe byn don, executyd, and concludyd here: yt may therfor please Yowr Hyghnes to geve unto hyme your gracyouse and favorable audyens, with no les credence, then to myn owne poore persone, whos dayly and contynuall solycytude ys, and evyr shalbe, to do that thyng, wych may be aggreable to Your Gracys pleasure, and thadvancement of yowr noblys and vertuose desyrys. Wryttyn with the rude and shakyng hand of your moste humble subjecte, servant, and chappleyn,

T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Moste Noble Grace,
Deffensor of the Faythe.

CXXXV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Sir. Albeit by the instruccions, and diverse other my letters, sent to my Lord of Bathe, sens his deperting from hens, yf the same be suredly arrived and delyvereed, Your Highnes shalbe advertised, aswell of al thinges

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[1] This letter is wholly in Wolsey's handwriting, and must have been written on the 24th Aug. 1527, or within a day or two after; for it appears, by the next letter that the Bishop had, on the 30th, had an audience of the King.

[2] This letter is injured by damp.

concluded

concluded, done, and occurrant here, as also of suche instruccions as have ben sent to your, and the Frenche Kinges, Ambassadours, into Spain, in effecte conformable to Your Graces opynyon, divise, and pleasour, so that it is not nedefull to make any repeticion therof; yet, forasmoche as I am advertised by suche letters and instruccions as I have receyved, this mornyng, aswel from Master Secretary [1], dated at London, the 29th day of the last monethe, as also from my Lord of Bathe, of the 30th day of the same monethe, that Your Grace intendeth to sende hym unto Rome, for the procuring and setting forthe, not only of your secrete matier, but also of suche other thinges, as I shold thinke necessary to be sped ther; I have thought convenient to advertise Your Highnes, for Your Graces better satisfaccion, of thise thinges folowing:

First, wher Your Highnes desireth to be ascerteyned, with all diligence, whither the offres agreed upon by the Frenche King, in the refusail wherof, and not afore, Your Graces intymacion of hostilite shalbe made and succede, shalbe nowe purposed to thEmperour, by Your Graces, and the said Frenche Kinges Ambassadours: as herunto, by suche instruccions as be alredy sent by the Frenche King, and me, to Your Graces, and his Ambassadours, the copie wherof I have directed unto my Lord of Bathe, to be red[*de and reported*] unto Your Highnes, Your Grace may evidently perceyve, that they shal in no wise procede to the perpetuel renunciacion of Mylain, ner to the geving of the aide mencioned in the treatie of Madrill, for receyving of thEmperours Corone Imperiall, but after a maner qualifyed, ner to thexclusion of the Venecians out of the comprehension of the treate of peax to be concluded; but fermely stikking and persisting at those three pointes, yf thEmperour wol not be induced to the acceptacion of the resydue of the offres, they have in commaundement to stay therat, and to write unto Your Highnes, and the Frenche King; to thintent that as the maters of Italye shall succede, wherunto thise men here have no smale respecte, they may be further advertised of your pleasour, as shal apertain; by the whiche instruccions and ordre, in my pore judgement, Your Grace is clerely satisfyed.

Secondely, as to the gift of the Duchy of Mylain, in contemplacion of the mariage bitwene the Duke of Richemount and the Doughter of Portugale: what the Frenche Kynges opynyon is therin, and of what effecte his renunciacion, or thEmperours gift, is, I have signifyed by myn other letters, directed unto my Lord of Bathe; and in divising therupon

[1] Knighte. This instruction is not extant.

with

with my Lord of Worcestre [1], who is arryved here, I am surely ascerteyned that thEmperour myndeth nothing on erthe lesse, than to give the said Duchy of Mylain to the said Duke of Richemount, but is holly determyned to have and enjoye the same for hym self; and that the overture therof, made by Mons[r] Buclans, otherwise called John Almain, was but to abuse Your Highnes, and to suspende suche treaties, as shulde be concluded bitwen Your Grace and the Frenche King. Nevertheles, what I have writen therin to your Ambassadours, for the knowlaige and discifering of thEmperours mynde in that behalf, Your Grace, I trust, or this tyme, dothe perceyve, by the copy of suche instruccions as be sent unto your said Ambassadours; to whom not only thEmperours Chauncelers originall letters be sent, but also the newes of the defeating of his armye by the see, with the taking of Bosco and Jeane; the same to be declared unto His Majesty, afore they shal entre into the newe proponyng and disclosing of suche offres, as they have nowe in commission; who, of likelihode, upon knowlaige of the said newes, wilbe more moderate in his demaundes.

Thirdly, as towching the repaire of the Bishop of Tarbye [2] to the said Lady Elyonore, with the proposing of som thinges more than your Ambassadours had in thair instruccions, or that they were made participant or pryvey unto: I was, in this mater, depely in hand with the Frenche King, at my first arrivall to His Grace; and if he may be beleved by his othe, the said Bishop of Tarbyes had never in commaundement, either to repaire or to speke with the said Lady Elyonore, on his behalf, but the said [*Bishop of*] Tarbye, as of hym self, at the said Lady Ely[*onores*] went unto her; trusting that, by her mediacion and intervencion, the condicions of the peaxe shulde be the more easy; wherof, as sone as His Grace was advertised, he sent letters unto hym, whiche I did see and rede my self, commaunding hym expresely, that, from thensfourthe, he shuld nothing do, or entreate with the said Lady Elyonore, ner with non other person, privately or apertely, but by the consent, knowlaige, and agrement of Your Graces Ambassadours; like as eftsones, by the instruccions sent unto the said Bishop, he is commaunded. And sens Your Graces maters be concluded here with Fraunce, so highly to Your Graces commodite and proffict, the wordes of the Frenche Kinges instruccions to his Ambassadours well wayede and pondred, I can not see but that good may aryse, sens the same shalbe don by mutuell consent, of the repaire from hens-

[1] Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester.

[2] De Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes.

forthe

forthe of the said Tarbyes to Madam Elyonore; who, fearing lest she shalbe repudiate and excluded from the Frenche Kinges mariage, as it is, pro stimulo, surmysed and fayned, divised also to be alleged unto her, by hym, and your Ambassadours, will interpone all her studye and labour, with all the frendes that she canne make, to induce thEmperour to accepte the offres nowe to be purposed unto hym.

Fourthely, as to the commyng of the Cardinalles into Fraunce: albeit I have set forthe al thinges, that might allecte them to come to Avynyon, aswell in sending to them letters and saulfeconduytes, as also in offering of money for their expences, bicause dyverse of them be pore, whiche the Frenche King is content, of his oun propre tresure, to debourse, yet I can not perceyve that they will, by any meanes, be induced or persuaded, leaving Italy, to come to Avynion; dreding lest, therby, the See Apostolique, as it hathe ben in tymes past, shuld be translate out of Italye into Fraunce. And moche the rather they shewe them difficile therunto, bicause the Pope, sens his captivite, hathe commaunded them expresely, by a secrete messenger, that they shal not departe, for any mans persuasion, out of Italye, but remayn and still conteyne them self in the same; to thintent that in cace His Holynes shuld fortune to dye, or be killed, they being ther, and in liberte, tanquam viva membra Sedis Apostolice, et representancia Collegium Cardinalium, poterint novum eligere Pontificem, cujus Sedes, eo pretextu, extra Italiam transferri nequeat. Besides this also, they be lothe to departe out of Italy, forasmoche as the promocions and legacions be within the same; like as my Lord of Bathe can more amply enforme Your Highnes. Nevertheles, I purpose, or I departe hens, with the Legate Salvates, here, and the other Cardinalles of Fraunce, to divise certain articles and protestacions, in cace thEmperour wil deteyn the Pope in captivite, and not delyver hym, nisi in manu forti, howe the Churche shalbe governed, and the auctorite of the same administred; whiche articles, so divised, shalbe sent to all the residue of the Cardinalles being absent, to be by them confermed and ratifyed; whiche shal serve, in maner, to as good effecte and purpose, as thoughe they al had ben to gether assembled hire, exchewing therby grete travail, expences, and long tracte of tyme.

Fyftly, as towching the sending of Mr Secretary to Rome: althowe he is a wise, trusty, feithefull subjecte, and Counsaillour, to whom more feythe is to be geven than to any straunger, yet considering the approved wisedom and long experience of the Bishop of Worcestre, who, by my sending fore, is cumme out of Spaigne hither, for that purpose, saving your

your gracious further pleasour and reformacion, ther is no man, in myn opynyon, so mete, ner propice, for the obteignyng of any thing, that may concerne your privey mater, or any protestacions to be made by the Pope, or the obteignyng of any other thing at his hande, than the said Bishop of Worcestre is: who althowe by grete dexterite and polycye hathe obteigned letters from thEmperour to the Pope, to thintent that, by meane therof, he might have the more redy and facile accesse to the same, for declaracion and obteignyng of suche thinges, as shalbe committed to his charge; yet he doubteth gretely, that he shal not be suffred or admitted to comme to his presence; moche more it is to be feared, that your Secretary, whiche hathe no colour or acquayntance ther, shalbe admitted or suffred to comme to the Popes sayde presence; or that yf he might atteyne therunto, the waies and meanes wherof I can not possibly imagyne, it is not to be thought, considering he is sent from Your Grace, that he shal any thing do, or speke with the Pope, sine arbitris, whiche is clene contrary to Your Graces purpose. It [*shall therefore be*] more expedient, in my pore opynyon, referring and remitting alwaies, most humbly, the refourmacion and judgement therof to Your Graces highe wisedom and pleasour, that the going of Mr Secretary to the Pope be put over and suspended; and that the sending of my Lord of Worcestre, whiche hathe ben privey to your secrete mater, shalbe more convenable for the obteignyng of Your Graces desire, and of the generall faculte to me omnia faciendi et exequendi durante captivitate Summi Pontificis, whiche shall as highly make to Your Graces purpose, yf the same may be attayned, as Your Highnes can divise or wishe, without disclosing any particularite of the said secrete mater to the said Popes Holynes, and, by meane therof, I may delegate suche Judges, as percace the Quene will not refuse or appele from; et casu quo appellare voluerit, aut eosdem recusare, cognicio statim ad me devolveretur, a quo, racione dicte auctoritatis Papalis, nullo pacto posset appellari, ac per unam clausulam, in dicta generali commissione contentam, Pontifex ratum habebit quicquid per me, virtute dicte commissionis, decretum, factum, aut judicatum fuerit; and, with the same, obteigne likewise the protestacion, in suche forme as it is conteigned in the mynute therof sent to my Lord of Bathe, without instructyng hym, or making mencion of the other waies, devised and sent to Your Highnes by my said Lord of Bathe; leaving, sens the same contenteth not Your Grace, to speke or prosecute any thing further therin, till my commyng home, and repaire unto Your Highnes. And thise twoo commissions, without disclosing of any particularities, may be also committed to the Popes Ambassadour, Gambara;

Gambara[1]; ut in omnem eventum, si Episcopo Wigorniensi negetur accessus, ipse saltem posset, medio amicorum, et aliarum practicarum, devenire ad colloquium cum Pontifice, pro declaracione et assequucione premissorum. And, Sir, having nothing somoche in my hert, dailly studye, and thought, as the bringing of Your Graces entended purpose to honorable frute and effecte, sens I am advertised that the Popes Holynes is deteyned in streite hold, and, as som men write, conveyed to Gayetta, I can not imagyne no better instrumentes in erthe to be sent unto the Pope, than Gregory de Cassalys, the Bishop of Worcestre, and the Prothonotary Gambara, who shal fynde more faysable [*entraunce*] to His Holynes presence, than your Secretary, [*or*] any other person to be sent from Your Grace out of England. Wherfore, sens Your Highnes hathe remitted the ordering of these thinges to my pore discrecion, trusting that Your Grace will take this my doing to procede of good and feithefull hert, and in agreable parte, for the more expedicion, and in exchewing of long tracting the tyme, I have first depeched Monsr Gregory, who, after he hathe satelled with Monsr de Lotrik, Sir Robert Jernyngham, leving hym byhynde for the taking of moustres, from monethe to monethe, shal experyment al practises and meanes possible, to come to the Popes presence; endevouring hym self to atteyne the said generall commission and protestacion, only, having no instruccions further to procede; and semblably, bitwen this and Saterday, I shal depeche hens the Bishop of Worcestre, and the said Cambara, every of them a parte, with like commissions. Nevertheles, if ther be any other thing that Your Grace shall thinke expedient to be done by your Secretary, he may passe in his jorney, notwithstanding the sending of thothre, yf the same shalbe so thought to Your Highnes convenient.

Fynally, Sir, sens the departing of my Lord of Bathe, I have had diverse long and serious conferences with the Deane[2], and the Popes Lieutenaunt of the Rote, who (being by me ripely instructed of the facte, with suche thinges as be dependaunt therupon) hath chaunged and altered his opynyon, and nowe expresly affermeth that the Popes dispensacion is clerely voyde and nought; aswel for that, that the impediment of affinite, in primo gradu, is de jure divino; as also that the Pope can not, nisi clave errante, dispense with the same; for the justificacion of whiche his opynyon, he hathe writen a grete boke, right substancially and clerkely handeled,

[1] Uberto de Gambara, Nuncio from Pope Clement VII. to King Henry VIII.
[2] Staffileo, Dean of the Ruota.

furnished

furnished plentuesly with the decrees and the auctorities of the lawe, whiche boke I shal not faile to bring with me, at my retorne home; and the said Deane of the Rote is content, whansoever I shal send for hym, to comme into England, for justificacion and mayntenaunce of the same his writing and opynyon. And surely, Sir, the auctorite, qualities, and excellente lernyng of the sayd Deane considered, his coming into Englande shal motche waye and conferre to the invalidacion of the said Bull, and putting to sylence all those, that be of the contrary opynyon. So, what by this meane, and suche othre thinges as be sett forthe to be opteyned at the Popes handes, ther is perfitt hope, yf Your Grace will take a litle pacience, suffring suche thinges to be experimented and done, whiche be and shalbe devised for that purpose, by oon waye or other, your entent shal honerably and lawfully take the desired effecte; whiche to bring to passe is my contynuall studye and ardent desire, redy to expone my body, life, and blod for the accheving of the same.

And as to the newes of Italy, ther be, this mournyng, letters arrived here, wherby advertisement is geven, that the Spanyardes, fearing gretely the puisance and proceding of the commen army, being under the leading of Mons[r] de Lotrik, have conveyed the Pope to Gayetta, who did not moche refuse to be brought and transported thether, for thexchewing of the grete pestylence reignyng in Rome, in the whiche ther be not left, for the custody therof, above three thowsand men, wherof grete nomber dailly do dye of the sayd reignyng sikenes, so that, or long to, (God contynuyng his hand) ad nihilum redigentur. In thEmperours armye, being out of Rome, ther ys also grete pestylence, and a grete part of the chief capitains of the saide army ded, wherby the same army, not exceding the nomber of ten thowsande men, is destitute of hedes and governours; by mean wherof they be in grete disorder, the one dailly killing the other; so that, by letters intercepted of thEmperialles, they repute and take all thEmperours affaires and enterprises in Italy utterly dashed and desperate: whose opynyons shalbe well confermed, whan they shall here that Andreas Doriea shalbe arrived at Naples, with the Frenche Kinges galies, and the Venecians, having in them 4000 men, and being appointed to descende at Gayotta, or in somme other convenient porte, ther to make suche a broylery, that not only by the same the said realme shalbe gretely astonyed, and in no litle perill and danger, but also, by meane therof, parte of the enimyes shalbe dyverted from shewing thair visage to Mons[r] de Lotrik; who, after the taking of Alexaundria, whiche is unpourveyed of men of warre, and wherin Mons[r] de Lotrik hathe a grete intelligence, shall

shall streight, with all possible diligence, merche towardes the said enemyes, and, leving all perticler enterprises, present bataile to the same.

Your Grace shall also perceyve, by the copy of the letter sent to the Oratour of Venice here, howe that Cesar Phrigosus[1], upon whom the men of warre at Jeanes did issue out, hathe broken and distrussed the same, with killing of a thowsand and more of them; et in fragranti certamine entrid into the said cite, whiche was no lesse cause of the dedicion therof, than the distresse of thEmperours navye by Andrea Dorea in the Port Fyne[2]. So that eftsones the newes of the dedicion of Jeanes, and the castell, be renewid and confermed, not a litle to the Venecians lawde and prayse.

Mons[r] de Lotrik, also, hathe taken into wages suche launceknightes as were dysmyssed out of Bosco.

I have lerned of my Lord of Worcestre, that thEmperour, with moche desire, at his departing, loked for an answer hens to his demaundes, and that, of his fidelite to Your Grace, he is nothing mynded les, than that the peax bitwen hym and Fraunce shulde be concluded, in any other place, but at his oun hande, saying expresely thise wordes; "It were not the "office of a wise, well counsailled, and advised Prince, to put the penne of "making his treaties in any other mans handes then his oun;" assuring Your Grace, that as far as he can perceyve or judge, that whatsoever reaporte shalbe made to Your Highnes by his Ambassadour ther to the contrary, Your Grace shal finally perceyve, that thEmperour will not relente at any pointe of importaunce, at Your Graces request or contemplacion, but that al his drift is, with faire wordes to enterteyn and kepe Your Grace in suspence, and from streter conjunccion with the Frenche King; et quod licet Cesar pre se ferat magnam speciem virtutis, fidei, honestatis, et religionis, intrinsecus tamen est omnium maxime dolosus, et heresis Lutheriane fautor acerimus, cujus confessor est pejor, et magis infidelis, quam Judeus. This is the said Bishops formal reaport, whiche I thought I coulde no lesse do, than to signifye the same, for my discharge, unto Your Highnes, remitting the further pondering therof to your high judgement and wisedom.

The said Bishop of Worcestre, also, hath certifyed me, that thEmperour, hering that, by the detencion of the Pope in captivite the Churches of England and of Fraunce, to his perpetuel rebuke and ignomynye, shulde declyne from the obedience of the Pope, did afferme and say to hym, and

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[1] Cæsar Fregoso, who had left the service of Venice for that of France, commanded the land forces at the siege of Genoa, and taking advantage of an imprudent sortie cut off the assailants, and took the city.

[2] Porto Fino, to the south-eastward of Genoa.

your

your Ambassadours, that he, for the avoyding of that daunger, had sent the Generall of the Observauntes for enlarging and putting to liberte the same, with commission to persuade and induce His Holynes to come into Speyne; whiche, if thEmperour may bring to passe, the said Bishop thinketh, as John Emanuel, oon of thEmperours Secrete Counsail, hath shewed unto hym, His Majesty entendeth to delyver the Pope per poculum, and so consequently establishe the See Apostolique in Speyne for ever. Howebeit, thowe this be thEmperours execrable compasse, and the Pope shalbe also so blynded, that he will condescende to go into Spayn, yet therbe suche good provisions made for the letting therof by see, that, God willing, the said voyage shalbe interrupted, and thEmperour letted and disapointed of his intended detestable purpose; with other devises and protestations to be made, whiche, being to long to be committed to writing, I shall declare unto Your Highnes, at my commyng home, unto the same.

The said Bishop of Worcestre, also, shewed unto me, that afore his departing oute of Speyne, it was come to thEmperours knowlaige, that Your Grace was mynded to be seperate from the Quene, aswel by the reaporte of Englishe merchantes, as, by al likelihode, of Fraunces Philip, who arrived in thEmperours Courte, and had communication with hym by the space of oon hole day. Howebeit the said Bishop, and your Ambassadours, folowing suche instructions as I before sent unto them, sumwhat stayed the mater, altering thEmperours opynyon in that behalf; nevertheles it is not to be doubted, but that he wil set forthe all thinges, that maye let and empeche Your Graces intended purpose.

Most humbly beseching Your Majesty, if it be not don alredy, to sende unto me the confirmacion of the treaty of the perpetuell peax, whiche I have promised to delyver here, afore my departure out of thise parties; orelles to redelyver them thair confirmacion, whiche I have in my possession and handes, and shal bring the same with me into England; redounding, as me semythe, moche more to Your Graces suretie and honnour, than if the same shuld be delyvered and brought by any othre straunger: nevertheles, that notwithstanding, it is ordred, pro majori corroboracione et decore dicte perpetue pacis, et perpetuo futuro monumento, that the confirmacion therof shalbe duplicate, the one sealed with grene waxe, and thother with gold[1]; that of gold to be interchangeably delyvered to thAmbassadours,

[1] The ratification of this treaty is preserved in the Chapter House, at Westminster. It is written on ten leaves of vellum, signed by the French King, "Francoys," and countersigned "Robertet."

thAmbassadours, at the taking of Your Graces othe, with the ratificacions of the treaties, of the determinacion of the alternatyve, contribucionis faciende, et indiccionis Generalis Concilij impediende; wherin, besydes the permutacions of your Orders, they shalhave speciall commission and instruccion. And thus, Sir, what by thise, and other my letters and instruccions, al Your Graces doubtes be clerely absolved, and every thing put in execucion, according to your high pleasour; and Your Grace being contented with my forsaid divises and expedicions, it may like Your Highnes, having consideracion of the difficile, and in maner impossible, accesse of Mr Secretary to the Popes presence, either to revoke hym, or elles to signifye unto me your pleasour of his further passage and progresse unto the Pope, to thintent that, upon his arrivall here, I may instructe hym, and order his jorney accordingly.

Post scripta.

As I was enclosing these my letters, the Frenche King sent unto me, by oon of his Chamber, the original letters of the Marques of Saluce, the copy wherof I sende unto Your Highnes herewith; wherby Your Grace shalbe ascerteyned of the successe and procedinges of thEmperialles, with the grete plag and disorder that is amonges the same; whiche contynuing and encreasing, I trust, shall turne to ther clere extermynyon, Our Lord graunting; to whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of your most noble and roiall astate. From Compeigne, the 5th day of September.

Sire. Yf thise letters be not al the best writen, and eligantly indited, I must beseche Your Highnes to take the same in good part; considering

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"Robertet." The Great Seal of France is appended to it, inclosed in a magnificent box of pure gold; on the obverse of which Francis is represented sitting on his throne, under a superb cloth of estate, the curtains of which are drawn back and held open by two angels, and two smaller angels are assisting to keep them open at the upper part. Two lions are crouching at the feet of Francis, and form the footstools to the throne. The whole is surrounded by an inscription, on a broad border, "Plurima servantur Foedere, cuncta Fide.' The reverse has three Fleur de Lys, on a plain shield, inclosed in the collar of the Order of St. Michael, exquisitely chased, surmounted by the crown, with the style and titles of Francis, "Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Christianissimus", on a border similar to the former. The whole is finely executed, and is very inadequately, though not inaccurately, represented in Rymer's engraving, Vol. XIV. p. 227. The first page of the manuscript is illuminated, and, at the beginning, exhibits a miniature of Francis in a suit of Milan armour, with a surcoat of black, embroidered with gold. At the bottom is the Fleur de Lys, on a shield, supported by two angels. The sides are ornamented with birds, flowers, and insects, sustaining a motto on each; that of the dexter being "Nutrisco et extinguo;" that on the sinister, "Extinguo et nutrisco." It is altogether one of the most beautiful manuscripts of the age.

that

that the devising and writing therof was done in the night, and that I was desirous, with all possible diligence, to ascertain Your Highnes of the contentes of the same. By your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR[lis] EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXXVI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIRE. I canne not with my penne or tong expresse, howe gretely it is to my consolacion, rejoyse, and comforte, to understonde by Your Graces most loving, elequent, and excellentely indicted letters, that my labours, travaile, and pore service, is so graciously and thankefully by Your Highnes accepted and taken; wherby I do not only accompte my said service and travailes wel bestowed and imployed, but also that I am most highly rewarded for the same; by meane wherof, besides my dailly prayer, I am and shalbe encoraged to continewe in doing the semblable, or better, if it were in my possible power; with most humble thankes for the grete pain that Your Majesty hathe susteyned, in writing the said letters with Your Graces oune hande[1], whiche I shall reserve and kepe for a perpetuel monument and treasour. And folowing and ensuyng your commaundement, I have instructed and depeched Master Secretary towardes Rome[2], in suche wise ordering and directing hym, that I trust, by oon meanes or other, he shalhave accesse unto the Popes Holynes; to whom I have delivered aswel the mynute of the protestacion, whiche I am informed, by my Lord [*of*] Bathes letters, doth right well please and content [*Your*] Highnes; as also the mynute of the generall com[*mission*]; the same not

[1] Lord Herbert alludes, p. 208, to the King's having written to Wolsey with his own hand. The King bestowed the same token of his gratitude on the Cardinal after his negotiation at Calais in 1521. Supra, p. 93.

[2] Several of Knighte's letters, in the course of this mission, are preserved in the State Paper Office, and will be hereafter published. Among others, is one of this same date (13 Sept. 1527) from Compiegne, and another dated 4 Dec. 1527, from Foligno, in which he complains of the Pope being intimidated by Alarcon. Lord Herbert must have seen both these letters, and erroneously ascribed the former date to the latter letter, when, in page 246, he states Knighte to have written on the 13th of September, from Rome, which place he did not reach till the 25th of November. The extent of Knighte's instructions on this mission was concealed even from Wolsey.

to

to be sett forthe, impetrate, or sped by the said Master Secretary, afore he shalbe advertised of your further pleasour in that behalve. Howe be it, Sir, whanne the continewe and purporte of the said commission shalbe well discussed, pondred, and, non otherwise than I have ment, interpreted, it shalbe founde that nothing hitherto, or percace hereaftre, hathe or shalbe devised, with les disclosing of the matier, whiche shalbe more accommodate, and better serve for the accheving of Your Graces intent and purpose. And God I take to my judge, that whatsoever opynyon, contrary to my thought or desertes, by any reaport or suggestion, Your Grace hathe or might conceyve, I never intended to sett forthe thexpedicion of the said generall commission, for any auctorite, ambicion, commodite, private proufite, or lucre, but only for the avauncement of Your Graces secrete affaire. And if the same were nowe presentely, or hereafter shalbe opteyned, yf your pleasour were, that no parte therof shulde be executed, I shall, with most humble, reverente, and obeisant hert, submyt my self to the same. Assuring Your Highnes that I shal never be founde, but as your most humble, loiall, true, and feithefull obeisant servaunt; deliting in non erthely thing somoche, as to set forthe, avaunce, and accomplisshe al your commaundementes and pleasures, without contradiccion or sparing of my body, lyfe, or goodes. And were it nott (besides my most bounden duetie) for the ardent and reverent love, that I have and beire unto Your Majesty, and thencrease and exaltacion of your honour, ther is no erthely good or promocion, that shulde cause me to endure the travailes and paines, whiche I dailly and hourely susteyne, without any regarde to the continuance of my life or healthe, whiche is oonly preserved by the assured trust of your gracious love and favour, the contrary wherof I shal never deserve. And as touching all suche thinges, as Your Highnes hathe commaunded me to set forthe, aswel by the said Master Secretaries instruccions, as by my Lord of Bathes letters, I trust I have, and shall, so demeane my self therin, as shalbe to Your Graces good contentacion, ful, and entier satisfaccion, as Your Highnes shal more clerely and distinctely be advertised by my reaporte, at my commyng home, and repaire to your presence; whose noble person most shortely to visite and see, is my inward desire; for the whiche purpose, God willing, on Monday or Tuesday[1] next commyng, I entende to departe hens, commensing and contynuyng my jorneys towardes Your Highnes withe suche diligence, as myn olde and crached body may endure; for ther was never lover more desirous of the sight of his lady, than I

[1] 16th or 17th September.

am

am of your most noble and roiall personne, whiche I beseche Almighty God long prousperousely to preserve and contynue. And what newes hathe commyn to my knowlaige, of the successes and affaires of Italy, sens the depeche of my last letters by Cristopher [1], Your Highnes shalbe advertised by a memorial therof, herin closed; forbeiring and remitting the declaracion of all suche expedicions and discourses as have ben made and done here, sens that tyme, to myn oun propre reaporte. At Compeigne, the 13th day of September, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CARlis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CXXXVII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII. [2]

PLEASITHE it Your Highnes to understonde, that according to the cotinewe of my last letters, on Tuesday last passed [3] I departed from Compeigne, accompanyed and brought thorughe the toun, and a myle on my waye, by the Frenche King, the King of Navarre, the Legate, withe the Cardinalles, all Ambassadours of Princes, the Duke of Vandome, the Counte Saint Pole, and many other nobles and Counsaillours of His Grace; who, passing with me by the waye, had many loving and honerable devises of Your Highnes manyfolde, vertuous, and princely passetymes, thextending and declaracion wherof semed not to be to hym tedious, but veray comfortable and pleasant. And at the taking of my leve of His Grace, [*he bade*] his most loving and cordiall recommendacions to [*Your*] Highnes, the same being set forthe in as lovely maner, [*and*] with as accommodate wordes, as coulde be divised; he em[*braced*] and bade me fare well, withe the teres in his ies. And so merching forwardes, and passing on my jorney, conducted by the Counte Brion [4], and suche jentlemen, and men of armes, as encountred with me at my first entring into this realme, I arrived here,

[1] It appears by Knighte's letter, of this date, that he had received a despatch from the King by a messenger, named Christopher Mores. Cavendish states that Wolsey waited at Compiegne for the return of a messenger, called, in some editions of his history, "Chronifer Gunier," and in others "Christopher Gunner." Were there two messengers named Christopher? or were Mores and Gunner the same individual?

[2] A few words are rendered illegible by damp.

[3] 17th September.

[4] Count de Brienne, Seneschal of Normandy.

at

at Boleyn, this day, bitwene ten and a leven of the cloke in the fore noone; wher, after I had made a litle pawse, ther came unto me a gentleman, by post, from the Frenche King, with letters of his, and my Ladyes, oun hande, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herewith; wherby Your Grace shall not oonly be ascerteyned of the takyng of Alexaundria, but also of the distrusse in Romany, besydes Spolet[1], of 2000 of Goddes and the Churches ennemyes, with 3 or 400 horsemen; whereby no litle terrour and feare shalbe incussed unto thEmperialles, and grete reputacion shall ensue by the same, unto the said Mons[r] de Lotrike, and the commyn army; who, proceding with the same to the said enemyes, as it is determyned he shal do, they being devided amongest them selfes, destitute of capitains, and well beiten, aswell by the hande of God, as by the swerde, ther is manifest apparance of glorious v[*ictor*]ye; wherby the Churche, the Pope, and all Italy shalbe restoured to liberte, to Your Graces perpetuall fame, and immortall glory and renowne. And thEmperour, being also preced in the realme of Naples, by the dyssent of 8000 fotemen and 200 lighthorsses, under the leding of Senior Rencioux[2], shalbe compelled, putting water in his wyne, to speik of an other sorte and tewne, than he hathe hitherto done, glad to accepte suche offres, as be and shalbe made unto hym, for redempcion of the Frenche Kinges childern; and moche the rather he shalbe inforced so to do, yf it be true[3] that Wayvoda hathe killed Don Fardinando, King of Boheme, with most part of his people, in batail; the reaporte and confirmacion wherof hathe ben brought unto me, this day, by twoo or three waies; wherby the said Emperour hath not only lost his right hande and arme, but also being destitute, and unpurveyed of treasour, he shall have no meane to make any reenforcement of his army in Italy; and percace the Princes of thEmpire, taking corage and hert by the same, may either attempte to chose a newe King of Romains, orelles an other Emperour, for the repressing and extincting of the herisyes of Luther, and bringing the nacion of Jermany into more welthy, better order, and obeissance.

To morowe at night, Sire, I entende to be a[*t Guisnes*], making myn abode ther Monday, al day, for v[*iewing*] of your howse, and on Tuesday I purpose to [*be at*] Calaies; wher, after I have put suche thinges in order, as be to be done ther, God willing, and the wynde serving, I entende to passe the sees, and with all convenient diligence to repaire unto Your Majestye; whom reverently to salute, honour, visite, and see, shalbe to my

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[1] Spoleto in the Papal States. [2] Renzo de Ceri. [3] This rumour proved false.

most

most inwarde consolacion and comforte; gladly desiring to be ascerteyned in what place I shal fynde the same, to thintent I may order and disposse my journey, folkes, and baguages, as shal appertain. And thus, after my most humble and lowly recommendacions, I beseche Our Lord to sende unto Your Highnes the accomplishement of your most noble and vertuous desires. From Boleyn, the 21th day of September, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

T. Carlis Ebor.

CXXXVIII. Bishop Clerk *to* Wolsey.[1]

After my most humble recommendation, likith it Your Grace to understond, that upon Fryday last, the Kinges Highnes, at his second masse in the Chapell, callyd my Lord of Rocheford, Master Treasorer[2], and me unto hym, into his travers, and ther dyd communycate unto us divers maters, aswell concernyng the charge of the Counte de Carpis servaunt, as also concernyng the contentes of suche matters as ben conteyned in theis wrytinges, whiche I do now send unto Your Grace agayn, by His Highnessis commandement. His Highnes rejoycyd moche to here of the Popis good will and mynde, and of the evill disposition and trayne of thEmperours affayres in Italy, and is in a great hope and exspectation, through the progress of Monsr de Lotreke into the realme of Naples, and other practises ther, that thEmperour shall repent this proclamyd warre, or it be long. His Highnes takith the proclamation of warre made by thEmperour, as it becommyth hym, and lackith no courraige. His Highnes saith, that seeyng he must algates to the warre, he wold do it substancyally, and as it shold be don. We all dyd comfort His Highnes to the same. His Highnes also spake moche of thEmperours braggyng letter unto the Romayns, and willing me to rede it, ponderyd many partes of the same veray well. His Highnes willyd me to send it agayn unto Your Grace; sayeng, that seyng that, in the same letter, thEmperour callith hymself King of Germany, and in som other poyntes, semyth to take the glorye from Germany, attributing the same unto the Romayns, it shold be well

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 309.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household.

 don,

don, ad excitandam invidiam, that Your Grace dyd send the same letter unto Master Waloppe [1], that he myght dyvulge the same in Germany; and if the originall myght be gottyn, it shold make to good purpose, that the said origynall wer sent thither also.

They of Rye have wrytton hither of a prise taken by the Frenchemen, within ther havyn. Bycause my Lord of Rochefort, Master Treasorer, and I, by the Kinges commandement, do joyntly signyfie unto Your Grace His Highnessis pleasur in that matter, therfor I shall not trouble Your Grace no more therwith. Other thing worth the writing is not chauncyd, sithens my commyng to the Courte, saving the arryvall of thAmbassadour of Scotland [2], who, this mornyng, spake with the King in his Great Chambre, at suche tyme as His Grace cam forth to masse, and ther delyvered his letters, and after masse he had a large communycation with the Kinges Highnes; but wherof as yet I have no knowlaige. After dyner, the Kinges Highnes spake nothing of the matter, but only of the commyng hither of thAmbassadour of Spayne, wherin Your Grace shall know the Kinges pleasure by other letters. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Wyndesore, this Sonday the first of Marche, at 4 of Clock in the after noon.

Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) Jo. CLERK, Pryst.[3]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CXXXIX. BISHOP CLERK, LORD ROCHFORD, *and* SIR W. FITZWILLIAM *to* WOLSEY. [4]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understande. The Chief Clerk of the Kinges Kechin, being Bailliff of the towne of Rye, receyvid, yesterday, letters from the Mayor of the said towne, the contynue and effect whereof he required me, Sir William Fitzwilliam, to shewe unto the Kinges Highnes; the which I accordingly did; whose Highnes, not being the best contented, ner

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1 Sir John Wallop was sent to Hungary in the spring of 1527, and remained in that country, in Poland, and in Germany, until his return to England, about the beginning of June 1528.

2 Patrick St. Clair.

3 This signature is remarkable, for Clerk had been long Bishop of Bath and Wells, and, on this same day, signs the joint letter herein alluded to, "Jo. Bathonien."

4 From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 1. No. 115.

pleased,

pleased, with the demeanour of the Frenshemen in that behalf, hath therupon, at this tyme, not oonly written his letters unto the Mayor of the said towne, of His Graces pleasure in the same, as it may appere unto you by the copie of the said letters, whiche we sende unto Your Grace herein closed, with the sayd Mayres letters concerning the premisses; but also willed us to ascertaigne Your Grace, that his said pleasour is, ye, by your high wisedome and pollicye, doo commone with thAmbassadour of Fraunce in the sayd affayre, in suche wise that ordre may bee gyven, that, from hensfurth, no like enterprice ner attemptate bee made by the said Frenshemen, within any his havons; for it semeth unto His Highnes, that they may aswell, and as laufully, take a Flemyng upon the lande, in any part of his reame, as oute of any his said havons. As knoweth the Blessed Trinitie, who ever have Your Grace in his blessed tuycion. Written at Windesour, the furst day of Marche.

Post scripta. It may lyke Your Grace furthermore to understande, that this Sonday, aftre dyner, the Kynges Highnes shewed us, that thEmperours Ambassadour had sent unto him a servaunt of his, to declare that he hath receyved fresshe letters out of Spayn, from thEmperour; and therupon desired to knowe, when he might come hither, to declare certain thinges, which he hathe in commission. The Kinges pleasure was, that we shuld wright unto Your Grace, that percaas the said Ambassadour shalhave any letters from the Emperour, beryng date sithens the proclamation of warre [1], then His Highnes pleasure is, that the said Ambassadour bee sent hither, to bee here upon Tewesday or Wensday; percaas his said letters shalbe of an elder date, as the King suspecteth sore that they shulde bee, then His Highnes pleasure is, that he shall not comme here, but that he shall declare his charge unto Your Grace. [2]

Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) Jo. Bathonien:
(*Signed*) T. Rocheford.
(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Fytzwyllm̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardynalles [3] Grace.

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[1] This date is differently stated by various authors, Hall giving it on the 14th, Guicciardini on the 21st, and Lord Herbert on the 22d of January 1528.

[2] The Cardinal's answer to this postscript has been erroneously placed under the date of 2d March 1527, No. CIII. page 186.

[3] It must have been by a singular inadvertence, that this letter was not addressed to Wolsey, by the title of Legate, of which he was extremely tenacious.

CXL. More *to* Wolsey.[1]

Hit may lyke Your good Grace to be advertised, that yesternyghte the Kinges Highnes commaunded me to advertise Your Grace, that his servaunt, Michael the Geldrois, delivered hym a lettre from Monsr de Iselsteyne, which His Grace hath sent unto Yours, in such maner cowched, that it semeth to His Highnes to have proceded not without thadvice of my Lady Margarete, and the Counsaile there. And for as mych as the lettre mencioned credence to be geven to the bringer, in the declaring of the same, he shewed un to His Highnes, on the behalfe of Monsr Deselsteyne, that my Lady, and all the Counsaile there, and among other hym selfe especially, were very sory for this warre intimated un to thEmperour, and mervelouse loth and hevy wold be, that eny warre shold aryse bytweene theym; and that it were to great pitie, and a thyng highly declaring Our Lord sore displeased with christen people, if the thre gretteste Princes of Christendome, cummyng to so nere poyntes of peace and concord, shold, in so nere hope and expectatione of peace, sodaynly fall at warre; beseching the Kinges Highnes graciously to percever in his godly mynde and appetite of peace, and how so ever it shold happe to fall bytwene hym and Spayne, yit to considre his auncient amite, and to continue hys good and graciouse favour towardes Flaundres, and those Lowe Countrees, whiche, of all folke living, lotheste wolde be to have eny enemyte with His Grace, or his people; adding therunto, that if His Highnes had, of his high wisedome, any convenient meanys, by whiche His Grace thought that the peace myght yit be trayned, and cum to good point, that thing knowen, he wold not dowte to cum over hym selfe to His Grace, with sufficient authorite to conclude hit. Wherun to the Kinges Grace answered, that no creature living, prince nor pore man, was more lothe to have cummen to the warre than he, nor that more labour and travaile had taken, in his mynde, to conduce the peace; which he had undowbtedly brought to passe, if, with thEmperour, either reasonable respecte of his owne honour, profite, and suertie, or eny regard of the comen weale of Christendome, myght have taken place: and sith hit was without his fawte, and agaynst his mynde, cummen to this point, now His Grace muste and wold, with other his frendes, and helpe of God, defend his and theire good cause, and the

[1] From the Museum, Galba, B. V. leaf 122. Printed by Ellis.

comen

comen state of Christendome, agaynste such, as by theire immoderate sore dealing, shewe theym selfe utterly sett uppon a purpose to put all in theire awne subjection: and that as towchyng the Lowe Cuntreis, he had, for the old frendeshippe and amite, such favour to theym, that, as it hath well appered by his actis, synnys thintimation, he hath not bene hasty to do theym harme, nor at the least wise to breke any clause of theire olde entercourse, albeit every clause had not bene kepte toward hym; wherin His Grace said that sumwhat thei had now bygon to loke un to, and he dowted not but more they wold, for their honour. And where as Mons[r] Deselstayne, uppon the hoope hadde of eny good wais of peace, offred hym selfe to cum over, with sufficient authoritte, His Grace saied, that both for his great wisedome and good zele towardes peace, and olde frendely mynde toward His Grace, of long tyme well knowen, and for thacquayntaunce bytweene theym, with the favour that His Grace hath, for his well deserving merites, long borne un to hym, no man shold be to His Grace more wellcum, nor none could there cum thens, to whom His Grace could fynd in his hart more largely to declare his mynde; in whiche he had conceived such thinges, that he dowted not, if he cam over with sufficient authorite from thEmperour, either he shold conclude the peace, or playnely perceive and confesse hym selfe, that thEmperours immoderate hardnes shold be the onely lett and defawte. Uppon this the said Michaell saied, that Mons[r] Desilsteyne wold be glad to know, what those devices were; which knowen, he myght se what hope he myght have of eny frute to cum of his cummyng: wherunto the Kinges Highnes answered, that sith His Grace had made the intimation, it wold not well stande with his honour, after suche a sleight fashion, to make eny overture of such pointes; but if Mons[r] Desilsteyn cam in such sufficient maner, authorised by thEmperour, he shold not faile to fynde His Grace such, that having so good zele and desire to the peace, he shold have cause to be gladde of his journey. And thus mych the Kinges Highnes commaunded me to advertise Your Grace, concernyng the communication had bitweene His Grace and the said Michael; desiring Your Grace, of your high wisedome, to considre what were ferther to be devised or sett forth, concernyng the said overture of Mons[r] Desilsteyne.

After this, whan I was goone from His Highnes, hit lyked hym to send agayne for me in to his Prevy Chambre, abowte 10 of the clokke; and than commaunded me to advertise Your Grace, ferther, that he had considered with hym selfe how loth the Low Cuntreis be, to have eny warre with hym; and that hym selfe and Your Grace, if it may be voided,

wold

wold be as lothe to have eny warre with theym; and, for that cause, His Grace thinketh it good, that albeit he wold, there were no slakkenes in putting of my Lord Sandes [1], and his cumpany, in a redynesse, yit they shold not over hastely be sent over, leste those Low Cuntreis, being put in more dowte and fere of His Graces entent and purpose toward theym, for some exploit to be done by land, myght be the rather moved to retayne and kepe stil the goodes of his merchauntes, and to begynne also somme busynes uppon thEnglishe pale; which thing, the mater thus hanging, without ferther fere or suspicion added, His Highnes verily thinketh that they will not attempte, but rather, in good hope of peace, accelerate the delivery of his merchauntes goodes; namely, perceiving the discharge of the Spanyardes, whom, by Your Graces moost prudent advice, His Highnes hath condescended shortely to sett at libertie and fre passage. And His Grace also thinketh, that if my Lord Sandes, with his cumpany, were at Gisnes, they shold be sore preaced by the French partie to joyne with them, in some exploite uppon the borders of Flaundres; which thyng either they shold stifly refuse to do, and therby peradventure move grudge and suspicion; or joyne in the doing, and therby some hurt done un to Flaundres, uppon the fruntiers, myght not onely exasperat the mater, and hynder the peace, causing the goodes of his merchauntes to be retayned, but also geve occasion to have some broilery made uppon the Englishe pale, in which his people myght percase take more harme, than they shold inferre. And whan I was abowte to have shewed His Highnes sumwhat of my pore mynde in the mater, he saied this gere could not be done so sodeynly, but that His Grace, and Yours, shold speke to gether first; and, in the meane while, he commaunded me thus mych to advertise Your Grace of his mynde.

Ferthermore, His Highnes desireth Your Grace, at such tyme as ye shall call the Spanyardes by fore you, to geve theym libertie to departe, hit may lyke you, in such effectuall wise to declare un to theym, what favour His Highnes bereth to the nation of Spayne and how lothe His Grace wold have ben to have eny warre with theym; that thopinion of his graciouse favour toward theym, comprobate and corroborate by theire discharge, and franke deliveraunce, being by theym reported in Spayne, may move the nobles, and the peple there, to take the more grevously toward thEymperour, that his unresonable hardenes shold be the cause and occasion of the warre.

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[1] Lord Sandys was, at this time, Captain of Guisnes.

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His Highnes hath, also, commaunded me to write un to Your Grace, that ther is an Hospitall in Southwarke, wherof His Highnes is enformed that the Maister is olde, blynd, and feble; and albeit that the Hospitall is in the gifte of the Bishoppe of Winchestre, yit His Grace is enformed, that Your Grace may, as Legate, geve the Maister, in this case, a coadjutor; which if Your Grace conveniently may, then His Highnes very hartely requireth Your Grace, that it may lyke you to appoint for his coadjutor, His Graces Chappeleyn, Mr Stanley, which to desire of Your Grace, he saith that 2 thinges move hym, the one that he wold the man were provided for, being a gentle man borne, and His Graces Chappeleyn; the tother is, that His Grace, being therby ridde and dischargyd of hym, myght, as he shortely wold, have a bettre lerned man in his place.

Hit may lyke Your Grace to receive, with thes presentes, such lettres as the Kinges Grace hath yisterday received owte of Ireland; which, after that I had, by His Graces commaundement, redde and reported un to His Grace, he commaunded me to sende theym un to Your Grace, to be by your high wisedome ferther considered, and answeris to theym to be devised, such as to your high prudence shalbe sene convenient. And thus Our Lord long preserve Your good Grace in honour and helth. At Wyndesore, this 16th of Marche.

Your Graces humble Oratour, and
moost bounden Bedisman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS MORE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CXLI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that sens I sent unto the same Master Peter [1], I have receyved other letters from Mr Fox and Mr Stephens [2], bothe to Your Highnes, and also to me, and likewise to Brian Tuke; whiche, bicawse they conteyn matier towching the progresse of their jorney, and other thinges worthy knowlege, though they be not of a latter date, I

[1] Peter Vannes, Secretary of the Latin tongue.

[2] Edward Fox, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and Stephen Gardyner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, then on an embassy to the Pope. Their letters are dated from Lucca, 16th March 1528, and will be given in a subsequent part of this collection.

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sende unto Your Highnes herwith. Humbly beseching the same to take the payn to rede them, for knowlege of the state of those parties, and other thinges therin mencioned. And Almygty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate.

Your moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensor of the Feithe.

CXLII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SYR. Syns the werre is intimate and denounced by Your Highnes, and the French King, against thEmperour, and that the successes of the peaxe as yet be incerteyne, ther be dyverse reasons and consideracions, grounded upon the treatie belli offensivi, why Your Grace shulde have shippes eskipped for the werre upon the see; which reasons I shall declare unto Your Highnes more at the length, at my next repair and accesse unto the same. Howebeit, if ther were no such consideracions, but onely the conducting and waftyng of such shippes, as dayly dothe repar to your citie of London, with corne, marchandises, and vitailles, with the gardyng of your passage for currours and letters, and, specially, for the sure transportyng of Mr Fox, and the Legate[1] that is commyng, in my pore opinion it were right expedient, that Your Highnes shulde have some shippes of werre on the see. Wherfor, Sir, if your gracious pleasure be agreable hereunto, it shalbe wel doon, that ordre be gyven for the vitailyng and wages of such shippes, as be nowe in the see, for 2 monethes more; in the which tyme it shalbe seen, whither it shalbe nedeful that the same be discharged and revoked, or, for their reinforcement, mo to be set unto theym. As Our Lorde knowith, who preserve your noble and roial astate. From your Manour of Hampton Courte, the 28th day of Aprile, by Your Gracis

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Mooste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feith.

[1] Cardinal Campeggio.

CXLIII. Hennege *to* Wolsey.

Pleasith Your Grace to be advertised, that I have sheweid to the Kinges Highnes the playnes of the matter concernyng the Masturshipp of Seynt Bartilmewes Spittill, and I movid His Grace to send Master Wylson unto you, to thintent that Your Grace shuld have sheweid hym the statutes of the same howse. And His Highnes woold, that Your Grace shuld use all the meanes that you canne, to the entent to brynge the disposition therof to Your Graces handes, so that His Highnes, and you, maye put hym, or sume other good man ther; suche one as Your Grace shall thynck meete for the same. And His Highnes sayeth, that Your Grace was allweys accustomyd to be with hym, as upon Mundaye[1] ny[*ght*], so I doo perceyve His Highnes dooth therin looke for you; at which tyme he and you shall have further communication therin. Mastres Anne[2] ys veraye well amendid, and commaundith her humbly unto Your Grace, and thynckyth longe tyll she speke with you. And as I sheweid unto Your Grace, the Kynges Highnes this daye hathe sent you, by my servaunt, this daye, a buck, which he killid yesterdaye, at Eltham parke. Thus our Lord preserve Your good Grace. From Grenewiche, this Saterdaye nyght.

By your most boundon servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Thomas Hennege.

To my Lordes Grace.

CXLIV. Hennege *to* Wolsey.[3]

Humebly sheweith unto Your Grace, that this daye, as the Kynges Highnes camme towardes evensong, my Lord Marques of Exetour[4] had brought frome Burllyng[5] two great buckes, which he presentid unto His Highnes,

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[1] From some of the subsequent letters it appears that Hennege (who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber) was in waiting on the King in June 1528. The most remarkable Monday in that month was Trinity Monday, the 8th. This letter was, therefore, probably written on the preceding Saturday. It is among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 8. No. 56.

[2] Anne Boleyn.

[3] From the same Volume as the preceding letter, No. 61.

[4] Henry Earl of Devon, created Marquis of Exeter, 1525, attainted and beheaded, 1529.

[5] Probably Birling, in Kent.

and he comaundid me to take the beste of them, and send to Your Grace. And this day His Highnes, lyeke a graciouse Prince, hath receyved His Maker, at the Fryers, which was mynystred to His Highnes by my Lord of Lyncoln.[1] Newes ther be none here, but that His Highnes, upon Tusedaye next, accordyng to his appoyntment, dooth remove to Waltham. Thus our Lord preserve Your Grace. From Grenewiche, this Corpus Christi daye.

By your humeble and most bondon Servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CXLV. WOLSEY *to* BISHOP TUNSTALL *and* TUKE.[2]

MY Lorde of London and Maister Bryan Tuke. I commende me hartely unto you: signifieng unto the same, that, this present hour, I have receyved letters from Mr Treasourer[3], which I sende unto you herewith; by the contynue wherof ye shal perceyve, howe that the Kyng is not fully satisfied with the truexe[4] concluded; for asmoche as in the same ther is no provicion made, that in case any Spanyardes do take any of the Kynges subjectes, either apon the costes of Britayne, Gascoigne, Guyen, and Normandie, or with in the portes of Spayne, my Lady is nat bounden that restitution shalbe made of such Spanyardes goodes, as shuld be founden in Flaundres. And albeit Maister Treasourer made good answer unto the Kyng in that behalf, yet His Grace, for his better satisfaction, willith me to cause you both, or ye, Maister Bryan, to be with His Grace to morowe in the mornyng, to the intente His Highnes myght reason with you upon the same. As hereunto, I do mervayle that the Kynges Grace doth no better ponder the effecte of the saide truxe, and with whome the same is treated, and to what places and limites the same doth extende. For, as ye knowe right well, neither my Lady, ner th Emperours Ambassadour, hath any power or auctoritie

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[1] John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] From the Museum, Galba, B. VII. leaf 373.

[3] Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household.

[4] The Truce, concluded at London on the 8th of June 1528, between England, France, and Flanders, is to be found in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIV. p. 258. Tunstall and Tuke were the Commissioners for England; John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, for France; Inigo de Mendoza, Bishop of Burgos, William des Barres, and John de la Sauch, for Flanders.

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to treate or conclude for any thing, that is doon within any porte of Spayne, ne the truxe doth extende unto the same. Howbeit, it is provided that no Spanyard shal attempt any thing against the Kynges subjectes on this side the portes of Spayne, neither in Guyen, Gascoigne, Britayne, Normandie, &c.; and for this my Lady is bounden, aswel for her self, as for the Emperour; so that this prohibition, that no Spanyard shal do, ne attempte any thing, in the said places, against the Kynges subjectes, doth manifestlie implie, that in case they do attempte any thing, restitucion must be made acordinglie, wherunto my Lady is bounden. Other or better provision than this, in my jugement, can not be made; seying that my said Lady hath no ferther p[*ower*] then the confines of Spayne; nor ther is other provision made, in case any Flemmyng shulde take any Englissheman, or do any feate or attemptate, by see or by lande, then by the prohibicion, which ever implieth restitution and redresse, if any thing be attempted to the contrarie: like as in all other treaties of peaxe the semblable is used, and as ye, by your wisedomes, can facilie juge. And ye, Maister Bryan, can right well infourme the Kyng, what stykkyng I have made, for restitucion of suche Englisshe shippes, as hath ben taken by the Spanyardes; and what answer hath ben made therunto by thEmperours Ambassadour [1], and also by my Ladies Secretaries [2]; and what promisse and obligacion my Lady hath made for the same; and what promysse I demaunded of the said Emperours Ambassadour, who said he wolde procure for restitution, but to be bounden he had no commission. More then this hath not ben in my possible power to do, like as I doubte not ye wol infourme the Kynges Highnes; to whom, carieng with you all the writinges, that be passed in this behalf, with the litle memorial in Englishe, it shalbe wel don ye repare to morrowe, acordyng to His Graces pleasure; not doubting, but, after ye have declared this matier unto His Grace, he shalbe satisfied and contented. And as to the deteynyng of the Secretaries, they be gon, as I suppose; and if they shulde be lenger taried, it shal not be possible that the truxe shalbe publisshed in Flaundres, by Monday [3] next commyng. Ye may further more shew to the Kynges Highnes, if nede shal so requier, that the French Kyng, and his Counsaile, with his Ambassadour here, likith verey wel this provision for the see; who, confinyng and beyng nerer unto Spayne, be in gretter dangier then Englishemen. This is al that I can say, remittyng the residue to your wisedome; prayyng God to sende you good speede, and to advertise me howe ye shal

[1] The Bishop of Burgos. [2] Des Barres and De la Sauch. [3] June 22.

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have don in the premisses. At Hampton Courte, in hast, the 18th day of June.

I doubte not, but ye can right wel infourme the Kynges Highnes of the causis, that moved me to make such diligence and haste, in the spedyng and publisshyng of the said truxe; not onely to the intente, that therby the Kynges marchantes myght have shortely vente for ther clothis, and take the benefite of this Synchyeme marte; but also, for that it was to be feared, les that my Lady (upon the arryval of Monsr de Beawren, with the Spanyardes, and other provisions made for the defence of the Lowe Countreys, and to kepe the French Kyng occupied on this side, wherby he shulde be the more unhable to provide and sende socours into Italie) wolde utterly desiste from the treatyng of the said truxe; like as I have byn advertised from Mr Hakket[1], and other the Kynges friendes in the Lowe Parties.

And when the Kynges Grace hath wel pondered the provision, made for the attemptates by all the sees, His Highnes shal perceyve, that the same is more to his, and the French Kynges avauntage, then to thEmperours; for they, and their subjectes, may let, that no Spanyard shal comme oute of any the portes of Spayne, but the Spanyardes may not do the semblable to the Kyng, nor the French Kynges subjectes, in none of ther portes or havyns, ne attempte any thing againste theym, on this side the limites and portes of Spayne; which is no litle imparitie, if it be wel considered.

Negativa semper, quod nichil attemptabunt terra marique, implicat, quod si aliquid attemptaverint, tenentur ad restitutionem; et iste articulus est communis omnibus Principibus contrahentibus [*et*] eorum subditis, et nulla est alia provisio pro attemptatis hinc inde. Mr Bryan, ye may delyver the Kynges letter, directed to my Lady Margaret, which I do sende unto you herewith, to one of [*the*] Secretaries servauntes, left behynde for that purpose. I send you, also, my letters directed unto Gonson. Ordre the sending furth therof, as shal stond with the Kynges pleasure.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To my right hartely and entierly welbiloved broder in Christe, my Lord of London, and to my right welbiloved Maister Bryan Tuke, Counsailours to the Kynges Highnes, [*or to eithe*]r of theym.

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[1] John Hacket, the King's Agent in Flanders.

CXLVI. TUKE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your good Grace to undrestonde: ensuyng the purpose, whiche I last wrote unto Your Grace, I sent on, with my letters to Mr Treasorer, for knowlege of the Kinges pleasure, whither I shulde repaire to his gracious presence; which Mr Treasorer, at the arrival of the messenger at Waltham, lay there, sike of the swet, and the Kinges Highness removed to Hunsdon. The messenger folowed, and, as I bad hym, in Mr Treasorers absence, he delyvered the letters to the King; whiche His Grace red, bothe that whiche Your Grace wrote to my Lorde of London and me, myn to my Lorde of London, my Lorde of Londons answer to me, and my letter to Mr Treasorer. His Grace asked the messenger, what disease I had, and he tolde His Grace wrong; wherupon the King said, I must nedes comme, though I ride in a littour, and that if I had none, His Grace wolde sende me on. So, knowing his gracious pleasure, I folowed on my mule, a fote pace, with merveilous payn, insomoche as I assure Your Grace, on my faithe, I voide blood per virgam; and yesterday, in the after none, camme hither, and spake with His Grace, assone as I camme. His Highnes semyng to be somwhat satisfied in the mater of the truce, by reason of the letters, said his first sending for me was for that cause; but nowe he must put me to an other besynes, and occupye me here a good while; saying to me, secretely, and willing me so to kepe it, that it is to write oute his last wil, whiche His Highnes hathe nowe newely refourmed.

Howe be it, His Grace, falling againe to the mater of the truce, said, that there was therby a grete avantage geven to the Spanyardes, by ther liberte to comme in to Flandres, the English men not being in like liberte to repaire in to Spayn; and that if they wolde not stonde to the treatie of my Lady Mergaret, who had non auctorite to treate for them, but that if they wolde take the Kinges subgettes, there is no remedy provided for their restitution; for whiche cause, the meaning and intent of His Highnes was, that my Lady Mergaret, in this treatie, shulde have ben bounden, that if any attemptates wer don by the Spanyardes, on the sees, being within the lymytes of the truce, she shulde have restored the parties dammaged

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[1] From the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 237. The first and last parts of this letter have been printed by Ellis, but he has omitted all the passages which relate to the truce. He has also made a trifling mistake in the date.

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of suche goodes, as other Spanyardes shulde have in thEmperours Lowe Countreys, being within her power and jurisdiccion; where as, nowe, there is no suche way of restitucion.

To this I answered, that as to the liberte geven to the Spanyardes, to comme into Flandres, is asmoche to the commodite of this realme, as coulde be devised; considering that, first, by meane therof, may be had here brouzt oute of Flandres al suche commodites of Spayn as we lak; as oyle, and other merchandises, that we can not spare; and semblably, lakking vent in to Spayn from hens, they that used that trade may releve them self, by utterance of suche clothes in Flandres to the Spanyardes, as they shulde have sent into Spayn; of whiche, and diverse other thinges, that myght ensue by suche trafficque, wolde arrise grete profite in the Kinges custommes, and high commodite to the realme, merchantes, and people of the same, countervailing, in maner, that trade, that was wont to be used in to Spayn. Besydes that, I extended unto His Grace, at good lenght, the advantage, that men of werre, be they Englishmen or Frenchemen, myzt have, if they doo any exploites on the sees, beyonde the havons of France, by reason that, after ther feate don, their prise taken, or other thing attayned, if for any cause they gete them self in to sauftie on this side the havons of Spayn, the Spanyardes be withoute remedy; for being commen ons in to the sees, on this side, al hostilite must cease. And herin I shewed His Grace, howe glad the Frenche Ambassadour was, when Your Grace, not withoute merveilous difficulte, policie, and long stikking, had brouzt the Secretaries to that point. For I assured His Grace, it was tikle medeling with them, seing howe litel my Lady Mergarettes Counsail estemed the truce; forasmoche as therby the Frenche affaires in Italy myzt be renforced, and their cost in the Lowe Countreys, on this syde, lost; who wer sufficiently furnished for their defence, and, for this cause, had not gretely cared, though the truce, in our default, had ben disapointed. As to that, His Highnes doubted, if the Spanyardes wolde not stonde to the treatie of my Lady Mergaret. I said, she had bounde her self that thEmperour shulde ratifie al the articles of the treatie, and made her self strong for hym; and that to binde her self to recompence goodes, taken by Spanyardes, of other Spanyardes goodes, being within her governance, wer asmoche as to desire of her, being thEmperours subget, a letter of marke against the subgettes of her oune Prince; wherunto I am sure she wolde not have condescended, to have abiden the danger of werre al the dayes of her life; but I said, if any Spanyard, contempnyng her treatie, attempt thing against the Kinges subgettes, and comme them self, ship, or goodes, within her jurisdiccion,

jurisdiccion, it was not to be doubted, but she, advertised therof, wolde see them not only to make restitucion, but also right largely punysh them, or they passe; and that there was not doubte of any suche contempt, wherin thEmperours ratificacion shuld make al sure: adding therunto, that if this ordre had not ben by Your Grace excogitate, to save the Kinges subgettes passing in to Flandres, to Iselande, to Denmark, to Burdeux, to the Bay, and many other parties, they must contynually have ben in jeopardie of taking, fayn to go strong, and His Grace to kepe an armye on the see, for Spanyardes only; whiche wolde have ben as grete a cost, confusion, and discorage of merchantes to occupie, in maner as it wer no treux: and, therfore, Your Grace had provided this, of an high and special policie, and to as good purpose as coude be possibly divised. His Highnes, not willing to make grete replicacion, said a litle armye myzt have served for keping of the sees against the Spanyardes. And I said, that his armye royal, furnished as largely as ever it was, coude not save his subgettes from many grete harmes, in the lenght bitwene Spayn and Iseland.

His Highnes, having his sowper on the borde, and in his sight, being redy to have sit doun, when His Grace called for me, wolde, at that tyme, demore no more on the mater, but said he had hymself provided my logyng at a gentilmans place herby, and willed me to take my rest for that nyzt, and to retourne to His Highnes this day; at whiche tyme His Grace wolde conferre with me upon the other said secrete mater of his wil. And so, willing to have rewarded me with a dish, if I had not said that I ete no fish, I, taking my leve of His Grace, departed 2 myles to the said lodging; and at my retourne, this mornyng, founde His Grace going to the gardeyn, wither, by commaundment of His Grace, I wayted upon the same. After his retourne, and 3 masses herd, His Highnes immediately called me with hym to a chamber, that His Grace supped in, apart, yesternyzt; and after communication of the good state of this house, with the holsomnes of the ayre, and howe commodious it is for suche a tyme of sikenes, as this is, with other thinges aperteyning to those matiers, His Highnes delyvered me the boke of his said wil, in many pointes refourmed, wherin His Grace riped me; ordeynyng me a chamber here, under his Privey Chamber, and willing me to sende for my stuf, and to go in hande with his besynes, and, as I shalbe in any doubte, to repaire, from tyme to tyme, to His Grace; so as, if it be, as they of the Privey Chamber tel me, I am not like to departe this 5 or 6 daies at the lest, though I have here no maner stuf, but a bed, that I brouzt on an horsebak, redy to cast in an inne or house, where I shulde fortune to comme. Howe be it, I do sende for

for my stuf, and take, in the meane tyme, suche as I can borowe; and am disapointed of my phisike, whiche I had ordeyned to have used, for a smal tyme, at my poore house in Essex, whither I sent a phisician to remayne with me for a season, promysing hym a mark by day, horsmete, and mans mete. Nowe I wol sende hym worde to retourne, til I may have leve do departe; at whiche tyme I must most humbly beseche Your Grace to licence me to attende upon my phisician for 8 or 10 dais; ellis I shal utterly, for lake of loking to, at this begynnyng, destroy my self for ever.

It is said the Kinges Highnes wol lye here 8 or 10 dais. Other mater I have non worthy to advertise Your Grace; whom I beseche Almyzty God to preserve in good helthe, long life, and prosperite. At Hunsdon. this Sonday, at dyner tyme, the 21th day of June 1528.

While I am here, I wol cause my clerk to write in redynes the ratificacion of the truce.

Your Graces most humble and most bounden servaunt,

BRIAN TUKE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLVII. TUKE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your good Grace to understonde: Yesternyzt late, I receyved Your Graces letters[2], dated yesterday at Hamptoncourte, with other, commen oute of France and Spayn; whiche, after I had perused, I incontinently brouzt unto the Kinges Highnes, being then commonyng secretely with his phisician, Mr Chamber, in a chamber within a towre, where His Highnes sometyme useth to suppe aparte. And after Your Graces most humble recommendations, by me made unto His Highnes, with declaracion of receipt of the said letters, His Grace willed me firste to rede unto the same the letters of Your Grace to me directed, whiche I did; and when I had red that, whiche Your Grace writeth towching the trieux, His Highnes said, as it was in dede, that I had bifore largely shewed and

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 299. It has been published by Ellis.
[2] Not to be found.

extended

extended the same reasons unto hym, and that I had not left it untowched in any parte; as I assure Your Grace the trouthe was; for if I had omytted that point, seing howe special and material it was, and howe abundantely it was cowched, bothe in Latyn and in English, in Your Graces letters to my Lorde of London and me directed, I had not ben worthy to were myn eres on my hed, ne to do a message bitwene two so grete Princes; but I promyse Your Grace, I, more than once, inculked that and other, whiche in all pointes I did not repete, but summarily, in my letters unto Your Grace; bicause, to say the trouthe unto Your Grace secretely, the Kinges Highnes, who biganne his argument veray ernestely, by then I had answered the objeccions of His Grace, semed neither then, nor at any tyme sithens, glad to here any more reasonyng in that mater, ne His Grace nowe any more stode therupon, but as is aforesaid; save only, that His Highnes said, that yet the Spaniardes have advantage, in that they may use his havons to their commodite, and yet the Englishmen myzt not do the same in Spayn. Wherunto I answered, that if the profite and commodite, that may arise therupon, with suche respectes and considerations as be piked oute of the wordes of Your Graces said letter to me, that is to say, "when the benefite and quietnes, whiche is lyke to arise to all the "Kinges subgettes traveiling by every cost and see &c. shalbe wel con-"sidered and digested, it shalbe founde, quod ille articulus, non sine magna "arte et cautela, was cowched in the said trieux," &c.; if this, I said, be wel considered, it shalbe founde that it is no more to the Spanyardes avantage, then it is and shalbe to the weale and commodite of the Kinges realme; and that by then His Highnes hathe, at good lenght, ben by Your Grace infourmed, howe many other advantages may be taken to His Highnes by this truce, His Grace wol say it is on of the most politique handled matiers that hathe ben seen. His Highnes, being singulerly wel satisfied and pleased, said, "Ye, by God, they delt with no fole;" meanyng by this worde "THEY", the Ambassadours and Secretaries; and so bad me rede forthe.

As to the letters of the King of Scottes, I, bifore sowper, at His Graces commyng in from shoting, had put the same in remembrance of them, and of Gonsons letter; wherupon His Highnes willed me to make a letter to Gonson, to tary on the see, as long as his, and the vitailes of the ship newely set forthe, shulde suffise for them al. I said, that that was the veray content of Your Graces letters, writen to the said Gonson, whiche His Grace had, and was redy signed, neding nothing but sending forthe.

Wherupon His Highnes commaunded Mr Norres[1] to fetche me the said letters to Gonson, and to the King of Scottes, whiche were in his Prevey Chamber, and so Master Norres brouzt them to my chamber; but the letter to the King of Scottes was unsigned, wherfore I prayed him to have it to the King, then being set at sowper, and, at convenient tyme, to pray His Grace to signe it; but incontinently he sent it me again, saying that the Kinges Highnes wolde speke with me in it after sowper. And at reding of Your Graces said letter, His Highnes said, "Wel, I wol shewe "you anon," and so bad me rede forthe.

The next article, towching the relaxacion of the Kinges Ambassadours, merchauntes, and their goodes, His Grace toke veray plesantly; and specially the wordes, that Your Graces man was loked for, cum magna omnium expectatione, et spe future pacis; saying, that it was a great apparance that all the rest shulde wel succede.

In reding the article of the letters commen from my Lorde of Bathe[2], His Grace semyng to thinke long to here them, while I red, sorted the letters and copies of that mater, by the markinges on the bakke; saying, when I red of the good office, that Moret[3] and thAmbassadour had done, that nowe a man may see the honeste of Moret, though it was thouzt he had not made the best reaport; gretely commending hym, and also the honeste, wisedome, and discretion of the Bishop of Bayon[4].

And commyng to that, Your Grace wrote, to be sory of my disease, wherof I moste humbly thanke Your Grace, His Highnes beganne to tel me a medecyn pro tumore, saving Your Graces honour, testiculorum. I immediately said, His Highnes was not wel infourmed of my disease, whiche is not there, but in vesica, and procedeth ex calore in renibus. His Highnes had me, by and by, and, I promyse Your Grace, gave me as direct counsail, and shewed me the remedyes, as any most connyng phisician in England coude do. So most humbly thanking His Highnes, I red forthe til it camme to the latter ende, mencionyng Your Graces good comfort and counsail geven to His Highnes, for avoiding this infeccion, for the whiche the same, with a most cordial maner, thanked Your Grace: and shewing me, firste, a great proces of the maner of that infeccion; howe folkes wer taken; howe litel dangier was in it, if good ordre be observed; howe fewe

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[1] Henry Norris, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber; who was beheaded in 1536, for his alleged intimacy with Anne Boleyn.

[2] Ambassador in France.

[3] French Ambassador in England.

[4] John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, afterwards a Cardinal, and Archbishop of Bourdeaux.

wer

wer ded of it; howe Mastres Anne [1], and my Lorde of Rocheforde [2], bothe have had it; what jeoperdie they have ben in, by retournyng in of the swet bifore the tyme; of the endevour of M[r] Buttes [3], who hathe ben with them, and is retourned; with many other thinges towching those matiers, and, finally, of their perfite recovery; His Highnes willed me to write unto Your Grace, most hertily desiring the same, above al other thinges, to kepe Your Grace oute of al ayre, where any of that infeccion is, and that if, in on place any on fal sike therof, that Your Grace incontinently do remove to a clene place; and so, in like cace, from that place to an other, and with a small and clene company: saying, that that is the thing, whereby His Highnes hathe pourged his house, having the same nowe, thanked be God, clene. And over that, His Highnes desireth Your Grace to use smal sowpers, and to drink litel wyne, namely that is big, and ons in the weke to use the pilles of Rasis; and if it comme in any wise, to swete moderately the ful tyme, without suffering it to renne in; whiche, by Your Graces phisicians, with a possetale, having certein herbes clarified in it, shal facilly, if nede be, be provoked and contynued; with more good holsom counsail by His Highnes in most tender and loving maner geven to Your Grace, then my symple wit can suffise to reherse; whiche his gracious commaundement, I said, I wolde accomplish accordingly.

Thus proceding to the letters, to shewe Your Grace summarily, for rehersing every thing seriously, I shal over long moleste Your Grace, His Highnes mervelously commendith the Frenche Kinges vertuous and religious demeanour, used in the ceremonies on Corpus Christi day [4], and the other day, against that dampnable and scelerate demeanour of those wors than Jues, that wolde do suche dispite to the Blissed Images [5], where they can not do it to the thing self; insomoche as after al the letters red, that camme out of France, and that His Grace was going to his Privey Chamber, the same, in his way, calling me to it, tolde the Gentilmen of his Privey Chamber the hole maner of it, and after that, asmoche as Your Grace wrote in your letter, and, as my Lorde of Bathe writeth, of the good hoope that is in the maters of Spayn, and with what desire Your Graces man was abiden; willing me to rede them the clause of my Lorde of Bathes letter, towching the Frenche Kinges said demeanour.

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[1] Anne Boleyn.
[2] Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.
[3] One of the King's physicians.
[4] 11th June 1528.
[5] The circumstance here alluded to is explained by a letter from Bishop Clerk and Doctor Taylor, Ambassadors in France, of 7th June 1528.

When in my Lorde of Bathes letter I red this clause, "et magnus "numerus, specially of noble men, and suche as be of counsail here, be "right sory that the Frenche King, their master, hathe not suche an other "Counsaillour," the Kinges Highnes said, "Ye, by God, I blame them "never a dele." The residue of al the letter also singulerly wel liked His Grace, and so did the Frenche Kinges letters to the Pope, and to his Ambassadour resident with His Holynes, towching the Kinges mater; which letter to the Ambassadour His Highnes rekeneth more effectuelly cowched, then that to the Poope, being nevertheles veray glad of them bothe; the copies wherof His Grace toke, and saide he wolde incontinently sende on with them to Mastres Anne, for her consolacion. His Highnes also liketh wel the Frenche Kinges letters to the Venecians, for Ravenna and Servia, and desireth Your Grace to write unto the Frenche, to finde the meanes that those two townes may be put in to the Kinges and the Frenche Kinges handes, as was ons spoken of; thinking that the Poopes Holynes wol be then the more glad to condescende unto the Kinges desires, whiche His Grace now feareth, by reason of the long tarying of letters from Mr Stephens[1], that the Poopes Holynes stikketh in, for feare of the Emperour. The letter of my Lady, the Frenche Kinges moder, to Your Grace, the Kinges Grace thouzt also veray prudently, wel, and truly cowched. Al whiche thinges red, being then 11 of the clok at nyzt, His Grace said he wold see the newes of Spayn this day. Howe be it, His Grace is not yet commen doun, for His Highnes commeth by my chamber dore, and dothe, for the most parte, going and commyng, tourne in, for divising with me upon his boke, and other thinges occurrant.

As I was at this worde, His Highnes camme doun, and streight into my chamber, asking me howe nere I had don; and I shewed His Highnes howe ferre forthe I am, and therupon did put His Grace in remembrance to see the newes of Spayn, and to signe the King of Scottes letter, whiche His Grace saithe he wol do sone, and is gon a walking.

Nowe is worde commen that Mr Cary[2], whiche, bifore I camme, lay in the chamber, where I lye, and with whome, at my first commyng, I met nere unto the place, saying that he had ben with his wife at Plashey, and wolde not be seen within, because he wolde ride again, and hunte, is ded of the swet. Our Lorde have mercy on his soule, and holde his hande over us.

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[1] Gardyner was, at this time, one of the Orators to the Pope.

[2] William Carey, Esquire of the King's Body, was husband of Mary, the elder daughter of Lord Rochford.

Ensuyng Your Graces commaundement, when I have don here, I wol dispose me to repaire unto Your Grace, by suche journeys as I may endure, whiche is not over ten myles in a day: and, by London away, I dare not comme; wherfore I wol cost to the water side, and comme the rest by water, thorough London Bridge; though I promyse Your Grace there is non erthely riches shulde cause me to travaile moche nowe, considering that the phisicians tel me ther is nothing, that more stirreth the mater and cause of the swet, then moche traveil, and likewise commyng in the son. And of my disease, I assure Your Grace, I am wors, by moche, then I was. I most humbly beseche Your Grace to geve me knowlege, if Your Grace fortune to remove, that I may spare as moche travaile oute of the way, as may be. Thus, not tarying til the King have red the newes of Spayn, and keping the rest of the letters with me, til I may remyt them to Your Grace to gider, and having sent forthe Your Graces letter to Gonson, with on of myne, excusing the long delay, I depeche this letter to advertise Your Grace of the premysses: to whom I beseche Almyzty Jesu to sende long and prosperous life, to al our comfortes. At Hunsdon, this Tusday, the 23th day of June 1528.

Your Graces most humble and
feitheful bounden Servaunt,
(*Signed*) BRIAN TUKE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLVIII. SIR JOHN RUSSELL *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace. The Kinges Magestie hath commaunded me to write unto Your Grace, that he hath receyved letters from my Lorde of Ossory[2], which letters His Highnes hath commaundid me to sende unto Your Grace; it is concerning the taking of the Vice Deputie[3], and of the mysrule that there is, and to set a good ordre there. Wherfore His Magestie commaundid me to write unto Your Grace, that he thinketh that there is noon so mete for it, as my Lorde of Ossory, or Maister Butler, his son;

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 10. No. 25.

[2] Piers Butler, now Earl of Ossory, (having been so created 22d February 1528,) Lord Justice of Ireland. His title of Ormond had been taken from him, and was, in 1529, conferred on Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.

[3] Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was taken prisoner by O'Connor.

wherfore

wherfore His Majestie praieth you to dispatche theym, as shortely as ye may, for the lenger it is thus, the wourse it woll be to be reduced to good ordre. As for Maister Butler, Your Grace knowith his actyvitie, and his hardines, what he hath doon sethens he came there. Wherefore I humbly beseche Your Grace to be good unto him; for asfer as my pore symple wite extendith, there is noon so meate for it as he; his father is an honourable man, wyse and hardye, but he is striken in age, and is not hable to followe the warres as his son is.

The Kinges Magestie is moche troublid with this disease of the swet; for, as this night, there is fallen syke my Lorde Marques [1], my Lady Marques [1], Syr Thomas Cheney, Maistras Croke; Maister Norres and Maister Wallop [2] be recoverid; and Maister Poynes [3] is departid, whiche Jhesu pardon. And this day the King removeth to Bisshops Hatefilde, and hathe very fewe with him, noon but the Prevye Chambre [4] and Maister Kyngeston [5], and as fewe officers as he maye; and as yester night the King hath taken Maister Bryan [6] into his Prevy Chambre. And thus Jhesu preserve Your Grace. From Hartford, the 26th daye of June.

Youre humble servant,

(*Signed*) J. Russell.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

CXLIX. Hennege *to* Wolsey. [7]

Humely sewythe unto Youre Grace, that I have recevyd Mr Arundells letters, where in he wrytyth, that for the extreme daynger of the vehement infection and sykenes, that ys fallen amonges Youre Graces folkes, this last nyte, Youre Grace entendythe to remove to Hampton Cowerte; whiche I sewyd unto the Kynges Hynes, where of the Kyng is very sory, especyally

[1] Marquis and Marchioness of Dorset.

[2] Sir John Wallop, who had just returned from Hungary.

[3] Sir Francis Poyntz died of the sweating sickness. He was Esquire of the Body.

[4] Their number was limited by the Ordinances of Eltham (made in 1526, for the regulation of the Royal Household,) cap. 55. to fifteen; viz., the Marquis of Exeter, "who is the King's near kinsman, and hath been brought up of a child with His Grace in his chamber", six gentlemen waiters, two gentlemen ushers, four grooms, and one page.

[5] Sir William Kingston, Knight of the King's Body, Constable of the Tower of London, and Captain of the Guard.

[6] Sir Francis Bryan.

[7] From the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 65.

to

to have you so far frome hym; notwithstanding His Hynes ys content, and wold have you to goo to Hampton Cowerte, owte of that aere.

This day the Kyng was advertycyd of the deythe of young Browgton, by reson where of the Kyng seyd, that he had 2 goodly wardes to bestow, of the 2 sisters of the seyd yonge Browgton: notwithstandyng, the mater was so resonyd. that of lykelyhode the eldre syster ys of full age, and at hur owyne lyberte; and, as Mr Russell and I thyncke, that the yonger syster ys youre ward, by reson of the Kynges grawynte made unto Youre Grace. For asmyche as my Lady Russell[1] takythe the deythe of hur sone so sore, Master Russell ferythe that yf he showld not optene Youre Graces favour, for the custody and marege of the seyd youngest syster, hit showld returne my seyd Lady Russell, to hur uttre ondoyng. Wherefore Master Russell humely besuchythe Youre Grace, to have the preferment of the custody and marege of the seyd yongist sister, and he woll geve Youre Grace asmyche for hur, as any other man woll doo, and he humely besuche Youre Grace that he may know Youre Graces plesure herein. Wryten in hast, this Sent Peters day[2], by youre most humell and bowyndyd servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CL. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[3]

HUMELY sewythe unto Youre Grace, the Kynges Hynes hartyly recommendythe hym unto you, and preyythe you to be of good cowymford, and to do as he doythe; and sory he ys that Youre Grace ys so far frome hym, and wold, that yf hit plese God to vicete any mo of youre folkes abowyte you, that then Youre Grace showld cum to Sent Albang, with a smale numbre with you; there every howre on of you mygthe here of the other, and that his physytions myygthe be aswell for Youre Grace, as for hym, yff any chans showld fortune.

[1] Sir John Broughton, of Tuddington in Bedfordshire, was the first husband of Lady Russell.

[2] Among the bound Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. 2. leaf 116., is one of this date (29th June) from Sir John Russell to Mr. Thomas Arundell, stating the elder sister to be out of her wardship, as she was within three months of fifteen years old, and offering as good a price as any other person, for the wardship of the other sister.

[3] From the same volume as the preceding letter, No. 63.

This

This morneyng knowlege came to the Kynges Hynes of the deythe of Sir Wylliam Comptone[1], and that he showlde be lost by neclygens, in lettyng hym slepe in the begynnyng of his swete; devers there ys, that makythe seute to the Kyng for his offeces; but His Grace woll geve non, unto suche tyme as he have knowlege frome Youre Grace, how many offeces he had of hys gyfte, and what they be; and desyrythe you to send sum wyce servant of youres, to serche in the Chansry, and other places, and to make hym a byll of the same, and to send hyt to Hys Hynes, as shortly as ye cane. Thanckyd be God, this nygthe ther ys never on in the Cowerte, ne ny abowte the Cowerte, fallyn syke, and they that sykenyd on Sunday nygthe, be recoveryd, and perfectly hole agene, so that, with good kepyng, there ys no daynger. And I esewer Youre Grace, the Kyng regeysythe myche that he ys so plesandly logyd as he ys here, in youre mynone howse[2], where he ys as myry, this morneynge, as I have syen Hys Hynes, thanckyd be Jhesu, who preserve you. Wryten in hast, this Twisday, at 11 of the cloke, by your humele and most bowynd servant.

I esewer Youre Grace I have not, ne woll, speke for any of the seyd offeces, for my selffe; for yff I showld, I thyncke His Hynes woll thyncke myche presumptuysnes in me, consydering the lytell tyme that I have ben in his servyce. This present hower, as the Kyng was at Mas, the Kyng send for Mr Herytage, for the makyng of a new wyndo in youre closet there, as his folkes may stond in youre grete chambre, and here Mas, and not to cum in to youre closet, by cause hit ys so lytle, whiche shalbe doyn with dyligens.

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Swoerscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CLI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. After my moost humble and lowly recommendacions, with mooste fervent inward desire and dayly prayar for the preservacion of your mooste royall person from the pestiferous plage nowe reignyng; it may please Your Highnes to undirstonde, that, this present houre, it is commyn to my knowlege,

[1] He died of the sweating sickness. Some of his numerous offices will be learned from the subsequent letters, though the entire bill of them, required by the King, cannot be found.

[2] This appears, from some of the subsequent letters, to be at Tittenhanger, a house belonging to Wolsey as Abbot of St. Albans.

knowlege, that it hath pleased Allmyghty God to calle unto his mercy, Sir William Compton; and for asmoche as the said Sir William had dyverse greate rowmes and offices, aswel of Your Graces gifte, as of dyverse other mennys, both spiritual and temporal, it shalbe wel doon, if it may stonde with your highe pleasure, to stay the gifte and disposicion of the same offices for a while; and that your letters may be sent furth to such other persons, as he had offices of, to do the semblable, til your pleasure may be further notified unto theym in that behalf. In thus doyng, Your Grace shal may provyde for such your servauntes, as your pleasure shalbe to avaunce, and do good unto; and in respectyng of the gifte no hurte, but good, can insue. And surely, Sir, I can not expresse, howe hevy and peynful it is to me to be thus ferre from Your Grace in this casual and ineysy tyme, but necessite hath dryven me therunto. Howbeit to do Your Highnes service, at all tymes, with one servaunte, as a page, I shalbe redy; puttyng a parte omnem gradus racionem, et mortis timorem, to attende and do service in your chambre. And thus, cum lacrimis, I assure Your Grace is my determinacion, as Our Lord knowith, who preserve and kepe your noble person from al dangers and parellis. At Hampton Courte, the 30th day of June, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Mooste Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feyth.

CLII. Hennege *to* Wolsey.[1]

Humely sewythe unto Youre Grace, that, thanckyd be Jhesu, the Kynges Hynes ys very well and myry, and all his howsold here, excep on of his Warderape, and a gentlemans servant, whiche 2 fell syke this nyte. Yesternyte, at 10 of the cloke, I recevyd Youre Graces letters, directyd to the Kynges Hynes, and at the redyng of the same, he marvelyd that my servaunt made no more dylygence to Youre Grace, for he departyd abowyte 11 of the cloke, so that I trust he was at Hampton Cowert by 3 or 4 of the cloke, at the fermost; but I fere me, there lackyd dylygens there, in sum persons, for the delyvery of the same unto youre handes, whyche I besuche Youre Grace may be amendyd here affter; for the Kynges Hynes thowyte

[1] From the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 59.

to have an answere of the same yester nygthe, and seyd unto me, that he thowythe that Youre Grace had a byll of all suche offeces as Sir Wyllyam Compton had, at youre last beyng at Wynsore with His Hynes; and yf Youre Grace so have, he desyrythe you to send hit to His Hynes, as shortly as ye canne. Yff hyt please Youre Grace to be gracyas Lord unto Sir Thomas Denyce, for the Undre Tresareshipe, now ys the tyme; and excepte ye shortly remembre the same, I thyncke hit wolbe otherwyce apoyntyd, for there ys grete labre made for Master Gayge[1], the Vichambrelyn.

Sir, the Kynge desyrethe you to send hym the byll, that Mr Fynche made, for the remedy of all suche as have fallyn syke in youre howse; for, as His Hynes ys enformyd, he haythe doyne very well, boythe to bryng them to there swheyte ageine, when they fall owte, and allso to swayge the grete hete and burnyng. Wryten this Wensday, at 8 of the cloke, by your humele and most bowyndyn servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

After the wrytyng of the premissis, I recevyd Your Graces letters, and sewyd the Kynge the tenor of them. As for suche offeces as Sir Wylliam Compton had of the Quene gyffte, His Hynes woll not speke to the Quene, but woll that sew shal bestow them, at hir plesur, to hir owyn servauntes; excepte on, that he haythe goten for the servant of his, Sheler, whyche ys the kepyng of Odyam Parke. And as for all other offeces that Sir Wylliam Compton had of Bussopys and Abbotes, His Hynes hartyly preythe you to dyrecte your letters to them, to stay them, unto his plesure be ferther knowyn; for he nether knowythe them, ne haythe any Secretoryys, or other of the Syngnet, here, to make owte his letters.

This morenyng, as His Hynes was in makyng hym redy, he haythe geve in commawynment to the Cofferer, to make provysion at Amptyll, in cause that any thyng showld fortune, he mygthe, withowt let, goo thether at on removyng.

And I most humely thancke Your Grace for your cownsell, that I showld now speke for sumthyng for my selffe; notwithstandyng, in good feythe my stomocke woll not serve me, notwithstandyng I have very grete nede, consyderyng the dayly and howerly charges that we be at, whiche I humebelie besuche Youre Grace sumthyng to remembre, in youre letters here affter dyrectyd to the Kyng, at the sendyng of the byll of the seyd offeces.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

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[1] Sir John Gage.

CLIII. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

HUMELY sewythe unto Youre Grace, that the Kynges Hynes ys myry, and in good helythe, thanckyd be Jhesu. Notwithstandynge, yesterday, His Hynes was sumthyng perplexyd, by cause he hard nothyng frome Youre Grace; and here where many fleyng talis, that many of youre folkes showldbe syke, and dyvers departyd; wherein he feryd that Youre Grace showld take sum conseyte, whiche he hartyly preythe you to exchew, in any case; with the most kynde wordes of Your Grace, that ever I hard His Hynes speke of Youre Grace. His Hynes lykythe youre mynyon howse[2] so well, that he purposythe not to departe so shortly from thens, as he apoyntyd, and as I late wrote unto Youre Grace. He hartyly desyrythe Youre Grace, that there may be made as dylygent hast as cane be, for the byll of Sir Wylliam Comptons offeces, and that he may have hit as shortly as may be; for whiche byll he lokythe this nygte. For asmyche as I here nothyng off your plesure, apertenyng to the Abbotes letters of Petreborow, I purpoce to send his servant to Mr Docter Stobbis, with suche thyng as he haythe browyte, whiche be at London, and so to dispache hym, excepte I here youre contrary plesure, this day.

The Kynges Hynes, when I am aparte with hym, in communycation of dyvers thynges, sum tymys haythe byn in comynycacyon with me of my ryconnynges with Youre Grace, and my guytance, and I have seyd to His Hynes, that Your Grace ys at apoynt and thorow with me, for the same. For asmyche as I ferd His Hynes showld thyncke myche neclygens in me, yff I showld not be at apoynt and thorow with Your Grace, for the same, I humely besuche Youre Grace to take the pene to loke apon my bokes and ryconynges, and, apon the same, that hyt mygthe plese Youre Grace to geve me a generall guytans, and that the bokes mygthe be canselyd. For asmyche as I have sumthyng over chargyd my selffe, aswell in purchesyng a lytle pece of land of my Lord Delaware[3], lyyng bysydes my father, and dayly otherwyce, and losses that I had by my servant that royne away, I humely besuche Youre Grace to consydre the same, and that I may have the lytle money that remaynythe

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1 From the same volume as the preceding letter, No. 60.

2 Tittenhanger.

3 Thomas West, Lord De la War.

in Youre Graces handes, whiche Mr Tonyee[1] had in his kepyng, before his departyng. I besuche Youre Grace to pardon me of this my ruyd and ymportunat request, now in my necessyte. Wryten this Seterday, at 11 of the cloke, by youre humell and most bowyndyn servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CLIV. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEASE it Your Grace to undrestand, that the Kinges Highnes, this mornyng, being advertised Your Grace purposed to have com, and visited hym as to morow, commaunded me to write unto Your Grace, and, after his moost hartie commendations, to desire Your Grace to differ your saide commyng, untill the tyme be more propiciouse; for as yet he feareth and thinketh not mete Your Graces company, and hys, shuld joyne in oon howse; and is mervelouse gladd that he is so nighe unto Your Grace, sayeng "I am right glad my Lordes "Grace is so nere hand, for now, if any casualtie shuld happen, I may have "redy and spedy word from hym;" assuring Your Grace, that His Highnes is so well contented, in all poyntes, with his lodginges, with the aire and site of this your place, as ever I sawe hym ells where to be. Furthermore His Highnes willed me, by these letters, to desire Your Grace to cawse generall processions to be made, unyversally thorough the realme, aswell for the good wetheringes, to thencrease of corne and fruyte, as also for the plage that now reignethe. And thus Jesu send Your Grace long felicite. From Titton Hanger this Sonday.[3]

By your humbly and most
bondend Servant,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. HENNEGE.
To my Lordes Grace.

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[1] Probably Robert Tonie, who is stated by Strype to have been one of Wolsey's household. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 126.

[2] From the same volume as the preceding letter, No. 58.

[3] The 5th of July seems to be the only Sunday on which the King was at Tittenhanger; and Wolsey appears to have been at Hampton Court, during the whole of the King's abode at Tittenhanger. He had probably offered to remove to the Moore, or some other place, nearer to the King, than Hampton Court, but did not act upon that intention.

CLV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Syr. Ensuyng Your Highnes commaundement, I sende herewith a booke of suche rowmes and offices, as Sir William Compton, lately decessed, had of Your Graces gyffte, wherof I can fynde any recorde, either in the Chauncery, Duchie of Lancastre, or Eschequier. And surely, Sir, if it may stande with your mooste gracious pleasure, to respyte the gyfte of the saide offices, the delaye wherof cannot be prejudiciall or hurtefull to Your Highnes, till ye maye bee advertised of the olde accustumed fees, I thynke it shalbe greately to Your Graces prouffet, and thadvauncement of your revenues; for, as Your Grace shall perceive, your herbages, prouffet of your warrennes, and fyshynges, with many other greate commodities, bee geven away, withoute any thing yelding for the same; besydes the excessive fees specified in the patentes of the saide offices. And as towching the Undertreasaurership of this your realme, if it may stande with your high pleasure to forbere the gifte and disposition therof, till my next repaire unto your gracious presence, I doubte not to shewe Your Highnes suche thinges, as therby Your Grace shall not oonly bestowe the same upon an able person, to your pleasure agreable, but also, by the meane therof, to provide for diverse other your good servauntes. Neverthelas, in the meane tyme, I cannot conteyne, mooste humbly to supplie and desire Your Highnes, to have in your gracious remembrance your two poore servauntes, Mr Nores, and Thomas Hennege. And thus, mooste lawly and humbly prostrate at your feete, I beseche Your Highnes, in consideration of my long, true, and faithfull service, exhibited, aswel to Your Highnes, as to this your realme, to bee good and gracious Lorde to my sowle; and that suche thinges as I have devised for the same, and to thincrease of Goddes honour, lernyng, vertuous lyving, and for the common weale of this your realme, by your gracious favour and assistence, maye bee perfected, accomplished, and absolved, according to the purporte of my testament and last will, made in that behalf; wherin I have had suche loving remembrance of Your Highnes, and of the great benefites by the same exhibited unto me, that I trust Your Highnes, and all the worlde, shall saye, that ye have not bestowed your favour and goodenes upon an ingrate person. And oon thing (if it shall fortune the same to bee the last worde that ever I shall speke, or write unto Your Highnes) I dare boldely saye and affirme, Your Grace hath had of me, a mooste loving, true, and faithfull servaunte; and that for favour, mede, gyfte,

or

or promysse of gyfte, at any tyme, I never dyd, or consented to, thing that might, in the lest poynte, redownde unto your dishonour or disprouffite. And herin spirituelly rejoyssyng, conformyng my mynde to Goddes pleasure, whatsoever shall chaunce of me, I mooste humbly, and with all myne herte, service, and prayer, byde Your Grace farewell. From your Manour of Hamptoncourte, the 5th daye of July, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

To the Kinges Highnes,
Defensour of the Faithe.

CLVI. Dr. Bell *to* Wolsey.[1]

In my moste humble wyyse I commend me to Your gode Grace. Pleas itt the same to know, the Kynges Hyghnesse, apon humble advertisment off the Underscheriff of Worcetterschyre, Coocksey, off the state off the sayd schyre, now off a Scheryff for the tym clerely destitute and unprovydyd by the deth of Mr Compton, Hys sayd Hyghnesse, mooste graciosely consyderyng necesserie for administration off justice ther, intendyng and willyng the sayme, aswell for dischargyng hys geall, as oder causes requiryng spede and qwycke expedition, to be, withowte delay, addressed and orderyd accordyng to hys lawes and gode consciens, moor specially att this tym off cessions schortly to be ther, hayth commaundyd me to wrytto Your Grace hys plesour in that behalfe, for an order to be takyn for the tym; the whiche is, that for certain gode and urgent consideracions movyng Hys Hyghnesse, hys mynd and plesour is, off hys awn meer mocion, that Your Grace direct a commission to Sir Edward Feres, off Warwyckeschyre, ner adjoynyng to the sayd schyre off Worcettour, a sadd and substanciall Knyght, and, as the Kyng verely supposyth, indifferent, for the fynyschyng off thys present yere; unlesse Your Grace have any further and more perfytte knowlege off any oder person or persons for the sayd rowme, moor convenient or expedient, off whos naymys Hys Hyghnesse desieres to be advertyssyd by Your Grace; provydyd allway, that sayd late underscheryff, Coocksey, be for this tym depute and underscheryff to who so ever be prefixyd to the sayd

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 1. No. 103.

rowme;

rowme; for asmuche as hydderto he oonly hayth intromittyd and medyllyd with the sayd office, and soo best knowyth the state theroff, for the accomplishement off thys yeyr. And for the further provision and ordinaunce off that schyre, Hys Hyghnesse intendyth to make further ordinaunce and provision, with your counsell, att your next reparyng to Hys Grace.

Furthermoor Hys sayd Highnesse commaundyd me to signify to Your Grace, hys plesour and desier is, Your sayd Grace, by verteu off your Legantine prerogative and prevention, conferr to hys chapleyn, Mr Wilson, the vicarege off Thackstedd[1], off the patronage off the College off Stoock Clare; and the prebende in hys College off Tanwourth[2], and off hys patronage, to hys chapleyn Doctor Dyngle, now beyng vacant by resignacion off Hys Grace chapleyn Mr Stapulles for whos oder and further preferment and promocion Hys Hyghnes ryght hertyly thankes Your Grace; and lyyckwyyse desieres Your sayd Grace, that the oder small benefece, now also by hys resignation vacant, off the patronage off the waard, that Mr Forest, servand to the Duck of Richemount, hayth, may be conferryd, also, to the sayd Doctor Dyngle, His Grace chapleyn. The name off the benefece is Covyngton, in Huntyngtounschyre.

The Kynges desier and hertyly praer also is, that, att hys contemplation, Your Grace wold vouchesave to yeve the offices off the high stuardschyp and balyf off the town off Salysbere, now beyng vouyd, to Sir Edward Baynton, Hys Grace servand, in consideration off hys gode service, and that they lyy commodiosely for hym in hys contre; and that, furthermore, itt may lyyk Your sayd Grace, by your great wysdom, to stay all maner off offices and fees off monasteris, or otherwyyse, that Mr Compton had, to suche tyme the Kynges further plesour and youres be knowen; and, emonges all oder, the office off Furnesse, the whiche Hys Grace intendyth Mr Tresorer[3], and Mr Chanceler off the Duche[3], to be joynt patent therin.

Fynally, Hys Hyghnesse commaundyd me to signify to Your Grace, that, lovyd be Almyghty Godd, Hys Grace, the Qwenes Grace, with all oder heer doyth well, and the plagge well cessyd; soo that thes thre days noon swet, bott Mr Butt; and therfor Hys Hyghnes, and all oder, mere, Godd contynew itt, and moste desiorose contynually to have woord from

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[1] The vicarage of Thaxted, in Essex, was in the patronage of the College of Stoke juxta Clare, in Suffolk.

[2] The College of Tamworth, in Staffordshire, consisted of a Dean and six Prebendaries.

[3] Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household, and Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Your

Your Grace, and know suche lyycke thythynges off your helth and comfortes; wherof, I assur Your Grace, Hys Hyghnesse is mooste desiorose, as well apperyth by hys moost lovyng and hertyest contynuall rememberance, and woordes mooste kynd, off Your Grace. Hys speciall desier is, you be off goode comforth, and putt apart feer and fantases, and make as mere, as in suche a seson contagiose Your Grace may; callyng to you, for your comfortes, suche persons as be seen to Your Grace for that purposse expedient, and to putt apart all cares for the tym, and committ all to Godd. And thogh Hys Hyghnes moste laude and commend Your Grace, in your moste vertuose and relegiose dissposition and order, yett he oftymys wyschys that Your Grace harte weer as gode as hys is; wheroff Hys Hyghnes is muche solicite, and vere desiores dayly to know your gode eastate, and desieres Your Grace hertyly to send hym often word, and off the premisses an answer, and off my former letter[1] to Your Grace, concernyng the election of Wylton.

I beseche Your Grace moste humble to pardon me this my sympyll and rude letter, and rather regard my best mynde towardes Your gode Grace; whom the Holegost preserve in gode helth, long to endeure. Scrybylyd in hast, thys Sanct Thomas Day, late; att Tytenhanger.

Your Graces moost humble Orator,

(*Signed*) JOHN BELL.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

CLVII. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[3]

MOST humely sewythe unto Your Grace, this mornyng, at 7 of the cloke, I delyveryd Your Graces letters to the Kynges Hynes; wherewith I esewer Your Grace, His Hynes was gretely cowymfortyd, and gevythe unto Your Grace harty thanckes for the same, and especyally for the good newys he haythe owte off Ytaly, frome Mr Docter Stevyns. And, this morneynge, he hathe word, that my Lady Marques of Exeter[4] ys syke of the comen

1 This letter is not to be found, but its purpose is sufficiently shewn in the sequel.

2 John Bell, Dr of Decrees, King's Chaplain, and Archdeacon of Gloucester, was, in 1535, made Bishop of Worcester.

3 From the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 50.

4 Gertrude, daughter of William Lord Mountjoy, and wife of Henry Marquis of Exeter.

sykenes,

sykenes, whiche causythe His Hynes to apoynt to remove, apon Seterday, frome hens to Amtyll, and hathe comawyndyd that all suche, as where in my seyd Lord Marquys compeny, and my seyd Lady, to departe in severall parcells, and so not contynue to gether; and so he desyreth Your Grace to do, yf any suche case shall fortune, as God forbede. And glad he ys to here, that Youre Grace hathe so good a hart, and that you have determyned, and made your wyll, and orderyd youre selfe anenst God, as you have doyne, as His Highnes haythe semable doyne; whiche wyll he entendythe shortly to send unto Youre Grace, where in Youre Grace shall se and perseve the trusty and harty mynd that he haythe unto you, above all men lyvyng. And also, this morneynge, Hys Hynes haythe knowlege of the deythe of on of his chapell, whiche had dyvers promotions off his gyffte, and of yours by reson of the Chanslershipe, whiche he desyrythe you to forbere the gyfte of any of them, unto suche tyme that Your Grace have knowlege of his ferther plesure in them. And also he desyrythe Youre Grace, that he may here every second day frome you, how you doo; for I esewer you, every morneyng, assone as he comythe frome the Quene, he haskythe, whether I here any thyng frome Youre Grace. And this day he apoyntythe to sew his mynd to Mr Herytage, of suche thynges as His Hynes wold have buyldyd here, where of Youre Grace send hym word you wold be content to doo, by Mr Herytage. And this Owre Lord preserve Youre Grace. Wryten at Youre Graces howse at Tytnangre, this Thursday, the 9th day of July, by youre humble and moste bowndyn servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CLVIII. BELL *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt Your Grace, that, accordyng to Your Graces letteres, I have signifyyd and declaryd your mynd and pleasour to the Kynges Hyghnesse; first, concernyng the eleccion and perfection off the new Abbas of Wylton, wherwith Hys sade Highnes was sumwhat movyd, remembryng hys advertysment, by my former letteres to Your Grace, that in noo wyyse he wold the

[1] From the same Collection, Vol. 1. No. 104.

Prioresse[1] schuld have had itt, for many considerations; and specially that, apon hys expectation, Hys sayd Hyghnesse hayth both reportyd and promysyd to diverses freyndes of Dame Elinor Care, that the Prioresse schuld nott have itt; and addyd, that thogh His sayde Hyghnesse, apon the report by me of the dissolute lyvyng of Dame Elinor Care, apon hys gracioose mynd and pure conscience, was content to desist and cesse from hys former purpose; regardyng oonly the plesour off Godd, and prefferryng goode order and relegion affor all affection and corruption; and relinquischyd hys request, and referryd all to Your Graces disposition, so that summ oder able, vertuose, and relegiose wooman weer ther provydyd, the partes sett a parte, zett hys full mynd was, and expectation, that in noo wyyse the Prioresse schuld have had itt; wherby dyvers wyll fynd theym selfe aggrevyd[2]: and surely, for my deuty and trew herte towardes Your Grace, I wold rather then parte off my small substance, Your said Grace had elect summ oder, for the Kynges moste graciose godenesse tawardes Your Grace and hys great pleasour.

Furthermor, Hys sayd Hyghnesse mervellyd muche, that Your Grace had soo schortly yevyn the stewardschip and the balyff off Sarum, consideryng both Hys Grace mynd and youres was, to stay all suche offices and fees for a tym, and to had plantyd suche men in theym, as, with your

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[1] Isabella Jordayn. The following letter from Dr. Thomas Benet to Wolsey (which is in the same volume, No. 94.) leaves little doubt that she owed her election to the Cardinal. "Pleas it "Your Grace to be advertised, that, immediatlie after my retourne from Your Grace, I repared "to the Monasterie of Wylton, where I have contynually made myne abode hitherto, and with "all diligence endevored my self, to the uttermost of my poure, to perswade and trayne the "nunnys there to thaccomplyshement of Your Graces pleasure, for inclosyng of the same, whome "I fynde soo untoward and refusall, as I never sawe parsons; in somuche that in noo wyse any "of them, nother by gentle meanes, ne by rigorous, and yet I have putt 3 or foure of the "capteynes of them in warde, will agree and concent to the same, (but oonly the newe Electe, "and hyr systers, that wer with Your Grace); which notwithstondyng, I have closyd upp "certyn dores and weys, and takyn soche an ordre there, that none accesse, course, or recourse "of any parson shalbe made there. And for asmoche as it pleasithe Almyghty God to visite "nowe the Monastery with this greate plage of swetyng, and the nunnys there be very moche "streyted in theire lodgyng, by reason of the late brennyng of theire dortour, whiche cannot "be fynyshed and performed in shorte space, I thought it expedient to advertise Your Grace, "or I wente eny ferther in that behalf. In consideration wherof, it may like Your Grace I "may know Your Graces pleasure, and I shall not fayle to accomplyshe the same, by Goddes "leve, who preserve Your Grace in moost prosperous estate long to endure. At Wylton, the "18th day of Julie. Your most humble and lowly servaunte and chapleyn,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) THOMAS BENET, Prest.

To my Lorde Legates Grace.

[2] Among others, Anne Boleyn, for it appears by a letter to her from Henry VIII. (remaining in the Vatican, and published in the Pamphleteer, No. 42. page 121., and, with modernized orthography, in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. 3. page 59.) that the King had promised Anne, that neither the Prioress nor Eleanor Cary should become Abbess.

consell,

consell, schuld be seen mooste expedient for the orderyng the men, and the manred theroff; for the whiche he covettyd moste thos rowmes for Mr Baynton, as to hym ryght nyghe [1] and commodiose.

In lyykwyse, Hys Hyghnes covettes muche, and intendys, with your consell, to bestaw oder offices, the whiche for that purposse to stay, by your great wysdom and dexterite, Hys Hyghnesse eftsonys, in ryght herty wyyse, desieres Your Grace; and emonges all oder, the office off Furnes, off no small importance.

As for the Sheryffes office off Worcettourschyer, for the fynyschyng up off thys present yere, Hys Hyghnesse plessour is, that Your Grace make owt hys letteres patent to Sir Edward Feres for thys breve tym, so that Coockessey occupy under hym, for asmuche as he hayth begun, and now almoste 3 quarteres off the yere past, for the fynyschyng off the yere, and moor perfit accomptes to be had theroff. All oder particulares off your graciose letters I have schewyd to Hys Hyghnes, in my moste humble maner, and emonges all oder, Hys sayd Hyghnesse dyd muche rejose in Your Grace helth, and gode comfortes. Her was seke thys day 8 or 9, butt noon in joperde, and to moro the Kynges Grace removyth to Hamptyll, by God grace, who ever preserve Your gode Grace. Scribylyd with the rude runnyng hand off Your Graces dayly Orator, this 10 day off July,

(*Signed*) JOHN BELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

CLIX. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY. [2]

HUMELY sewythe unto Youre Grace, that this morenyng, abowte 4 of the cloke, I recevyd Youre Graces letters, and asoyn as the Kyng was up, I sewyd hym the effect off the same; and His Hynes was very glad to here that Youre Grace was in good helythe, and hartyly recomendythe to you, and preythe you that, for asmyche as the plage ys so ny unto you, that you wold remove to Anworth [3], and from thens to Dicton [4], and so to Esthamstyd [5], or to lyke places, as ye shall se cause.

[1] The residence of the Bayntons was at Spy Park, in Wiltshire.
[2] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 64.
[3] Hanworth in Middlesex.
[4] Ditton in Buckinghamshire, near the Thames.
[5] Easthampstead in Windsor Forest.

The Kinges Hynes was not best content with the election of the Abbas of Wylton, as ye shall more playnly know by Mr Docter Belles letters; for of all wemen he wold not have had hur, ne Caryys heldyste syster, to have ben Abbas.

The Kynge haythe sewyd Mr Herytage hys plesur for suche boyldynges, as he desyreth to have at Tytnangre, and hath mad a plate of the same; and very sory he ys for the deythe of Mr Redman, his mason. As Owre Lorde knowythe, who preserve you. Wryten the 11th day of July, by youre humyll and most bowynden servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynall Grace.

CLX. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY. [1]

HUMBLY chews to Your Graes; thes mornyng the Kynges Henes, after the wrytyng of hys letter [2] to Your Gras, callid Mr Rossell and me, to whom yt plesid hym to red the same, and sayed to hus that he det [3] with you, as on intier frend and master chold dow to anoder, with many kynd wordes of Your Gras. Wherfor, in the oner of God, be of goowd comfort, and take not thes mater to your hevenes, bwt of the kynd intent of Hys Henes, and so he sayed he was sewer ye wold dow, lyke a wysse man.

Thes mornyng Docter Waffham was myndet to make suet to the Kyng for a token to your Gras, for the selyng of his patant, for the benyfys of Marke and Owy [4], which I stop hym so to dow, feryng the Kyng wold take som onkyndnes with Your Gras for the delaying of the sam. In my por mynd, now ys not the tyme for Your Gras to steke for so litell a mater. I humbly beches

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[1] From the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 52.

[2] There can be little doubt that the letter here alluded to, is that, which is to be found in pages 174–176 of the Collections, subjoined by Fiddes to his Life of Wolsey, "of which" (as the biographer remarks,) "the softest thing, that can be said, is, that the admonitions are "expressed with a friendly severity." This piece, though bearing intrinsic marks of authenticity, is (like most others in the same collection) obviously full of literal and verbal errors, which can not now be corrected, as the author does not quote his authority, and the original is unfortunately not to be found. The Cardinal, in a letter not extant, must have excused himself to the King so successfully, as to have induced his Royal Master to write the answer, which is mentioned in the next page, note 3.

[3] Sic in Orig.

[4] Marque et Oye in the Marches of Calais.

Your

Your Gras, take thes my fowle wrytyng in good part, for as my most boundon dewte ys, I wold Your Gras det[1] as wel as any man levyng. As Our Lord knows, who preservf Your Gras. Wretien at Hamptell, the 14 day of July, at 3 of the cloke,

By your humbwell and most
boundon servant,
(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Gras, be thes
delyverd with sped.

CLXI. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

SIRE. Your gracyous lovyng letters[3], wherby I do perceyve that no sparke of disspleasure remanyth in your nobyll herte towardes me, hathe, on my trowthe, so letyficat and recomfortted me, beyng so replenyshyd with hevynes and sorowe, ut videor ex morte ad vitam restitutus; for the wych your gracyous goodnes, I do not onely accompte my sylfe moste bownden to serve, pray, rendere, and geve moste humble thanckes to the same, but also for the gret zele that Your Mageste hath to the puryte and clennes of my poor consyens, covettyng and desyryng that no thyng shulde be by me commyttyd or don, by the collour of myn entendyd College, or other wyse, that shuld not stand with Goddes pleasure and goode consyens, or that therby any juste occasyon mygth be gevyn to any parson, to speke or jugge ill of my doynges. And albeyt, as ys conteynyd in myn other letters, I have knowlegyd to have receyvyd of dyvers myn olde lovers and frendes,

[1] Sic.

[2] This letter is entirely in Wolsey's handwriting.

[3] This manifestly refers to the King's letter (not now to be found) which is published by Lord Herbert, p. 164, and after him by Rapin, in his History of England, Vol. 1. p. 764, and by Fiddes, p. 399. The latter assigns to it no date, but by both the former it is ascribed to the year 1525. Lord Herbert connects it with the circumstance of Wolsey's making his will, which he appears to have done at the commencement of this month (vide supra, p. 309.); and the contents of the King's letter connect it not only with the sickness then prevailing, but also with the vacancy of the Abbey of Wilton, which existed at the same period. A letter to Wolsey from his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Benet (among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 1. No. 85), reports the death of the Abbess to have taken place on the 24th of April, and that the majority of the Convent were favourable to the Prioress Dame Isabella Jordayn, sister to the Abbess of Syon. or to Dame Eleanor Carye, sister to Mr. Carye, of the Court. Dr. Bell's letter of the 7th of July shews the King's solicitude as to the election, and that of the 10th of July his dissatisfaction at the result. The confirmation of the election was withheld till the 13th of November, and the Abbess's installation took place on the following Sunday. See Dr. Benet's letter to Wolsey, in the last-mentioned Volume, No. 89.

and

and other exempte relygyous parsons, right lovyng and favoralle aydys, towardys the edeffyyng of my seyd College, yet Your Mageste may be well assuryd, that the same extendyth nat to such a summe, as sume men doth ontrewly brute and reporte; or that any parte therof, to my knowlege, thowth, or juggement, hathe beyn corruptly, or contrary to the lawe, takyn or govyn; as I shall more partycularly declare to Your Highnes at my next accesse and repare to the same; to Your Graces satysfacion, and confusyon of thos, that hath made reporte or informacion to the contrary. Nevertheles, insuyng Your Gracys holsom cownsell, and moste cherytable admonycion, to theyntent that non occasyon of yll speche, ontrewe reporte, or juggement shuld hereafter aryse or insurge, I promis to Your Mageste that, from hens forthe, thowe I shulde be compellyd to sel that I have, and to lyve very streytly and barrely, I, ne non other by my consent or knowlege, thow the same be nevyr so clerly, franckly, or frendly offerryd, towardes the byldyng of the seyd College, or to any other myn use, shal take any thyng of any religious parson or parsons, beyng exempte or nat exempte; so that therby I trust, nor by any other thyng hereafter onlawffully takyn, your poore Cardynalles consyens shall nat be spottyd, incomberyd, or intanggellyd; purposing, with Goddis helpe, and your gracyous favour, so to ordyr the reste of my poore lyff, that yt shall appere to Your Hyghnes that I love and dreade God, and also Your Mageste; for whos longe contynuance and helthe, both in body and sowle, accordyng to my moste bowndon dute, I shall dayly pray, as Your Gracis

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kyngis Royall Mageste.

CLXII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Syr. This shalbe to advertise Your Highnes, that this present howre it is commyn to my knoweleage, howe it hath pleased Almighty God to call unto his mercy the Deane of Lincoln[1]. And forasmoche as I am credibly informyd, that by his deth there is in my gyfte, by prevention, the Vicarage of Wursworth in the Peke, of the yerely value, above all charges, of oon

[1] John Constable, who succeeded Wolsey, as Dean of Lincoln, in 1514, when the latter was promoted to the Bishoprick of Lincoln, died on the 15th July 1528.

hundreth

hundreth markes, or better; and remembring howe gladly Your Highnes wolde have Mr Wylson[1] promotyd, and being, for my parte, desirous to sett furthe your gracious pleasure in that bihalf, have made a collation of the saide Vicarage to the saide Mr Wylson, with a mandatum for his induction, whiche I sende unto Your Highnes herewith, to bee ordered in the deliveryng therof, as shall stande with your high pleasure. And where as the saide Deane had a promotion, of Your Graces disposition and gyfte, in the Citie of Yorke, callyd Seynte Leonardes[2], of the clierly value of £34, if it may please Your Highnes, at my poore instance and suyte, to give the same to the poore Deane of Welles[3], I shall accompte my self therby to bee greately obliged and bounden to Your Highnes; and, in reacompence of the same, he shall leve a Prebende in Rypon, of the clierly value of £20, and, shortely after, I shall make up that whiche lackith of the extente of the saide Seynte Leonardes, being £14, with some other promotion; soo that it shalbe as beneficiall to hym, that Your Highnes shall lyste to give the saide Prebende of Rypon, as thowe Your Grace gave the saide Seynte Leonardes unto hym; and yet with the same Your Grace shall, at my poore contemplation, shewe your gratious bowntie unto my saide poore scholar, whiche I trust shall, or long, to bee able to doo unto Your Highnes some agreable service; and, in the meane tyme, boeth he and I shall daily pray for the preservation of your moost noble and royal astate. From your Manor of Hamptoncourte, the 16th daye of July, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes,
Defensour of the Feith.

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[1] See page 311.

[2] The patronage of the Mastership of St. Leonard's Hospital in York was in the Crown.

[3] Thomas Winter, Wolsey's reputed son, was made Dean of Wells in 1525. In the Chapter House at Westminster is a letter from Dr. William Benet, containing a promise of the Chapter of Wells to elect Winter. It is dated at Wells, 28th November [1524], and is preserved in Vol. 1. of Wolsey's Correspondence, No. 82. One of the charges against Wolsey was, that he had given Winter an income of 2700*l.* and allowed him only 200*l.* a year to live on. Few men would have presumed, like Wolsey, to ask the King to confer a promotion on Winter, so soon after he had been himself reinstated in the King's favour. But see afterwards, page 329.

CLXIII. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Syr. After my mooste humble and lawly recommendations, with inward and entiere desire to here of Your Graces dailly good helth, prosperetie, and welfare, wherin that Your Highnes maye bee conserved and contynue is and shalbe my dailly prayour; this shalbe to advertise Your Magestie, that I have received letters, whiche I sende herewith unto the same, from your Ambassadours, being resident in Spayne, dated at Valedelet, the 20th daye of the last moneth, conteynyng litle matier of importance, save only the inlargement and putting of your subgiettes, bothe in their bodyes, goodes, and shippes, to libertie, with the good and favorable directions takyn by thEmpryce, and hyr Counsaile, for restitution to be made unto suche Your Graces subgiettes, as hath ben, syns the intymation of the werre, takyn by the Spanyardes; bicause as, at that tyme, neither Ichingham, nor Mr Sylvester, or any letters from them, were arrived, or brought to your saide Ambassadours. Howe be it, suche letters as I have received from my Lord of Bath[1], whiche also I sende unto Your Highnes in this pacquet, conteynyng newes of the progresse of the Almayns in Lumbardy, and the good hope that Naples by this tyme is rendred by composition, or takyn by force, doth purporte that the saide Mr Sylvester is entred into Spayne, and that the Harrolde, Guyen, whiche was sent by the Frenche King to offre and present the duell, is reatourned, honourably rewarded and interteigned: to the whiche presentment of duell the Emperour intendith to make aunswere by his Harrolde, desiring saufe conduyte for that purpose, the whiche the Frenche King is not mynded to graunte, onles thEmperour give unto hym the option and choyse of the place, wherunto it is to bee supposed he woll never agree; soo that I truste to God these yong corragious passions shalbe finally converted into fume, wherby (God ayding) the practise of peax shall not be impeched, or totally frustrate and disapointed.

I have also, Sir, made an exspedition for your Domynyon of Irelande; beseching Your Majestie to take the same in good parte, as divised by hym, that is in noo smal agony of mynde, and wekenes of hede and stomake; the only remedie wherof restith in your gracious hand: and if the saide exspedition bee agreable to Your Graces pleasure, it maye lyke Your Highnes then to signe, and remitte the same to me agayn, with diligence.

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1 This letter is dated at Paris, 15th July, and is in the State Paper Office.

I sende,

I sende, also, unto Your Magestie herewith a certain letter, intercepted, written in Italyon, whiche I have caused to bee translated into Laten[1]; by the contynue wherof Your Grace shall perceive, what labour hath ben made, on thEmperours behalf, to the Pope, for the impeching of your secrete affaire, with His Holynes aunswere to the same. And albeit the saide aunswere maye be conjected to be made wisely by the Pope, for putting thEmperour, and his agentes, owte of jelousy, yet good respecte and eye is to be had to that matier, and specially to the journeyng of the Legate; leste that the same bee protracted sub spetie podagre, metus hostium, vel defectus triremium. Wherfore I purpose, from tyme to tyme, by my pleasant letters, to spore furth and accelerate the journeyng of the saide Legate, for whose spedy passage the Frenche King hath commaunded his galeys, leying aparte all other exspeditions, to be in redines; soo that I loke every howre to have worde of the saide Legates arrival in Fraunce; wherof having knowleage, I shall not faile to advertise Your Highnes with all diligence, as Our Lord knowith, who preserve and kepe Your Grace from this pestiferous plage. At your Manor of Hamptoncourte, the 21 day of July, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes,
Defensour of the Faithe.

CLXIV. THE DUKE OF RICHMOND[2] *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEAS it Youre Highnes to be advertised. I have received twoe your honourable letters, dated at the Manour of Titinghangar, the 10th daye of this instaunt moneth, wherby I conceive your mooste gracious pleasure for the preferrement of your servaunte, Sir Giles Strangwisshe, Knight, and Sir Edwarde Seymer, Maister of myn Horses, to suche roomes and offices, as

[1] See page 207, note 1.

[2] The body of this letter is written by a secretary, the signature is that of the Duke, who was, at this time, nine years old. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the commands of the King to stay for a while the disposal of Sir William Compton's offices, and Wolsey's ostensible coincidence in the policy of delay, so many of them should have been given away too soon to admit of the King's orders having any effect.

by your mooste gracious favour, apperteyn unto my gifte and disposition in Dorset Shire; specially specified, expressed, and named in your saide gracious letters, late voyed by the deth of Sir William Compton, Knight, whom God pardon. I sende unto Your saide Highnes the names of the said offices, and the fee apperteynnyng to the same, being but an hundreth shillingges by the yere; and conceive by your saide severall letters, that theffecte of the same purpoorte alle to oone purpoos, that is to wete, Your saide Highnes writeth for aither of the saide gentilmen to be prefarred to the Stewardeship of Canforde, and other offices aforesaide in thoos parties.

Soe it was, and it like Youre Highnes, that for so myche as my Lorde Legates Grace of late signefied unto me, it was your high pleasure that, whenne any like offices or benefices, apperteynnyng to my gifte, shuld chaunce to be voyed, that I, by thadvice of my Counsaill, shuld dispoos and geve the same, at my libertie. Wherupon, conscidering the grete noumber of servauntes that I have, and that noon of thaym in any wise have bene rewarded with any thing, sethen thair commyng unto me, I, therfor, hering that the stewardeship of my landes in Dorset Shire, and the stewardeship of my landes in Sommerset Shire, were voide, gave that office in Dorset Shire, with other small thinges appendaunt to the same, by thadvice of my Counsaill, to Sir William Parre, Knight, my Chamberlayn, with the fee of an hundreth shillingges, and the other stewardeship in Sommerset Shir I dispoosed, in semblable maner, to my trustie and diligent servaunte, George Coton, contynually geving his attendaunce upon me, with the fee of six poundes thirtene shillingges and foure pens, in like maner as hade the saide Sir William Compton. May it pleas Your Highnes to have knowlege that thus I have dispoosed and geven the saide offices, if it maye stande with your high pleasure; wherof, in my mooste humbly and mooste lowly maner, I beseche Your saide Highnes, and elles the same ar and shalbe at your mooste gracious commaundment; whiche, as I am mooste bounden, I shall ever be redy to obbay, folowe, and accomplisshe with all effecte, to the beste of my power. As knoweth God, whoe evermoor have you, my mooste drad Soveraine Lorde, in his mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At my Castle of Shereif Hooton, the 21th daye of July.

Your moost lowly servant,

(*Signed*) H. RYCHEMOND.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kingges Highnes.

(*Enclosure*

(*Enclosure in the preceding Letter.*)

These be the Lordeships belonging to my Lordes Grace of Richemonde and Sommerset.

The Countie of Dorset Shire	Canforde. - - -	The Stewardes fee is 100^{s}.
	Corff Castle. - - -	
	Cockden Hundred, and the Isle of Purbyke. - - -	

Sommerset Shire	The Borough of Milborn Port. -	The Stewardes fee is £6. 13. 4, besides 60^{s}, whiche his clerk is allowed.
	The Manour of Kingesbury Regis, and the Hundred of Horethorn.	
	The Manour of Quene Cammell.	
	The Lordeship of Martock. -	
	The Hundred of Stone, and Cattisaysshe. - - -	
	The Manour of Coryrevell. -	
	The Hundred of Abdyke and Bulstone, and the Borough of Langporte. - - -	

CLXV. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

IN moste humble maner pleasith Your Grace to be advertisid, that the Kynges Highnes, the Quenes Grace, and my Ladye Princes, with all other here in the Courte, thanckid be Jhesu, are in good helth, and no syeknesse nor disseasis here abowtes. And so yt ys that humble pursuyte hathe been made to the Kynges Highnes, for the Abbott of Mergan in Wales, of his[2] fundation, to be good and graciouse Lord unto hym; to the whiche poursuyte His Highnes ys graciously inclynyd, and ys veraye good Lord unto hym, and commaunded me to write to Your Grace, in his graciouse name, for to requier, and praye you, in especiall maner, for his sake, to be good

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 7 a.

[2] The Abbey of Margam in Glamorganshire was founded by Robert Earl of Gloucester, in 1147. Fiddes remarks, p. 398, that many Abbies, which were not founded by the Kings or Queens of England, were nevertheless said to be of Royal Foundation.

Lord unto the seid Abbott, that he maye resorte home to his place ageyne, and enjoye his rowme ther, as he did bifore, for the servyng of God according to his duety; gyvynge unto hym suche injunctions, as by your moste discrete wysdome shalbe thought convenyent for the observyng of good rule and ordre. Also His Highnes commaundid me, in my wrytyng to Your Grace, to putt you in remembraunce, as I did write unto you bifore, for the benefice of Horworth, to dispose the same to my Lord of Richemount his scoolemaster. Master Chauncelour[1] of the Duchie, unknoweyng to the Kynges Highnes, hathe lettin the herbage, pannage, and waters, with the other commodities at Kelyngworth, which the King was myndid I shuld have, to one Wyggeston; wherwith His Highnes is not content, as well anenst Master Chauncelour for lettyng of them, as the seid Wyggeston for his suete to have them; and His Highnes commaundid me to write to the seid Wyggeston, wyllyng hym to be content, that I maye have them accordyng to his gracious pleasur, as Mr Cumpton[2] had: and as I have answere, I shall ascertayn Your Grace therof, besychyng the same to be so good and graciouse unto me, as in my favour to write unto Mastur Chauncelour, and the seid Wyggeston, in that behalff. Sir, newes ther be none here, but that my Lord of Norfolk, bicause he hath ben long seyke and abcent from the Courte, intendith for his cumforte tomorowe to cumme to the Kynge. And His Highnes ys myndid and yet intendith, by the grace of God, upon Tusedaye the 11th daye of this monethe to remove frome hens towardes Wyndesore, so that he may be ther bifore Our Ladies daye, the Assumpcion[3], at which tyme I trust His Highnes and Your Grace shall meete, where I shall not faile to doo my duety, as I ame most bounden. Sir, this mornyng, as the Kyng was in his bedd chaumbre, I movid His Grace, accordyng to your commaundment sent to me by Mr Petur[4], concernyng the custodye of yonge Cumpton, wherin I founde His Highnes veraye good, as I shall make reporte to Your Grace at his cummyng to Wyndsoure, at whiche tyme I trust Your Grace shall mete with hym ther. And His Highnes commaundith hym hertely unto you. Thus Our Lord Jhesu preserve Your Grace. From Amptell, this 4th daye of Auguste, in the mornyng.

By your humble and most bondon Servant,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

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[1] Sir Thomas More.
[2] Sir William Compton.
[3] August 15th.
[4] Probably Peter Vannes.

CLXVI. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

HUMBLE shewith unto Your Grace. The Kinges Highnis commendith hym hartely unto Your Grace, and sendes unto Your Grace, by thys berar, the grettyst red dere that was kyllyd by Hys Grace, or any of hys honters, all thys yere. Yesterday His Highnes toke mervelous grett payn in hontyng of the reed dere, from 9 of the cloke in the mornyng to 7 of the cloke at nyght, and for all hys payns taking, he, nor all his servauntes, coud kell no more but this oon, notwythstanding they hontyd in 4 severall partes. And I shall not fayll, by grace of Jhesu, to wayt uppon Your Grace, as shortly after the Kynges commyng to Okin, according to my most boundyn dewtie. As knowith Jhesu, who presarrve Your Grace. From Estamsted, thys present Sonday; by your humble and most boundyn servaunt,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordes Grace.

CLXVII. HENNEGE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

HUMBLY shewith unto Your Grace. The Kinges Highnes commendith hym hertely unto you, and glad he is that you liked your pastyme in huntyng, so well as ye did, at your last beyng with His Grace; and of his owne mynde hath devised that Your Grace shall comme hider upon Monday next, to thentent that he and you may have pastyme togeders for two or thre dayes. And His Highnes is very well content, that the Imbassadour of Florence shall comme to his presence upon Sonday next, according to Your Graces pleasure; but as for his rewarde, His Grace spake nothyng to me of it, and I durste not aske hym no qwestion therof. Sir, I have spoke with Maister Norres in his owne matier, wherin he shewith me the King is good and gracious Lord unto hym, as you shall perceyve by hys letters directed to Your Grace; so that I have delyvered your gracious letter to Maister Vouleman[3], who will

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 6. No. 55.

[2] From the same Volume, No. 62.

[3] Richard Wolman, Chaplain to the King, became Dean of Wells in 1530, having recommended himself to the King, by the part he took in procuring Bishop Fox's deposition in the divorce suit.

not

not faill to wayte upon Your Grace according to your commaundement. Sir, a litle I have moeved the Kinges Grace for the orderyng of Hampton Courte and Richemounte, wherin I fynde His Grace mervalous towardes, and well mynded, as I shall declare unto Your Grace by mouth shortly, with the grace of Jhesu, who preserve you. Written at Okyng, this present Fryday, by your humble and moost bounden servaunt,

(*Signed*) THOMAS HENNEGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lordys Grace.

CLXVIII. FITZWILLIAM *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understande, that this day, the Kinges Highnes being hunting in this parc of Guldeford, His Highnes shewed me, that he was advertised from Your Grace, that the Legate[2] entendeth to bee at Calays as to morow. In consideration wherof he wold bee glad to bee at your[3] manour of Hampton Court, as upon Saterday next commyng. And I shewed His Highnes, that I thought that Your Grace coulde not conveniently remoeve, soo that the said house might bee prepayred, and put in arredynesse for His Highnesse, against the said day. Wherupon His Highnes willed me to advertise Your Grace, that he wold bee verrey glad ye shuld remoeve, soo as he might bee at your said house, as the said Saterday, or upon Monday at the farthest; where he is mynded and desiroux to contynue and passe the tyme for 3 or 4 dayes, befor his repayre unto Grenewich. Wherfor it may please Your Grace, I may bee advertised, by this berer, of your mynde and pleasure in the premisses, to thentent I maye not oonly enfourme the Kinges said Highnes therof, but also gyve ordre for His Graces removeing theraftre accordingly. And thus the Blessed Trinitie ever have Your Grace in his blessed tuycion. Written at Guldeford, thys Wensday, the 23th day of September,

by yours, as servaunt to the best
of my litle power,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃ FYTZ WYLLM̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles Grace.

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 5. No. 24.
2 Cardinal Campeggio did not land at Dover, till 29th September 1528.
3 See note 3 to page 150.

CLXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that albe it at my last being with the same, suche letters, instruccions, and other writinges wer by Your Grace signed, as then wer thouzt convenient, towching the diet to be had with the Scottes for the matiers of the trieux; yet, neverthelas, this day be arrived newe letters, aswel from the Erle of Angwish[1], as other, wherby it apperith that the same Erle, by meanes of his adversaries, is attaynted in a Parliament for that purpose assembled and convoked in Scotlande; and not oonly his landes declared confisked, but also on of his strongest places beseged, and he hym self remaynyng in the mershe countrey, for surite and preservacion of his person, in suche wise as, the Lordes Bothwel, Buklewe, and other, that wer broken men, nowe resumed unto favour, the Bordres lye open, to the no litle danger of your subgettes and people, if spedy remedy be not provided; and the said Erle, who hathe so wel endevourde hym self to entertayn amyte bitwene thise two realmes, like to be cast away, if by som good meanes the same be not forseen in tyme.

Besides this, other newes be arrived, of a daungerous conspiracie, that hath ben contrived against the Duke of Ferrare, bothe upon his citie and also his person, necessary to be with al diligence loked unto, and he assisted with good counsail and comfort, as the thing whiche highly importeth to the benefite of the present affaires, in avoiding the ruyne of the matiers of Italy; the circumstances of whiche two thinges be over long to be put in writing, ne can substancially be provided for, withoute personal conference, and deliberate consultacion with Your Grace. Wherfore, Sir, albeit I am here upon my journey towardes London, to geve ordre unto suche thinges as concerne the commyng of the Poopes Legate, and other maters of grete importance, requiring al celerite; yet, neverthelas, rather then thise two thinges of so high moment shulde be neglected and pretermytted, withoute consultacion with Your Highnes upon the same, I wolde, knowing your pleasure, disapoint my journey towardes London for a season, and repaire unto Your Grace for the matiers above specified; onles then, in som other place by Your Highnes to be devised, I may be advertised of your said

[1] The Parliament, by which the Earl of Angus, and others of his family and friends, were attainted, began on the 8th of September 1528.

pleasure

pleasure for myn accesse unto the same. Wherof I most humbly beseche Your Grace to advertise me by this berer, to the intent I may obeye the same accordingly. And thus I beseche Almyzty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At your Manour of Richemount, the 27 day of Septembre, by your

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CLXX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. After my most humble and lowly recommendacions. It may like Your Highnes to understonde, that this present houre I am advertised, howe it hathe pleased Almyzty God to cal unto his infynite mercy the Bishop of Winchestre[1], whose soule God perdonne. And, Sire, where as in suche divices, as it hathe pleased Your Gracious Highnes to have with me hertofore, for drawing my promocions nerre unto Your Grace, your high pleasure hathe ben to communicate with me the bounteousnes of your vertuous intent in that behalf; I thouzt most convenient, with al humilite and lowlynes, to put Your Highnes in remembraunce of the grete commodete nowe geven by Almyzty God unto Your Grace, to establish my thinges after suche sorte, as I herby may have the better oportunite, by your gracious goodnes, to be in the service of Your Highnes, nerer unto my spiritual cure: not for the profite that I may take therby, but chefely and principally, bicause I may do my thinges the more to the furtherance of Your Graces affaires with my better commodite; the determynacion wherof I most reverently and lowly referre unto your gracious liberalite, high goodnes, and profounde wisedome, whom, in most humble maner, I beseche, of your excellent benignite, to do herin for the more facile and commodious contynuance of my daily travailes in your service, as by your high jugement shalbe thouzt convenient.

And, Sire, I shal not pretermyt, also, to put Your Grace in remembrance

[1] Richard Fox.

of

of my poore scoler the Deane of Welles[1], towardes whom I have founde Your Highnes of gracious disposicion towching the Bishopricke of Duresme, when I shulde fortune to leve the same; trusting that aswel for his vertue, lernyng, personage, as other his commendable merites, he shalbe mete to do unto Your Highnes acceptable service; by whose promocion therunto Your Grace shulde have in your disposicion to avance twenty chaplains, being his prefermentes of the yerely value of two thousand poundes, or therabouts; wherby also I shulde be the more able to fynish my poore College, and suche thinges as I have intended for the increase of vertue and lernyng, begonne by your gracious favour and patrocynye, to your high lawde and merite; referring and submytting me, and al that I have, to your said excellent goodnes. And thus I beseche Almyzty Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal astate. At Duresme Place, the 6th day of Octobre, by Your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace,
Defensour of the Feithe.

CLXXI. Tuke *to* Wolsey.[2]

Please it Your Grace. This mornyng, at 7 of the clok, I receyvid the letters from Your Grace, and repaired streight to Grenewiche. The Kinges Grace yesternyght wrinched his fote, so as for the dressing therof, and otherwise, it was nye 11 of the clock this day, before His Grace had broken his fast. Incontinently therupon I was called to His Highnes, to whom, with Your Graces most humble recommendations, I delyvered the letters to His Grace directed, and shewed the same, howe they be those whiche so long have taried. I also said, that Your Grace had also sent unto His Highnes the letters to Your Grace directed, wherein was mater of ful good import-

[1] Thomas Winter. It required no little assurance in Wolsey, so soon after his rebuke from the King, to ask for these immense preferments for himself, and for his natural son. In the latter object he probably met with no encouragement from the King, for in a letter of 1st November 1528, to Sir Gregory da Casale, the English Ambassador at Rome, the Cardinal desires him to consult the Pope and Cardinals, whether it would be expedient for him to relinquish the Bishoprick of Durham, and accept that of Winchester. This letter is in the State Paper Office, and will be printed in a future part of this work.

[2] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 12. No. 57.

ance. His Highnes first asked me, howe Your Grace did, and whether your leg wer amended. I answered that Your Grace dothe wel, thanked be God, and that the grefe in your leg was oonly an accident, comen with a litel colde, whiche with fricacion, and otherwise, Your Grace hathe wel put away, and is perfitely hole of it; wherof His Highnes was glad; and so first brake up Mr Stephens letter[1], which is writen with asmoche, or more, desperacion, then that was to Your Grace, and not as of hym self hooly, but moche by the relacion of Mr Brian, to whose letters he referreth further knowlege to be geven therof to the Kinges Highnes. Mr Brians letter, for asmany clauses as the King shewed me, whiche was here and there, as His Grace red it, was totally of desperacion, affermyng plainly that he coude not bileve the Poope wolde do any thing for His Grace, with thise wordes added; "It myght wel be in his Pater Noster, but it "was nothing in his Crede." He wrote, also, al other thinges that wer in the common letters, bothe of their commyng to the Poopes presence, the good message sent from the Poope, that he wolde not speke with thEmperours Oratour withoute their knowlege, and otherwise, except the maters in cifer. I alwais satisfied the King, aswell as I coude, with the contynue of the last letters, wherunto was more respect to be had then to thise, seing then they knewe and herde more then afore. The Kinges Grace said that those last letters also conteyn smal comfort. Howbeit, finally, His Grace causing me to rede the common letters, and the newer, and liking wel the clause discifred, that the registre of the brefe coude not be founde, rested upon some better knowlege by the next letters, and so reserved his letters, with on that was inclosed in Mr Brians letters, directed I wot not to home, but I suppose to Mastres Anne[2] with hymself. I herupon shewed His Grace of the arrival of the Frenche Ambassadour Monsr de Langes[3], and howe he had sent to knowe, by Your Graces addresse, when he shulde cumme to the Kinges presence, and that Your Grace had willed me to beseche His Grace to signifie his pleasure therin, for knowlege to be given to the said Ambassadour, shewing also unto His Highnes Your Graces opynion; wherwith the same was wel content, and bad me geve hym knowlege to be here to morowe in the forenoon, and commaunded Sir Anthony Browne to accom-

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[1] Gardyner was despatched to Rome in January 1529. There remains in the State Paper Office his original letter to the King, dated Rome, 15th February 1529, referring to a letter from Sir Francis Bryan to His Majesty, of the same date. But Sir Francis Bryan's letter cannot be found. He was one of the Orators at Rome.

[2] Anne Boleyn.

[3] William du Bellay, Seigneur de Langei. He was one of the authors of the Mémoires. His brother Martin gives an account of this embassy.

pany

pany hym. The Kinges Highnes then asked me, whither I retourned not to Your Grace; and I said no, and that I was commen to London, to loke to the besynes of the receiptes. Whereupon His Grace gave unto me a letter of the Frenche Kinges, to His Highnes directed, willing me, after dyner, to instructe[1] His Grace of it; and so I remayne here, til that tyme. The letter is only answer to a letter of request for justice, with generall wordes, that the Frenche King, according to the Kinges desire, hathe administred the partie, namyng hym, the berer herof, justice. The proclamation is made in London this day, and the other sent to Calais.

Herwith I sende unto Your Grace letters commen from the Courte of Fraunce, with the which Mr Deputie of Calais writeth to me, that the men of werre, that stayed in the Emperours Lowe Countreyes, be nowe al gon towardes Hungary, and al garnysons there discharged; and howe that the staplers have geven ordre at Calais, to breke up their householde there against the 6th day of April next commyng: what they meane by it, I can not knowe, but I woll lerne at my commyng to London, whiche I entende nowe shal not be til to morowe, after masse. Of thise maters and letters I have said nothing to the Kinges Highnes, nor non other. Thus Almyghty God preserve Your good Grace with long life and prosperous helthe. At Grenewiche, this Palmesonday Even, at on of the clok after none.

I have sent my Frenche clerke to the Frenche Ambassadour, to geve hym knowlege as afore; and I remyt to Your Grace your letters with the newes.

Your Graces most humble and
moste bounden Bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) BRIAN TUKE.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXII. TUKE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understonde. Yesternyght late, afore my[*dnyght*], I receyved your honourable letters to me directed, with a pacquet, wherin were letters comen from Rome, Spayne, and Fraunce. And this day, after ten of the clok in the forenone, which was the sonest tyme that I coude speke with

[1] Tuke was Secretary for the French tongue.

[2] This letter, which is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 80., is slightly damaged by fire.

the Kinges Highnes, I red unto His Grace, first, Your Graces said letters; secondely, those of Rome; and so, the other of Spayn and Fraunce. In the reding of Your Graces letters His Highnes said, "This is of my Lorde Car- "dinalls own hande"; and I said, "Ye"; whiche semed very moche to please His Grace. When I had red those letters, His Highnes asked me for the letters, wherin was mencion of the names of the Cardinalles, and other, that the Oratours had made sure in the Kinges cause. I answerd there was mencion in Mr Stephens letters of som of the Cardinalls, and of advocates, and also of the Bishop of Verone, as His Grace shulde perceyve by the letter: so I red al that letter; but when I had don, His Highnes semed to have loked for a more special advertisement of names of a grete many, that his Oratours had made sure; saying, that the letters written to His Grace made mencion of suche mater: and th[*en he*] wente in to his studie, and fetched those letters, whiche, with on of the French Kinges oun hande, brought by Monsr de Langes [1], His Highnes willed me to sende unto Your Grace, to the intent the same might see the contentes of them, and therupon remyt them to His Highnes. After that, I red Mr Peters [2] letter, and so those of Spayn. His Grace was not contented that the Bishop of Worcester [3] and Mr Almoner [4] make suche delay, in repairing to thEmperour for declaracion of their charge; seing he shal knowe the mater by the Quenes servaunt; for whom, and for Curson, thEmperour, as apperith by his answer to the Oratours, sent saufconduyt to comme to hym, and not to the Ambassadours; and they make their colour of delay, tarying for Curson to come unto them. His Highnes liketh veray wel the divices of the Bishop of Worcester, leding to the increace of the suspicion of the brefe, and willed me first to make His Grace a copy therof: howe be it, afterward, His Highnes bad me to rede it, and the rest, to my Lordes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Rocheforde; as I did. As to the letters of France, His Highnes making hast to go to masse, for the day was ferre gon, asked me, if in them wer any mater of importance; and I said, nay, other then His Grace knewe alredy, except that I noted that Mr Secretary writeth, howe thEmperour had his shippes redy in 2 places, the one for the way to Rome, and the other for the way to Flandres; whiche, with a clause in the letters discifred in English, answering to an objection, that mought be made, if thEmperour entende not to go to Rome, what meaneth then al his preparations? and it is answered, they may serve to some other purpose, make somwhat with the newes writen from

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[1] Monsr de Langei had his audience 21st March 1529. [2] Peter Vannes.
[3] Ghinucci. [4] Dr. Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York.

Calais,

Calais, towching his commyng in to Flandres, of whiche mater I have herd yet no confirmation. In the ende His Highnes saide, it wer well don, Mr Stephens, and his other Oratours at Rome, shulde, in this vacant tyme, make asmany of the Cardinalles sure for the Kinges cause, as they coude; and though the officers of the Rote wolde geve counsail to non, but to the Poope, yet they shulde make them sure to geve counsail for the Kinges purpose to His Holynes; and then, His Grace said, if the Poope shulde be difficile to condescende to the Kinges desires, suche a nombre of Cardinalles, alleging the danger, that myght therof ensue to the Chirche and otherwise, myght bring the Poope to consent. I answered, that the Oratours be instructed therin, and to use grete circumspeccion howe to entre with the Cardinalles in the same, but His Grace thought they myght practise farther to this purpose in this meane tyme. So I said I wolde advertise Your Grace of his pleasure.

Herwith I remyt unto Your Grace al the letters, with those that the Kinges Grace toke me to sende unto Your Grace. I had sent them soner, but I taried al day for the other letter, that Your Grace wrote was not discipherd.[1]

Thus Almighty Jhesu preserve Your Grace with long and prosperous life. At London, this Monday, at nyght late.

Your Graces most humble and most bounden
bedman and servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) BRIAN TUKE.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

SYR. After my moost humble and lowly recommendacions. Thes shalbe oonly to advertise Your Highnes, that this present howre I have rayceyved certen letters, sent as well to Brian Tuke, as to me. And bicause by the contynue of the same Your Grace maye perceyve and juge, in parte, to what intent and purpose John de la Shaux[2] is sent unto Your Highnes,

[1] Here follows an uninteresting passage respecting some land of the Queen, in Erith Marsh.

[2] John de la Sauch, Secretary of the Archduchess Margaret.

whith

whith the practise sett forthe bytwein the French Kinges moder[1] and the Lady Margarete, concernyng ther meting at Cambrey, for treating of peax, wherin partely consistith the charge of the seid De la Shaux: I thoght therfore convenient immediatly to send the seid letters unto Your Grace, to thintent that Your Highnes myght be sumwhat instructyd in his charge, afore his arryvall unto the same. And thus I beseche Our Lord send unto Your Highnes thaccomplishement of your noble and virtuose desyres. At Your Grace is Manour of Richemunde, this Trynite Sondaie, at six of the clokk by Your Grace is

Moste humble Chapleyn,
(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Noble Grace.

CLXXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.

Syr. After moste humble and lowlie recommendacions. Thes shalbe to advertise your Highnes, that I send unto the same sooche letters and newes, as be sent frome the Frenche King, and the Great Master[2], to his Ambassatour here resident; by the contynue wherof Your Grace shall perceyve that the practise of peax, set forwarde bytwix the Emperour and the French King, by the 2 Ladies, is not so farr forthe, as was supposid and fearyd here; nor the fundacion therof is so ferme and substancyall, that ther is any great apparance of any great effecte to succede by the same. Wherby hit is not to be dowtyd but your reasons and cownsels, to be openyd by your Ambassatours sent unto the French King, shalbe fownd to be growndyd upon better reason, then the seid practise of peax. And the affayres of Napelles and[3] , if the French King laie now good hand to the mater, really enforsing and prosecuting his thingis in Italy, hit is verely to be trustyd, that the Emperour will think twis of the mater, or he shall darre attempte to discende into Italy.

I send also unto your Grace herewhith sooche short letters, as I have raiceyved from Maister Stevens, datyd at Rome, the 9th daie of this present

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[1] The Duchess of Angoulême and the Archduchess Margaret met at Cambray on the 5th of July, and concluded a treaty on the 5th of August, 1529.

[2] Anne de Montmorency.

[3] Several words are obliterated, by the paper being worn out at the fold.

monithe,

monithe [1], conteynyng non oder thing but the contynuaunce of the Popis siknes, and that ther hath beyn no innovacion in any thing concernyng your Grace is mater, syns the dispeche of Alexandre; which is confirmyd by letters sent unto the Legate here, wherewithe Mons[r] Floriane intendith this hower to repair unto Your Highnes, for declaracion of the contentes of the same unto Your Grace. I send also unto Your Highnes sooche letters, as I have raiceyved from your Ambassatour being at Venice, wherby Your Grace shall perceyve, that your sharpe letters, sent unto the Senyory and Duke ther, for the delivery of Servia and Ravenna, hath sumwhat alteryd and trowbelyd them; whiche thing, your Highnes being so content, I purpose sumwhat to mytigate withe ther Oratour here; for hit were no wisdome to discurrage, or fall owt withe them, for the restitucion of the said cities, not being better assuryd of the Pope. The passage of the Turke, in proper personne, with as puissante an armye in to Hungary, as hit is writen to the Legate here from Rome, (that is to saie) of an hundreth and fyfty thowsand horsemen, with 2 hundreth thowsand fotemen, is like not oonly to be to the great detryment of all Cristendome, but also to make sum alteracion in the Emperours intendid viag in to Italy, considering that he shall have non eade from the King of Boeme, nor the Princis of Almeyn. As oder thinges shall succede, I shall not faile to advertise your Highnes from tyme to tyme. As Owr Lord knoith, who send Your Highnes the accomplisshement of your vertuose desyers. From your Manour of Richemonde, the 26th daie of Maye, by your Graces

Moste humble Chapleyn,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Noble Grace.

CLXXV. Secretary Gardyner *to* Wolsey. [2]

Pleasith it Your Grace to understande, that yesterday [*I was with*] the Kinges Highnes at Langley, and very late in the e[*vening, ere*] I cam hom, I shewed unto His Grace such letters, as Your Grace [*had*] sent unto me by the messanger, and Master Edwardes, [*and those*] also, which Your Grace

[1] There is an original letter from Dr. Gardyner and Peter Vannes to the King, dated Rome, 9th May 1529, in the State Paper Office; but the separate letter from Gardyner to the Cardinal, here referred to, has not been found.

[2] This letter has suffered greatly from fire. It is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. XII. leaf 223.

sent

sent with them from my Lord of [*Bath*[1]] concerning thexecution of the letters citatorial, not in the Kinges personne, but oonly in vertue of inhibition, t[*o be*] secretly notified to Your Grace and my Lord Campegius. And as towching Your Graces letters in the resolution and declaring of Your Graces opinion upon such dowtes, as [*His*] Highnes willed me to signifie unto Your Grace, they [*be*] very pleasaunt, agreeable, and acceptable unto the same, and geveth unto Your Grace for the same your paynes, l[*etters*], and studye, his most harty thankes.

As concernyng the contynue of my Lord of Bathes [*letters*], and execution of the inhibition, called always by [*the*] name of letters citatoriall, and that under payne [*of*] 10000 ducates, His Highnes is nowe not the beste con[*tent*], and mervelith moch de adjectione pene pecuniar[*ie, which*] in the copy sent from Rome was not mencioned; a[*nd he*] desireth Your Grace that the copye of the said in[*hibition*], and letters citatorial, may be with al diligence sent [*unto*] His Highnes. Nevertheles His Highnes having [*great*] trust and confidence in Your Graces dexterite and , doubteth not but Your Grace, by good handeling [*of the*] Cardinal Campegius, and the Quenes Counsail, the execution of those letters citatorial, also on your , and to cause them to be content the same inhibition [*be*] doon and executed by vertue of the Popes brief to Your Grace, and mencyonning that matier, which I sende unto the same herwith; which brief forasmoch as it rehersith and testifith unto youe the cause to be ad[*voked*], the Kinges Highnes supposith that to be sufficient, wherupon ye may ground the cessation of your processe, and that it should not be nedeful any such letters citatorial, conteyning matier prejudicial to his personne, and royal astate, to be shewed to his subget, within his owne realme. For which considerations, His Highnes wold gladly this breve to be taken in the lieu of the said letters citatorial, if, upon any such reasons as be bifore rehersed, or other as Your Grace, of your high wisedom, can divise, it may be compassed to the satisfaction of the Quenes Counsail, without any suspition to arrise therof, that any other respect wer coloured therby. And in cace Your Grace, omnibus modis tentatis, cannot induce the Quenes Counsail to be content, then Your Grace, enterteyning there with youe the Cardinal Campegius, and them, to advertise the Kinges Highnes therof, to thintent, upon sight of ther letters citatoriall, the Kinges Highnes maye advertise Your Grace, what is further in that cace to be doon, and howe Your Grace shal resolve that matier with them.

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[1] The Bishop of Bath was the person, who delivered the citation to the Queen.

I send

I send Your Grace two briefs; the oon, as by the copyes apperith, is towching the advocation; and the other, notification of the peace taken bitwen the Pope and thEmperour.[1]

In other matiers nothing is yet resolved, but tomorow the Kinges Highnes entendeth to commen with his Counsaill in them. Thus, having noon other matier to write, I pray Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the 4th day of August.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) Steven Gardyner.[2]

CLXXVI. Gardyner *to* Wolsey.[3]

Pleasith it Your Grace to understande, that forasmoch as Langes is here arryved from the French King, with the qualifications of the treatie of Madrel, the copy wherof the Kinges Highnes supposith to be with Youer Grace, His Grace desireth Yours to sende the same unto him with Your Graces opinion upon such demaundes, as the French Kinge, by the said Langes, makith at this tyme; the copye wherof, and al other writinges presented unto the Kinges Highnes, I, by His Graces commaundement, sende unto Yours herwith; advertising Your Grace, that the Kinges Highnes, not as yet openyng any part of his mynde eyther to thAmbassadours, or any other of his Counsail, what answer to make in them, desireth Your Grace, with al diligence possible, first to shewe your opinion concernyng the same, unto the knowlege wherof he defferreth his resolution in that behaulf.

His Highnes willed me also to write unto Your Grace in the favour of Frier Nicolas, of Oxforde, for his capacite to be sped out of hande, and a benefice to be provyded for him, as sone as any shalbe voyde, according to Your Graces promyse, as His Highnes sayth, in that behaulf.

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[1] A treaty between the Pope and the Emperor was concluded at Barcelona, 3d July 1529.

[2] Dr. Gardyner and Sir Francis Bryan were recalled from their mission at Rome in May 1529, and were succeeded by Dr. William Benet. Gardyner appears to have been appointed Secretary of State, soon after his arrival in England, about the middle of June.

[3] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 5. No. 103.

It may please Your Grace to remitte, by this berer, the articles of the treaties, forasmoch as here bee noo copies of them, and the Kinges Highnes willed me to sende them with spede; al other matiers slepe, tyl this be answered unto. Thus I pray Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the 28th of August.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLXXVII. TUKE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your Grace to understonde. At my commyng to the Courte, whiche was yesterday, aboute 3 of the clok after none, the Kinges Highnes was newly gon on hunting, and my Lordes of Norfolke and Suffolk were also gon with the Frenche Ambassadours, to make them disport. It was late before the Kinges Grace retourned, so I sawe not His Highnes that nyght. In the mean tyme I communicated suche message, as Your Grace gave me, with Mr Stephens. As to the mater of the Duke of Albany, he shewed me, the King had writen to Sir Francis Brian therin, after suche sorte as he shulde speke in it, as though it wer moved rather to do pleasure to the Frenche King, then otherwise; and to inferre the detryment that Fraunce myght take, by aliance of Scotlande with the Emperour; and herin to consulte with the Duke of Albany, what thinges he coude devise, or wherin, by his commyng, he coude empeche suche aliance; for elles better it wer, not to comme, then commyng, not to do any good in it; but al this shulde be spoken after suche sorte, as it myght neither appere that the King desireth his commyng, but for the Frenche Kinges sake, ne is lesse desirous therof, then His Grace was afore.

As to the going of thAdmyral of Fraunce[2], he shewed me the Kinges Grace had writen to Mr Haket to advertise His Highnes, what he can here of any Ambassadour to be sent hither from thEmperour, and therafter to ordeyn the Kinges sending; and it hathe ben spoken of the going to

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 12. No. 54.
2 Philippe Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, who succeeded Bonivet in 1526.

thEmperour,

thEmperour, of my Lorde Berners [1], and Mr Deane of the Chapel [2], or bothe. As to the copy of the inhibition, he said he wolde sende unto Your Grace the originall copye.

In the residue of my communications with Mr Stephens, I assure Your Grace I founde hym suche on, as towardes Your Grace he shulde be; and a man neither mynded to medle with many thinges, but to deale with on thing, suche as he shal fortune to be appointed unto, ne mynded to write more in his letters to Your Grace, then shal be to the purpose, thinking that, like a wise man, to be the best way. He shewed me, also, the demaundes of the Frenche Ambassadours, and howe he had, by the Kinges commaundment, sent al to Your Grace, for knowlege of your opinion therin.

This day erly, my Lordes of Norfolk and Suffolk departed. I sawe neither of them.

At my comming in to the Kinges chambre, Mr Stephens shewed me, he had ben with the King, and tolde His Grace of my cummyng, and of Mr Brians letter, with the opynion of Your Grace, bothe towching the mater of the Duke of Albany, and also the other, of the going of thAdmiral of Fraunce.

At the Kinges commyng towardes his closet, I declared to His Grace al suche thinges, as Your Grace commaunded me, in his seconde chamber. His Highnes taried a good season to here it, my Lorde of Rocheforde, and Mr Stephens, and no moo, being present. His Grace merveiled of the difficultie made of the Duke of Albany, and herd gladly Your Graces opinion therin; notwithstanding His Highnes said, that the Frenche Ambassadour had tolde His Grace howe the Frenche King said, "Loke what the Kinges "Grace wold devise therin, and the Duke shulde do it." I answered, that he ment, what suertie coulde be divised for the Duke, who made difficultie to comme withoute an assurance. Therupon His Grace toke the letter, and said he wolde rede it in his closet. As to the going of the Admyral of France, His Highnes semed to like wel Your Graces opynion towching my Lorde of Worcester, for His Grace repugned not therat, but herkened wel to it; insomuche as, sens dyner, my Lorde of Rocheforde shewed Mr Stephens and me, that the Kinges pleasure is, the said Bishops kynnesman shuld not be depeched, as he shulde have ben this day.

I shewed the Kinges Grace, also, as the brevite of tyme wolde suffre, the letters comen from the Prothonotary Cassalis [3]; His Highnes willed my Lorde of Rocheforde, Mr Stephens, and me, to see them.

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[1] John Bourchier, Lord Berners. [2] Dr. Richard Sampson. [3] John da Casale.

Immediately this don, the French Ambassadours came to His Grace, and had communication almost of half an houre, alone; and so His Grace went to his closet. Sens dyner, they wer conduyted to their chambre; and the Kinges Grace camme not abrode as yet. I thinke they shal tary, til answer come from Your Grace.

On Wedensday the Kinges Grace departeth to Langley; M[r] Treasorer, and other of the Counsail, and Householde, tary here til the Kinges retourne, which shal be within 2 dayes after, as they say. Thus Almighty Jhesu preserve Your Grace. At Woodstock, this Sonday, 29th day of August 1529.

I spake not of my Lorde Campegius, forasmoche as me thought by M[r] Stephens the not sending of the copy of the inhibition shuld be redubbed by hym.

At the Kinges going to the closet, His Grace said, sens the Frenche men demaunde so many thinges, it wer necessary to consulte what shulde be demaunded of hym, by the Kinges Grace.

This I sende by a servaunt of Your Graces, commen from Oxenforde, and going to the More.

Your Graces most humble servaunt,
and perpetuel Bedman,
(*Signed*) Brian Tuke.

CLXXVIII. Gardyner *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith it Your Grace to understande, that nowe, at the last, the Kinges Highnes is resolved upon the depech of my Lord of Worcestours servaunt, after such forme as Your Grace shal perceyve by the Kinges letters, directed to the said Bishop; which, according to the Kinges commaundement, I sende open to Your Grace to be seen by the same, and sealed there. The tenour of them is according to the Kinges instructions, in al pointes, not so well expressed as Your Grace shulde have doon it there, but as in that such was the Kinges pleasure: and glad I am, that my said Lorde of Worcetours servaunt is depeched, oon waye or other. The Kinges Highnes hath rewarded the Bishoppes said servaunt with 100 crownes, which Master

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 303.

Tuke

Tuke hath delyvered unto him. As towching the advertisement of Your Grace, sent by Master Tuke, for making the said Bishop Ambassadour to thEmperour, I thinke the Kinges Highnes wil otherwise resolve himself [1]; and, at the lest, knowing therof, and differring thexpedition of these letters from yesterday to this daye, as to delyvere and consulte in the meane season therupon, this day willed me to send forth the same, as they be, unto Your Grace, by the said Bishoppes servaunt, as afore; and more I knowe not in that behaulf.

The Kinges Highnes, in goyng forth a huntyng, sodenly called me unto him, and willed to write unto Your Grace, for knowlege of your advise and opinion, in these pointes folowing.

First, whether thEmperour, not ratifying the peace concluded nowe [2] at Cambraye with the French King, the Kinges Highnes shuld demaunde and take the ratification of the peace concluded with him.

Item, whether, the said ratifications not yet passed, it wer convenient for the Kinges Highnes to delyver the Emperours bondes, and to geve acquitaunces of the same to the French King, and soo doo an acte in discharge of the Emperour; the peace concluded not yet brought to effecte, ne by delyveraunce [3] of the childern put in execution; which fayling, of necessite the wer shuld retourne.

The Kinges Highnes oonly proponed these questions, without debating, or reasonyng the same, and desireth moch to knowe Your Graces advise and counsail; and that it may please the same to sende hither such treaties, as wer concluded in Fraunce, when Your Grace was ther [4], with that also which was nowe concluded at Cambray, and brought to Your Grace by my Lord of London [5].

This mornyng, upon point of the Kinges going forth, whiche was very erly, and afore he hath at other tymes accustumed, arrived here, from Your Grace, Master Doctour Boner [6], with Your Graces mynde and opinion upon suche articles as, by the Kinges commaundement, I wrote of unto the same in my last letters; wherin me semith Your Grace hath taken very excessive paynes and labours, with gret study and buysnes of mynde, to depech so moch matier by writing, and instructions, in soo lytel tyme; which I shal extende and set forth to the Kinges Highnes, as my dutie and

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1 The Bishop of Worcester, Ghinucci, was appointed Ambassador at Rome, on his return from Spain.

2 5th August 1529.

3 This was not accomplished till the 1st of July 1530.

4 At Amiens, in 1527.

5 Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London.

6 Edmund Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester, Bishop of London in 1540.

observaunce

observaunce towardes Your Grace requirith. Nevertheles, for spedy speking with the King, and to speke at laysure, I reckenne gret difficulte; and as for this night I am ought of hope, by reason the Kinges Highnes is out on hunting, and usith, as Your Grace knoweth, to cumme in very late; but I shall doo therin the best I can, and sende Your Grace answer by the said Master Boner. Unto which tyme I shall noo further molest the same, but pray Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the penultime of August.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) Steven Gardyner.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLXXIX. Gardyner *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith it Your Grace to understande, that the Kinges Highnes willed me, on his behaulf, to geve unto Your Grace his most herty thankes for your gret paynes and labours, taken in answeryng, with such diligence, to the articles proponed by the French Oratours, wherin His Highnes thinketh Your Grace hath considered asmoch as coulde be excogitate and imagined; but what resolution His Grace wil take in the same, I knowe not as yet, and he hath put it over with thAmbassadours, untyl his retourne from Langle, whither he goth tomorowe, and retournith not bifore Saturday.

As in that parte of Your Graces instructions, where Your Grace semethe to suspecte sumwhat of the French men, and impute unto them the not observation of ther convenauntes, agred upon at Amyas, touching the qualification of the treatie of Madryl; the Kinges Highnes, moch moved therwith, and adhering to Your Graces opinion in that behaulf, was moch kindled, and waxed warme, and thought himself not wel handled by them; in such sorte, as not speking with me, that evenyng willed my [*Lorde*] Rocheforde to sende for me, and to examine the treatie of Madryl with Your Graces instructions; which we dyd, and, this mornyng, had moch reasonyng with His Highnes in that behaulf. Nevertheles, at the laste, it appered unto His

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 5. No. 100.

Highnes,

Highnes, the treatie of Madryl, without that qualification divised by Your Grace, not to be soo daungerous, as Your Grace had noted it, in al poyntes; as Master Boner shal shewe unto Your Grace: most humbly desiring Your Grace to considre it with this, also, "quod preterita dolere "magis quam corrigere possumus," and that, in very dede, Your Graces qualification, to saye truly to Your Grace, doth noo more serve the Kinges purpose, thenne as the treatie is nowe cowched. Thus bolde I am to write unto Your Grace thus playnly, desiring the same to take it in good parte. The specialtes of al other pointes I have shewed to Master Boner. Praying Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. From Wodstok, the last day of August.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXX. GARDYNER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understande, that incontinently upon the arrival of Master Forest, Your Graces servaunt, and delyveraunce of Your Graces [*Letters*], I repaired unto the Kinges Highnes, and red unto the same [*Your*] Graces letters to me directed; the first part wherof, [*shewing*] by what dexteryte Your Grace hath conduced the [*Queens*] Counsail to be content with exhibition of the bref [*directed*] to Your Grace, in lieu of the letters citatorial, was [*most*] acceptable unto the Kinges Highnes; and gevith [*His Highness*] Your Grace therfor his most harty thankes; trusting that Your Grace hath in all circumstances soe pro[*ceeded*], as, if the Quene wold herafter resile and goo b[*ack from*] that, she semeth nowe to be contented with, it shuld [*not be*] in her power soo to doo; but that this acte, doon [*before*] Your Grace and the Cardinal Campegius, ma[*y be*] prejudicial to her here, at Rome, or elleswhere, [*by the*] letting and empeching of further prosecution, [*and of*] any citation or processe impetrate, or to be [*impetrate*], by her, or her proctours, herafter. Wherin [*His*] Highnes

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[1] This letter, which is much damaged by fire and damp, is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. XII. leaf 171. Most of the lacunæ are easily supplied by conjecture.

desireth

desireth Your Grace to have especial [*care*] and respecte, as His Grace doutith not [*Your Grace*] hath, and that it is in al pointes forseen as app[*ertaineth*].

And where as Your Grace, in the ende of y[*our letter*], writeth that ye have certain thinges to shewe [*unto*] the Kinges Highnes, which Your Grace thinkith [*not*] convenient to be committed to wryting; I as[*sure*] Your Grace, that at the reding therof His Hig[*hnes*] semed to me somwhat altered and moved, after su[*ch*] sorte as the obscure signifie of newes, appering to [*be*] of importaunce, doth require. Wherupon His Highnes, as in that desire of further knowlege, troubled, et frustra tamen conjiciens, what it is that Your Grace, the weyes being sure, and without feare of interception, shuld, that notwithstanding, not thinke convenient to be put in wryting; knowing also right wel, that Your Grace is not wont to spare any labours or paynes in wryting, whenne the cace soo requiring; musing and merveling, therfore, more and more, what the matier shulde be; willed me, after the minute of these letters conceyved by His Grace, with al diligence to depech His Graces servaunt Curson, this berer, with these my letters unto Your Grace, and by them, in His Highnes name, to desire Your Grace incontinently, by letters of Your Graces owne hande, to be directed unto His Highnes handes, to signifie unto the same oonly caput rei, which Your Grace meanith; nam singulas circumstancias enumerare et per literas explicare, it wer nimis laboriosum to Your Grace; and such labour, as His Highnes willeth Your Grace in noo wise to take, but oonly, paucissimis verbis, to advertise His Highnes, whether the matier, which Your Grace meanith, be domesticum or externum; and if it be externum, whither from the French King, thEmperour, the Pope, my Lady Margaret, or any other Prince; and if be domesticum, and concernith any divise for accheving His Highnes vertuous desires in his gret matier, thenne brevissime to note the particularite of the compasse of that divise; or if it be any other matier in this realme, soo to towche in your said letters [*some*] parte therof, leaving the circumstances to be [*explained*] by Your Graces mouth (at your cumming hither upon next folowing, at which tyme Your Grace shal [*do*] your pleasour to repaire to His Highnes, as by mouth [*I*] have shewed unto Your Graces servaunt Forest), as His [*Highnes*] may knowe, by Your Graces letters to be sent by this [*bearer*], summam et effectum of Your Graces mynd; to th[*intent*] His Highnes maye, in the meane tyme, sumw[*hat*] quyet his mynde and cogitation, and muse no [*further*], thenne nedes, upon occasion of the obscure w[*ords*] writen to me, in the ende of Your Graces said letter.

I shuld

I shuld have sent these letters by Your Graces servaunt Forest, but that the Kinges Highnes des[*ireth*] spedy answer, and therfor willed me to depeche [*the*] berer Curson. Thus I pray Almighty [*God*] to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the day of Septembre.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXXI. GARDYNER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understande, that the Kinges Highnes (like as His Grace willed to write unto Yours) ensuyng partely such advise as Your Grace wrote unto him, and partely his owne opinion, and other of his Counsail, hath geven answer to Mons[r] de Langes, upon such articles as were by him, on the French Kinges behaulf, proponed unto His Highnes; the copy of which answer geven unto him by wryting, and, by the Kinges commaundement, subscribed with my hande, I sende unto Your Grace, according to the Kinges pleasure, herwith; adding in the margyne tottes, wherby Your Grace may perceyve omne consilium rei gestæ, to thintent that the French Ambassadours resortyng to Your Grace, and communicating ther depech unto the same, as the Kinges Highnes hath willed them to doo, Your Grace might say to them conformably to that hath been spoken here; like as the Kinges Highnes desireth Your Grace to doo. And in cace the said Ambassadours shal speke unto Your Grace, for obteyning of the Kinges Highnes a letter to be written by His Grace to the French King, of like tenour to that which the French King sent by the Duke of Suffolke, wherin these Ambassadours have alredy pressed the Kinges Highnes, and with good wordes be put over; the Kinges Highnes desirith Your Grace soo to answer them with such fashion and wordes, as Your Graces high wisedom canne wel divise, as may be to ther satisfaction, and over that to saye to them, that considering the Kinges frank liberalite ultro et sponte shewed, it wer not convenient further to presse him.

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 5. No. 102.

Yesternight I red unto the Kinges Highnes, Your Graces letters, in answer to myne, concernyng thexecution of the letters citatorial; who willed me to write unto Your Grace, that he giveth unto Your Grace his most harty thankes for your labours and paynes taken in that behaulf, and desireth moch to knowe the further resolution in that matier. And where Your Grace writeth of the delyveraunce of Cardinal Campegius letters, and bryves to him directed, I assure Your Grace there camme never noo such to my handes.

Yesterday here arryved letters from Rome, summe directed to the Kinges Highnes, summe to Your Grace, and to me, and other; by al lightly-wode they wer broken up by the waye, out of the pacquettes, but nevertheles the letters wer not opened; but the Kinges Highnes being desirous to knowe newes, opened al, and bicause they be moch in cifre, His Highnes desireth Your Grace that they may be desciphred there, and remitted hither again.

The Kinges Highnes willed me, also, to write unto Your Grace, that being sute made unto him in favor of the Prior of Reding, who, for Luthers opinion, is nowe in prison, and hath ben a good season, at Your Graces commaundement, that oonles the matier be moch notable, and very heynos, he desireth Your Grace, at his request, to cause the said Priour to be restorde to liberte, and discharged of that imprisonment.

Other matier I have noon to write unto Your Grace, at this tyme, but pray Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the 7th day of September.

The Ambassadours of Fraunce have taken ther leave of the King, and be on ther waye towardes Your Grace.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLXXXII. GARDYNER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understande, that, according to Your Graces letters, delyvered by Master Doctor Boner[2], and Master Doctor Kerne[2], I have caused them to speke with the Kinges Highnes, who liketh very wel Your Graces divise for superseding in the cause, and desireth moch that the same be brought to effecte, with all diligence possible, if the Quene canne be induced therunto; wherin His Highnes hath gret confidence in the highe wisedom and dexterite of Your Grace, soo to worke with her Counsail, as nothing further, thenne is alredy by Your Grace divised, shalbe by the Quene desired in that behaulf. And in cace, omnibus tentatis, hoc non successerit, thenne, de duobus malis, His Highnes wilbe content to admitte the lesse, viz: that rather the inhibition shuld be prively execute upon Your Grace, and the Cardinal Campegius, thenne the same with rumour to be divulged in Flaunders; like as His Highnes hath declared at lenght to the said Master Doctor Boner, and Doctor Kerne; who forasmoch as they canne reaporte unto Your Grace the particularites of al communications, I shal omitte further, by wryting, to expresse the same. Praying Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Wodstok, the 8th day of Septembre.

By Your Graces most humble
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

CLXXXIII. WOLSEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[3]

MOSTE gracyous and mercyful Soverayn Lorde. Thow that I, your poore, hevy, and wrechyd Prest, do dayly pursue, kry, and calle opon Your Royal Majeste for grace, mercy, remissyon, and pardon, yet, in moste humble wyse, I beseche Your Hyghnes, nat to thyncke that yt procedyth of any mystruste, that I have, in your mercyful goodnes, nor that I wolde incombyr

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[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. XII. leaf 172 b.
[2] Dr. Boner, and Dr. Edward Karne, were subsequently sent Ambassadors to Rome.
[3] Holograph.

or moleste Your Majeste by any indryscret or inportune suyt; but the same onely commyth of an inwarde and ardent desyre, that I have, contynually to declare unto Your Hyghnes, how that, next unto God, I desyre nor covet any thyng in thys worlde, but the atteynyng of your gracyous faver, and forgevenes of my trespace. And for thys cause, I can nat desyst nor forbere, but to be a contynuall and most lowly supplyant to Your benynge Grace; for suerly, moste gracyous Kyng, the remembrance of my folly, with the sharpe sworde of Your Hyghnes dysspleasure, hath so penetrat my hert, that I can nat but lamentably kry, and most reverently pray, and soy; Sufficit; nunc contine, piissime Rex, manum tuam ob amorem illius Stelle, cujus ubera preciosa, contra venenum delictorum nostrorum, quam dulciter suxit Christus Jesus, who invytyth Your Hyghnes to mercy and forgevenes, seyng, "Dimittite, et dimittetur vobis;" et "Beati misericordes, quam ipsi misericordiam consequentur:" wych that I may shortly atteyne at Your Gracys hand, and Your Hyghnes the semblabyl at Godes, with the increasse of your most royall astat in thys world, and eternal joy and glory in an other, I shall contynualy pray to Almyghty God, as Your Graces moste prostrat poore chapleyn, creature, and bedisman,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor, Miserimus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Royal Mageste.

CLXXXIV. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Most gracyous and mercyfull Soverayn Lorde. Thes shalbe to geve unto Your Royal Mageste my moste lowly and humble thanckes for the comforte, wych yt hath pleasyd Your Hyghnes to send onto me, your poore prest and prostrat subject, langwyshyng in extreme sorow and hevynes, by Your Gracys trusty servant, Sir John Russell[2]; by whom I do perceyve, to my inward consolacion, that Your Hyghnes ys, and wolbe, my good and gracyous Soverayn Lorde, and have pety, mercy, and compassyon opon me; in the assuryd trust and confydens wherof, I shal, as nye as my fragylyte can parmyte, indevor my sylf to acquyet my poore hert, and in sume parte attemper my sorow;

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[1] Holograph.

[2] He was the bearer of a ring from the King to Wolsey, on the 1st of November 1529.

praying

praying God, moste effectually, for thys your hygh goodnes, to pursue, augment, and increase your moste nobyl and royal astat, and that as sone as yt shal seme to your petyfull hart, and to stand with Your Gracys honor, yt may opynly be knowen to my poore frendes and servanttes, that Your Hyghnes hath forgeven me myn offence and tresspace, and delivryd me from the daunger of your lawys; for the atteynyng wherof I shall incessantly pray, cry, and call. Wryttyn thys mornyng, with the rude and trymmelyng hand of Your Graces moste humble and prorstrat subject and prest,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Royall Mageste.

CLXXXV. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MYN owne enterly belovyd Cromvel, I beseche yow, as ye love me, and wyl evyr do any thyng for me, repare hyther thys day, as sonne as the Parlement[2] ys brokyn up, leyng aparte all thynges for that tyme; for I wold nat onely commynycat thynges unto yow, wherin, for my comfort and relef, I wold have your good, sad, dyscret advyse and cownsell, but also opon the same commytt serteyng thynges, requyryng exspedicion, to yow, on my behalf, to be solycytyd ther. I pray yow, therfor, to hast your commyng hyther, as afore, withowt omyttyng so to do, as ye tendyr my socor, releff, and comfort, and quyetnes of mynde. And thus fare ye wel. From Asher, in hast, thys Satyrday in the mornyng, wyth the rude hande and sorowfull hert of your assuryd lover,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR.

I have alsò serteyn thynges consernyng yower sylf, wych I am suere ye wolbe glad to here and knowe; fayle not, therfor, to be here thys nyght; ye may retorne erly in the mornyng ageyn, yf nede shal so requyre: et iterum vale.

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[1] From the Museum, Vespasian, F. XIII. leaf 76. Holograph. Printed by Fiddes, and Ellis.

[2] Parliament sat from the 3d of November to the 17th of December 1529; during the whole of which period Wolsey remained at Esher.

M^r

M[r] Agusteyn [1] shewyd me how ye had wryttyn onto me a letter, wherin ye shuld advertyse me of the commyng hyther of the Duke of Norfolke [2]. I assure yow ther cam to my handes no suche letter.

(*Superscribed*)
To myn enterly belovyd
Thomas Cromvel, in hast. [3]

CLXXXVI. Wolsey *to* Crumwell. [4]

Enterly belovyd. Ther hath chansyd fewe thynges, syns my tr[*ouble*], that more greveyth me, then your nat cummyng hyther at thys tyme; for now ys the season that ye shuld and mygth do to me moste good and acceptable pleasure, in the advauncement of my pursuytes. Wherfor, at the reverens of God, tomorowe in the evyng, be yt nevyr so late, take the payne to comme hyther; and havyng speche wyth the same but one ower, ye shal depart that nygth, or so erly in the mornyng as ye shall not be lackyd there. For all lovys, leve me nat nowe, thus destytute of all comfort; for in your nat commyng restyth the qualyng of all my maters; and, betwyn thys and that, ye may set forwardes my pursuttes, and bryng with yow somme good comfort, and specially from M[r] Secretary [5], who hath promysyd to do me good. I undyrstand that M[r] Treasourer [6], Chanciller [7] the Duchy, intendyth to sende downe M[r] Throgmerton, for [*taking*] of pocessyon in the

[1] Wolsey's Physician.

[2] The Duke of Norfolk was one of those who were sent to demand the Great Seal of Wolsey, his companion being the Duke of Suffolk. According to Fiddes, they went to him on the 3d day of Michaelmas Term, which would be the 8th of October, as the Term then commenced on the Octave of St. Michael. The Dukes had then only verbal instructions, which the Cardinal refused to obey; but they returned again the next day, with a written authority, and received the Great Seal.

[3] This letter, and those which follow, to the end of this division of the State Papers, do not strictly belong to this portion of the work, since they did not, either directly or indirectly, pass to or from the King. But having seen so much of Wolsey in the plenitude of his power, in his temporary disgrace, and after the King's displeasure had passed away, it is interesting to mark the striking contrast exhibited in his correspondence after his fall; and these few letters are, therefore, here published.

[4] This, and twelve of the subsequent letters, are from the Appendix to the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, all written by Wolsey, in his own hand, after his fall. They are unfortunately much mutilated by fire, which adds to the difficulty, belonging more or less to all Wolsey's letters, of assigning dates to them. The present letter is leaf 11.

[5] Gardyner. [6] Sir William Fitzwilliam. [7] Sir Thomas More.

late

late monestary of Daventre[1]; the Kynges grawnt to be voyd, by reason that the s[*ame was*] nat passyd undyr the Seale of the Duchy of Lanc[*aster. I*] knowe very well that in the oppynyon of M^r^ B[*roke, and*] all other the Jugges, yt was thowgth that the Kynges [*grant*], undyr hys Gret Seale, was suffycyent, and that yt to have the Seale of the Duchye be suffycyent in this mater. Wherfor, at the reverens of God, h the Canons ther beyng with your cownsell, and k behalf, and with them and ther cownsell of the Duchy; praying hym to be good master onto them specially. For, as ye know, yt ys a

(*Superscribed*)
To myn entirly belovyd
Thomas Crowmvell, in haste.

CLXXXVII. Wolsey *to* [Crumwell].[2]

The ferderyng and puttyng ovyr of your commyng hyther hath so increasyd my sorowe, and put me in suche anxyete of mynd, that thys nygth my brethe and wynde, by sythyng, was so short, that I was, by the space of thre owers, as one that shuld have dyde. Wherfor, yf ye love my lyf, breke awey thys evenyng, and come hyther, to thyntent I may open my mynde unto yow, and instruct yow of the same, wych I can nat commyt to wryttyng; but yt ys necessary that the same be done by mutuel conferens with yow, by mowth, and that I may have your cownsell opon the same. Yf thys tyme be put ovyr, yt shall nat lye in your poore to provyde the remedye. Yf I mygth, I wold nat fayle, rather then thys my spekyng with yow shalbe put ovyr and delayd, to come on my fote to yow. At the reverence of God take summe payne nowe for me, and forsake me nat, in thys myn extrème nede; and wher as I can nat, God shall rewarde yow. Nowe ys the tyme to shewe, whether ye love me or nat. Wherfor, in any

[1] Tanner, in his Notitia Monastica, says, "This was one of the first and biggest of the "monasteries dissolved by Cardinal Wolsey." "The site and greatest part of the lands and "churches, belonging to this monastery, were granted by King Henry VIII. to Christ Church in "Oxford."

[2] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 10. Holograph. Ellis, who has printed it, conjectures, and probably with justice, that it was addressed to Crumwell.

wyse,

wyse, take in thys purpose sume lytyl tyme; ye shall nat tary here long; in the wych your commyng I shal shewe yow mynd, in all suche thynges as ye have wryttyn to me, for I am now in no good poynt to wryte at the legnthe any thyng, nor shalbe abyll to do any, yf I contynue in thys cas, nam dies mei famentur speke with Mr Nores[1] affore your commyng, of whom ye may [*learn*] summe specialties, yf the despleasure of my Lady Anne be [*some*] what asswaged, as I pray God the same may be, then yt shuld that, by summe convenyent meane, she be farther laboryd ys the onely helpe and remedy, all possible meanes atteyning of hyr favour, I have, God knowyth, nowe to shewe cherytie, pety, your wyse

CLXXXVIII. Wolsey *to* Crumwell.[2]

Myn onely ayder in thys myn intollerable anxiete and hevynes; thes shalbe not onely to thancke yow for your kynde letters, so long lokyd for, but also to desyre yow, nowe that the Parliment ys prorogyd[3], and that the Kynges Hyghnes intendyth to take, affore hys departyng from Yorke Place[4], consernyng myn intertenement, and how I shalbe ordyryd, a resolution, to solycyte and imploy all yowr wyt, good wyl, and polycy, in al places, wher as ye shall thinke good may be donne, that the seyd resolution may be to my comfort, and accordyng to the poore degre that God hath kallyd me unto, and to the best that can be atteynyd; wherin Mr Secretary ys to be laburyd, and my Lordes of Northfolke and Suffolke, [*who*] knowyth honor, and what ys convenyent to be done with the Kynges honor, in thys behalf; and can call to remembrance what [*hath*] beyn promysed onto me; opon the trust and confydens wherof, [*I have*] done, and made my submyssyon, puttyng me holly in [*the*] Kynges moste gracyous handes; who by the rigor of hys [*lawes*] cowde not have hade so myche as Hys Grace

[1] Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole, who is said to have purposely met the Cardinal, on his road from Putney to Esher, when he was obliged to leave London.

[2] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 24. Holograph.

[3] The prorogation was made on the 17th of December 1529.

[4] The King passed Christmas at Greenwich.

nowe

nowe hath the les, usyng mercy. My trust therfor ys, that in ther handys, summe charyte and compassyon and effectuall solycytacion, myn ende shall be determynyd, and also honorable. And that beseche yow eftsonys to omyt no tyme, ne moste effectually; desyryng yow to wryte [*from*] tyme to tyme, howe ye spede. And

[*Eight lines unintelligible.*]

howe ye have sped this daye, eyther by your letters, or by your p[*resence*], and yf ye sende and come not to morowe[1], I trust ye will bryng, on Monday, the resolution of all thynges; in the exspectacyon wherof, I shall thyncke every day a yeere. Helpe me therfore, at the reverence of Crystes passyon, that I may come to repose and quyetnes. Nowe I trust M[r] Nores wole shewe hys old love towardes me. Mr. Secretary hath promysyd me to do hys best. And thus commyttyng all my thynges to your onely good handlyng, I beseche our Lorde to send yow good s[*uccess.*]

I forbere to send any man to solycyte my causys, that ye shall, by yowr wysdom and frendly dylygence therin, bryng the same to a fynal good ende; prayng God to do accordyng to my exspectation; and besydes my p so requyte your paynes, that ye shal thyncke the same imployed. My Lordes of Norfolke and Suffolke, who hertys, muste be effectualy laboryd; for yt ys ther and settyng forwardes, that shal helpe the es meaner persons shal also do good. And thus [*fare ye well. From*] Asher, thys afternone, with sorowful h[*eart, from him, who*] ys assurydly yours, and lokyth to have word

[1] This fixes the date of this letter to the 18th of December.

CLXXXIX. Wolsey *to* Crumwell.[1]

Myn owne good, trusty, and moste assuryd refugye in thys my cala[*mity*]. Thow beyng incomberyd with hevynes, and anxiete of mynde, by the [*reason*] wherof yt ys not in my pour to remembyr all thynges, yet trustyng yn your zelle and affection towardes me, I have no dowth, but that wych, on my parte, lackyth, shalbe on your behalf suppleyd; wherof I most hertyly pray yow, with your accustomable wysedom and dexteryte. And[2] as towchyng the artycles leyd unto me, wherof a gret parte be untrewe, and thos wych be true, be of suche sorte that, by the doyng of them, no malese or ontrewthe can be justely arrectyd unto me, neyther to the Princes parson, nor to the incommodytie of hys reame and subjectes, me seme the more remorse and pety the Kyng shuld have on me. And in thys ma[*tter*] me semyth ye may be playne to Mr Tresorrer, and specyally [*to Master*] Stevyns[3]; who, opon consideration therof, may be the the Kyng in allottyng and appoynttyng of my ; yf he lyste, no man can do me more goode. And y your sylf referre that hys oppynyon was, that I shuld [*have no*] lesse than 4000 pownde yerely to lyve wyth, wych, myn degre consyderyd, ys with the leste. I cowde not forbere in remembrance hereof, remyttyng the betteryng therof and good handelyng. And as towchyng the coyne with the letters and bage in the same, ye may Robert Amadas[4], and other offycers of the[5]

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1 From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 18. Holograph.

2 This passage shews this to be the letter quoted by Fiddes, p. 505, and Collections, p. 258. Fiddes states it to have been written from Esher. The conclusion was probably existing, when he saw the letter.

3 Gardyner, Secretary of State. Ellis, in his 2d series, Vol. 2. pages 7 and 10, has published, from the Ashmolean Museum, two letters written by the Cardinal to the Secretary. They had been previously published by Grove, in his Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey, Vol. 4. p. 350, 352, who states the originals to be then in the hands of Mr. Littleton. A letter in the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 370, from Sir Ralph Sadleyr to Crumwell, shews that Wolsey ought not to have relied on the friendship of Gardyner.

4 Master of the Jewels.

5 The remainder of this letter, about seven lines, is so mutilated as to be unintelligible.

CXC. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MY onely refugy and ayde. I have, accordyng to your wryttyng, and also Mastyr Secretarys, desyryd him[2] to move the Kynges Grace, for the inlargyng of Mr Nores fee to the summe of £100 or two; for the revertion to Mr Treasurer of suche offyces as the Lorde Sandes have in fermam, with the amplyation of the fee, above the ordynary, to £40 by the yeere; and for Mr Comptroller[3] £40 by the yeere; and for Mr Russell £20 by the yeere, and, the Kyng beyng so pleasyd, I wold yt wer £40, or fyfty. Thys I schal do, with all myn herte, and more, as ye shal thynke exspedyent; for I assure yow, yt ys not the good and multe of thys worlde that I esteme, and that ye shall well perceyve by the exsperyens of my lyvyng here after. I desyre onely to have a convenyent portion for the intertenement of my house, [*and*] to do good to my poore servauntes and kynnysfolkes, and [*to*] bestowe in almes; wych wolde not be furnyshed [*by the year*]ly revenuys of Yorke. Wherfor, yf the Kynges Hyghnes [*command*] me to leve Wynchester and Seynt Albons, I trust [*that by favour*] of thos nobyll men and frendes, and by your [*good offices*], I shall have summe honest yeerly pencion owt [*of the same. For*[4]], as God be my judge, I nevyr thowgth, and [*so I was assured*] at the makyng of my submyssyon, to depart [*from any of my pro*[4]]-motions. For the rygor of the lawe, for [*any offence that can*[4]] be arrectyd unto me, deservyth no [*such punishment*] les the same moderyd with mercy [*And so trustyng in the King's goodness, I*[4]] have [*come to this point. I hope His Grace will consider the*[4]] same accordingly. And also stuffyd for the apparell the Kynges Grace what thes nobyll men dyd other wyse promyse, on ther honors, to me, opon trust whereof, I made the fynale gyft of myn hole estat. I pray God that they may honorably consyder the same. I trust to morowe ye shall bryng to me better tydynges, and more comfortable resolucion. As for any furr of sabyllys, I have non, that ys any thyng

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 23. Holograph.

[2] See the last letter quoted from Ellis, p. 12, 13.

[3] Sir Henry Guildford.

[4] These passages are supplied from Fiddes's Collections, p. 258.; but the sentence, "*I have "had fair words, but little comfortable deeds,*" which he has inserted after "the same accord-"yngly," is an interpolation; for there is not space, in which such a passage could have been written. The rest of the lacunæ are filled from conjecture.

worthe. At your commyng hythyr to morowe, ye shall have the syght of all myn appairell, and yf ther be any parte therof mete to be presentyd to Mr Comptroller, I shall not fayle to geve the same, with as good hert, as I w[*ould*] he shuld do for me. And thus praying yow to omytt no thyng, that may be for the advauncement of my good, [*and*] trustyng that ye wolbe here accordyng to your wrytyng, [*I wish*] yow good nygth, with my blessyng, and herty prayers At Asher[1], at 7 of the clocke thys evenyng, with the [*heavy*] herte of yours assurydly,

T. CAR[lis] EBOR.

Omissa, tuo ingenio supleas, un
Yff yt mygth be possybyll to rete
Kyng had the most parte of the
better then to leve the same
ellys ther mygth somme good
the same. Se ye nat wh
shall thyncke best.

CXCI. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

THYS nygth, syttyng at soper with hevy hert, aryvyd your comfortable letters, for the wych I beseche God to rewarde yow; and sythyns ye have set forth good practysys consernyng the Bushopryche of Wyncester, with my goode frendes, I beseche yow effectually to folowe the same. And all thowe that ye be advysyd not to move the Kyng therin, yet let not to move Hys Grace, as of your sylf; inferryng suche pleasure and commodyte, as may come as well to Hys Hyghnes therby, as to me; and alweys to consyder with your sylf, that in space growyth grace. Hys Hyghnes, at no mannys hand, can have suche commodytes therby, as at myn. And the thyng wel by yow openyd unto His Majeste, I dowt not but he wol geve herkynnyng therunto. Take boldnes unto yow, and be not afferd to lorde[3] Hys Grace; my mynde gevyth me ye shalbe wel herd, and do [*more herein*] then many other. And wher as ye wyl me to sende unto yow to morowe

[1] Wolsey was removed from Esher to Richmond, very early in February 1530.
[2] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 20. Holograph.
[3] Sic in Orig. somme

somme trustyng servandes, for [*the*] recevyng of 500*l.*, for the diffrayng of my servauntes howsold; thys ys fere from the 2000 markes mencyonyd by my Lorde of Norfolk, and from also the , wych Mr Secretary, as ye knowe, by hys letters [*promised*] that I shuld have before thys good tyme. gret thynges by worde promysyd, but in dede very smale. At the distrybucion of thys 500*l.* have yow present, and with your assystens suche wyse as mygth be to the contentation . Wherfor, yf ye may be here, not hynderyng yt shuld be gretly to my comfort notyfyed unto me of thys 500*l.* payd, wych wole not dyffray my charges due, and to be leyd owt at thys tyme; yt ys to be consyderyd, how I shall lyve aftyrwardes, tyl more shall comme yn. And in reteynyng and puttyng awey of my servaundes, yt ys also to be proporcyonyd, accordyng to that wych I shal have to lyve with; so that, in thys dyscharge, and al other my thynges, I can not, nor purpose to do, no thyng but by your advyse; not dowttyng but to morowe I shal here further from yow, yf ye come not your sylf, bryngyng the money with yow, specyfyd in your letters; for without yow I can do no thyng, my hert ys so ful of hevynes, wych I fere me hath takyn suche rotys, that the same can [*never*] be anellyd. And thus byddyng yow good nygth, and gevyng yow Godes blessyng, and myn, I bede yow [*heartily fare*]wel; praying yow to remembyr Mr Secretary of the of hys letter, and my Lorde of Norfolke of and seynges unto yow: thys dayly alte[*ration keepeth*] me in suche agony, that I had lever be ded [*than alive. Iterum*] et iterum, vale. Yours assurydly,

CXCII. Wolsey *to* Gardyner.

Myne owne goode Mastyr Secretary. Aftyr my moste herty recommendatyons, wyth lycke thanckes for your goodnes towardes me; thes shalbe to advertyse yow, that I have beyn informyd by my trusty frende, Thomas Crowmwell, that ye have sygnyfyd onto hym, to my synguler consolacyon, howe that the

[1] From the Lansdowne Collection in the Museum, Vol. 1236. leaf 12. Holograph. It has been published by Strype, in the Appendix to his Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 91. and by Ellis, 1st series, Vol. 2. p. 5.

Kynges

Kynges Hyghnes, movyd wyth pety and compassyon, and of hys excellent goodnes and cheryte, consyderyng the lamentable condicyon and stat that I stand yn, hath wyllyd yow, with other Lordes and Mastyrs of hys honorable Cownsell, to intende to the perfygttyng and absolvyng, wythout further tracte or delay, of myn end and appoyntement; and that my pardon shulde be made in the moste ample forme, that my cownsell cowde devyse. For thys the Kynges moste gracyous remembrance, procedyng of hym sylf, I accompt my sylf not onely moste bowndyn to serve, and pray for the preservacyon of Hys moste royal Majeste, but also thancke God, that ye have occasyon gevyn onto yow, to be a sollycytor and setterforth of suche thynges, as do and shall conserne my seyd ende; in the makyng and compownyng wherof, myn assuryd trust ys, that ye wole shewe the love and affeccyon wych ye have and bere towardes me, your olde lover and frende; so declaryng your sylf therin, that the worlde may parceyve that, by yowr good meanys, the Kyng ys the better goode lorde unto me; and that nowe, newly in maner commyng to the world, ther may be suche resspect had to my poore degre, olde age, and longe contynued servys, as shal be to the Kynges hygh honor, and your gret prayse and laude: wych ondowttydly shall folowe, yf ye extende yowr benyvolens towardes me, and men perceyve that, by your wysdom and dexteryte, I shalbe relevyd, and, in thys my calamyte, holpyn. At the reverens, therfor, of God, myn owne goode Mr Secretary, and refugy, nowe set to your hande, that I may come to a laudable ende and reposse; seyng that I may be furnyshyd aftyr suche a sorte and maner, as I may ende my short tyme and lyff, to the honor of Crystes Churche, and the Prince. And besydys my dayly prayer and true hert, I shal so requyte your kyndnes, as ye shal have cause to thyncke the same to be wel imployd; lycke as my seyd trusty frende shal more amply shewe onto yow, to whom yt may please yow to geve ferme credens, and lovyng audyens; and I shal pray for the increase of your honor. Wryttyn at Asher, wyth the tremyllyng hand, and hevy hert of your assuryd lover and bedysman,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis^ EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the rygth honorable and
my synguler goode frende,
Mastyr Secretary.

CXCIII. Wolsey *to* Crumwell.[1]

Myn only comfort. At the reverens of God leve me not nowe; for yf ye do, I shal not longe lyve in thys wrechyd worlde. Ye wole not beleve howe I am alteryd; for that I have herde no thyng from yowe, of your procedynges and exspedicions in my maters, with the wych I supposyd, verely, that, accordyng to your wryttyng, ye wold have beyn here yesternygth. Thys delay makyth me to thyncke, that all thynges go not rygth. I fere moche that the sendyng of Mr Boner, with the dede, hath put yow in some dysspleasure; so God be my juge, and save my sowle, I ment no hurt therin, but gave hym in commandement, exspressly, that he shuld partycypat all suche thynges, as I had commyttyd unto hym, to yow, and no thyng to do, but as ye shuld advyse hym, as wel in the delyvery of the seyd dede, as in declaration of hys credens; wych, yf he hath not observyd, he hath done other wyse, than evyr I thowgth or commandyd. Yf he, for lake of wyte and exsperience, hath not, as I fere me, done wel, let nat [*me*] peryshe for the same, wych onedowttydly I shal do, yf ye nat, as ye have hitherto done. Alas, wyl ye se all your , to my utter confusyon, thus lost and caste awey, I nat ugth offendyng. Wole ye suffyr hym to peryshe, whom [*you have*] hytherto, to your hye meryte and lawde, preservyd in the cheryte be petyfull, and so ley to your wyse and and that I may be releved owt of this angustys nat here thys nygth, or send me such comfort, serteyne my hert. I am sure your love ys suche, that sequel. Alas, alas, what ys myn onhappy day to be in hope, and fynally all thyng . For the love of God desyre my Lorde and not to mystake any herwyth I do and wole, wych makyth me ful of hevynes and sorowe. For all lovys, and for Goddes sake, redube by your wysdom thys thyng, and bryng [*me*] to some quyetnes, and my thynges in ther goode trayne ageyne. Caste me not thus awey. Contynue in your accustumable goodnes, in reducyng my thynges to ther perfeccion. Thynke not, but that myn only trust ys in yow; for rather then ye shuld fynde the contrary, on my behalf, I wold my eys wer owt of my hede.

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 19. Holograph.

And

And moste effectualy besechyng yow, to bryng or send unto me, thys nygth, without fayle, my gret anede with the apportenance, I comyt yow to God, besechyng hym to send yow wel to fare, and to spede yow in al your doynges. Wryttyn thys mornyng, with a moste hevy hert, by your assuryd

T. CAR[lis] miser
infortunatus s

CXCIV. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MYN only comfort. I have, accordyng to the contentes of your letters, wryttyn as well to my Lorde Chancellour[2], as to my Lorde of Norfolkes Grace, my severall letters, wych I send unto yow here with, to be, after my moste herty and lowly recommendations, delyveryd; by the wych I declare that my mynde ys, that the indenture[3] yesterday by me sygnyd and sealyd, shuld be inrollyd, praying my Lorde Chancellour that yt may so be; trustyng nowe that I have so humbly and obedyently don and performyd all ther devysys, that nowe I shal have my pardon and restytutions, with conterpayne of the indenture. And lycke wyse I trust the Kynges Hyghnes wolde have, of hys hyghe charyte and vertue, consyderation of my obedyens, submyssyon, and humilyte; and the rather, at my Lorde of Norfolkes medyatyon. And wher as I wrot unto yow of the holywater of the Corte, I trowe ye [*are too*] depe of undyrstandyng, to thynke that I shuld meane [*any*] suche thyng to com from yow; yt shalbe gretly to my comfort to
by the dedys, that neyther I nor yow shalbe sprynkyllyd , beyng
very glad and desyrows to here and knowe by shalbe more
cherytably delt with, than I have hytherto leden a long tyme,
I pray God delyvre and bryng me lokes and vaveryng stormy
se, to the porte of Thus, withoute fayle, trustyng to have yow
to morowe . At Assher, thys Fryday[4], at 4 of the
with the rude hande and hevy herte of

(*Signed*) T. CAR[lis] [*EBOR.*]

(*Superscribed*)
To myn enterly belovyd Thomas
Croumwell, in all hast.

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 17. Holograph.

[2] Sir Thomas More.

[3] Probably the surrender to the King of York Place (afterwards the Palace of Whitehall), which is to be found in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 371.

[4] If Wolsey removed from Esher to Richmond at Candlemas, (as Cavendish states,) this Friday must have been the 28th of January.

CXCV. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

I CAN not exsprese howe gretly your letters have comfortyd me, beyng in maner in extreme dessperation. I beseche Our Lorde to rewarde yow for the same. And wher ye wold, I shuld, thys day, remove to Richmond Loge, yt ys not possybyll for me so to do, not havyng any provysyon ther; wherfor I most hertyly beseche, that lycke wyse as wer determynyd thys nygth to me ther, with your holsom medycyne, so ye wole take the payne to bryng the same hyther, thys nygth, wych be to the inestymabyll consolacion of me, and al my folkes. And thus Our Lorde send goode spede and exspedition in al my maters; with the rude hande of yours assurydly,

T. CAR[lis] EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To myn enterly belovyd
Thomas Croumwel, in
al haste.

CXCVI. CRUMWELL *to* WOLSEY.[2]

AFTRE my right hartie commendations to Your Grace. According to your desire, specified in your letters of answer to the request made unto youe by the Kinges Majestie, for the Treasourership of Yorke, I have so solicited the matier, bothe to His Hieghnes, and to Doctour Leighton, that bothe be content that your gift shall stande, so as Your Grace do accomplishe the tenour of His Hieghnes letters, nowe eftsones directed unto youe; whiche myn advise and counsail is, that you shall in any wise ensue, and that your Chauncelour shall do the semblable, in an other request made by His Majestie unto him, without staye, tracte, or further stycking. And in any thing elles, wherin I maye do unto Your Grace stede or pleasure, I shalbe as glad to doo thoffice of a frende, as yow shalbe to require the same of me. Thus moost hartely fare youe well. From S[t] James, beside Westminster, the 5th of Maye.[3]

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 22.

[2] From a minute, among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 3. No. 92.

[3] Wolsey was at this time at Southwell, where he remained from the 27th of April, to the end of August, or beginning of September, 1530.

CXCVII. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

Mr CROUMWELL. For as moche as thys present berrer departyth by post, for the dethe of Mr Larcke[2], on whos sowle Jhesu have mercy, and that I am in suche indyssposycyon of body and mynd, by the reason of suche gret hevyness as I am yn, beyng put from my slep and mete, for suche advertysmentes as I have had from yow of the dyssolucyon of my Colleges, with the smale comfort and apparance that I have to be relevyd by the Kynges Hyghnes in thys myn extreme nede, makyth me that I can not wrytt unto yow, for wepyng and sorowe. Wherfor thes shalbe not onely to geve onto yow my moste effectualle thanckes for suche gret paynes as ye have takyn in all my causes, trustyng so to requyte the same to your full satisfaction, [*as*] sone as I shalbe of more abylyte, but also to recommende [*my*] poore estat and Collegys to your and other goode [*frien*]des helpe and releff; besechyng God to inspyre in the Kynges hert more pety and compassyon, and to consyder [*in his*] moste nobyll hert, whether I have deservyd thus to be delt with; and that suche thynges as I have increase of Goddes honor, feyth, and relygyon, [*may not be*] extyncte and convertyd to other prophane and shall of lyclyhoode orte ende; referryng the redresse therof Godd, and to the Princes moste mercyful . Thus, with wepyng terys, I byd .

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection Appendix, leaf 25. Holograph. It is printed by Ellis.

[2] Lark was the father of Wolsey's mistress.

CXCVIII. WOLSEY *to* [A. WYNGFELD.][1]

MYN owne goode M[r] Antoney[2]. Aftyr my moste herty recommendations, with lycke thanckes for the goodnes, wych, as a moste lovyng, perfyght, and constante frende, ye have shewyd onto me in all my causys and poursuyttes, moste entirely prayng yow of contynuance; thes schalbe to desyr yow, that for as moche as the Deane and Canons of my pore Colleges in Oxford doth nowe repaire unto the Kynges Hyghnes[3], for knowlege of hys gracyous pleasur for ther estabyllyshement and contynuance, to be good mastyr onto them, and, in place and tyme, as ye schall nede and se cause, to helpe them with your sad, wyse cownsell, and good advertisement. And sythyns, as ye do well knowe, the seyd Colleges hath byn erectyd and induyd with landes by the [*Popes*] auctoryte, the Kynges moste royall assent concernyng the [*same*], in as effectuell wyse as coulde be devysyd by the Juggys
the lawes, and other well lernyd men, gret pite yt were, that for my commycion in the premynere, opon consyder respectes; as ye well knowe that these pore scollers and [*innocents*] schulde suffyr ether by dyssolution of ther body [*corporate*], or by takyng awey of any notable portion of [*their lands.*] Wherfor, opon my kneys, and in the
for the olde love and amyte that
move the Kyngis Hyghnes as far as in yowe shall
cannot be in consyens
convertyd to any other use, then of the sayd College. Thus doyng, ye shall bynde not onely them and me, more and more, but also, besydes our dayly prayers, to requyte your goodnes, as ye schall have cause to thyncke the same to be well imployed and bestowyd. As our Lord knowyth.

The same tenour to my Lorde Cheff Baron[4], mutatis mutandis.

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[1] From the Cottonian Collection, leaf 7 a. The letter is holograph, and appears to be a minute, from which more than one were written. It is printed by Ellis.

[2] Probably Sir Antony Wyngfeld.

[3] Wolsey wrote a holograph letter to the King, in favour of the Dean and Canons of his College in Oxford, which remains in a mutilated state, in the Cottonian Collection, leaf 7. and is printed by Ellis, 2d Series, Vol. 2. p. 33. He appears, after his fall, to have felt a deeper interest in his Colleges, than in any other subject, except perhaps his own subsistence.

[4] Sir Richard Lyster.

CXCIX. WOLSEY *to* SHELLEY.[1]

MYN owne good Mastyr Shelley. Aftyr my moste herty commendacions, thes shalbe, in moste entyre and effectuall wyse, to desyr yow, at the reverens of Godd, and in the wey of cheryte, and for the olde amyte and love that hath beyn betwyxt us, and for that I have usyd your cownsell therin, to be good mastyr to the poore Deane and Canons of the Cardynalles College in Oxford; and wyth your dyscrit cownsell, and favourable ayde, to helpe them nowe, in ther extreme nede, as well for the contynuance of [*their*] incorporat body, as also that no notable or gret portion of ther landes be takyn from them; for gret pety and severyte yt wer, for my commytion in the premynere, that the poore innocenttes schold suffyr; consydering that the seyd college hath byn erectyd by the Popys, and the Kynges royall grawnttes and assenttes, in as effectuell wyse, as ye, and othyr my masters, the Jugges, cowde devyse; by whos onely cownsell I dyrectyd all suche thynges, as consernyd the erection and estabyllyshement of the seyd College. On my kneeys, therfor, eftsonys I beseche yow, so to impone your favour, as that the rygor and severyte of the lawe be not executyd opon thys thyng; wych ys and schalbe to the increase of Goddes honor, vertue, and lernyng, and also [*to the*] benefygth and profygth of the comen welth of thys realme . Suerly whan yt schalbe cherytably veuyd and consyderyd, howe that [*the possessions of*] the monestaryes suppressyd was onely by the Popys [*and the*] Kynges grawnttes convertyd and translattyd to the use [*of the said*] College, yt schalbe percas sowndyd fer dyscrepant from [*a desire to*] converte any parte of them to any other use of clemency, pety, and compassyon evyr more so trustyng in Godd .

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[1] This letter, which comes from the same Collection, leaf 9, is likewise holograph. Part of it is printed by Ellis. Sir William Shelley was one of the Puisne Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

CC. Crumwell *to* Wolsey.[1]

Please it Your Grace to be advertised, that, after the receipt of your letters, dated at Southwell, on Saynt Laurence day[2], I perceyved how that Your Grace remayned in som displeasure and anxiete of mynde, for that I, by my letters[3], had before certefied you of the fynding certen offices[4] concerning your Busshopriche of Yorke; the fynding wherof, as I perceyve by your letters, ye do suppose should be moche to your dishonour and detriment. For the which intent, that Your Grace may put yourself in repose and quietacion of mynde, I have sent unto you this berer, who shall at length declare unto you, besides, the demonstracion of the copies of such offices as be drawen for that purpose, that the fynding of the said offices, savyng onlie that in the preamble of the same there is touched the conviction of Your Grace in the premunire, which all the wourld alredie knoweth, shalbe for your good, onelie profit, and availe, and yet your pardon[5] and restitucion stand in good and perfite effecte: so that Your Grace shall have no nede nether to be in fere of losse of any your spirituall or temporall goodes, or to be troubeled for the same, ne also to be put to any new sute, in the obteyning of any other pardon or restitution. And if in case your said pardon and restitution were in any parte insufficient, I assure Your Grace, I know that the Kinges Highnes wold it should be made as good, as by any counsaill it could be devised; and doubt ye not, but His Highnes is your gracyous and benigne Sovereigne Lorde, and wold in no wyse, that ye should be greved, molested, or troubeled. Wherefore it may please Your Grace to quiet your self, and to take the fynding of these offices pacientlie, and uppon the retourne of the same, there shalbe suche orders taken, that Your Grace shall not be interrupted in the receyving of your revenues, ne otherwise be molested in any maner case, for any new sute. As touching your Colledges, the offices shalbe founde; houbeit the Deane, and suche other as have sued to the Kinges Highnes, have had veray good answer, wherof I think they

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[1] From a minute, among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 3. No. 88.

[2] August 10.

[3] Crumwell appears, from Fiddes, to have written to the Cardinal, on this subject, on the 12th of July. Collections, p. 259.

[4] i. e. Inquests of office.

[5] Wolsey received a pardon and partial restitution in February 1530. They are printed in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 366 & 374.

have

have certified Your Grace, or this tyme. As touching the 1000 markes of the revenues of Wynchester, I doubt not but it shalbe obteyned at the audite. And concernyng Batyrsey, it may please Your Grace, that such thinges as ye have sent me the copies of, may be sent hither under seale, for they woll trust no scrowes, and also that serche may be made for Busshop Bothes [1] will concerning the same. Strangwissh [2] contynually cryeth, and maketh exclamacion in the Courte of you; insomuch that the Lordes of the Counsaill have determyned to wryte unto you in that behalf. Wold to Our Lorde, Your Grace wer rid of that man. As concerning the Prebend of Witwang, doubt ye not, but in that, all thing is, and shalbe, ordered to your good contentation.

Sir, I assure Your Grace, that ye be moch bounde to Our Lorde God, that in suche wise hathe suffered you so to behave and order your self, in thos partyes, to atteyne the good myndes and hertes of the people there, the reporte whereof in the Courte, and elles where in these parties, is and hathe ben to the aquyryng and augmentyng the good oppynyons of many persons towardes Your Grace; besechyng Your Grace, therfore, to contynue in the same, after suche a sort and fashyon as ye may daylye increase, not onlye in the favours of the peopull there, but also here and elles where, to the pleasure of God, and the Prynce. And notwithstonding your good, vertuous, and charitable demeaning and using yourself, in thos partyes, ys not by your enemies interpretyd after the best fashyon, yet always folow and persevere ye attemperatlye in suche things as, your worldlye affectyons sett apart, shall seme to stand best with the pleasure of God, and the Kyng. Sir [3], sum ther be, that doth alledge that Your Grace doth kepe to grete a house and famylye, and that ye are contynually buylding; for the love of God, therefore, I eftesones, as I often tymys have done, most hertelye beseche Your Grace to have respecte to every thing, and consyderyng the tyme, to refraygne your self, for a season, from al maner byldyngges, more then mere necessite requireth; which I assure Your Grace shall sease, and put to sylence, sum persons that moche spekyth of the same.

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[1] Lawrence Bothe or Booth, who was Archbishop of York from 1476 to 1480, annexed a house at Battersea to the See. Wolsey had granted the occupation of this house to Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, John Daunce, but did not intend that this grant should enable him to expel a kinswoman of the Cardinal, who also dwelt there; and when she was expelled, he complained bitterly of the injury in a letter to Crumwell, which is printed by Ellis, 2d Series, Vol. 2. p. 30.

[2] The next letter relates to the transaction here alluded to.

[3] This passage is given by Fiddes, Collections, p 260. with tolerable correctness; but the purport there given, of the rest of the same letter, is far from accurate.

For

For the geldinges which Your Grace dyd send me, I do most humblie and hertelie thanke you: beseching Your Grace to gyve ferther credens to this berer, who shall declare unto Your Grace other thinges not wryttyn.

I do rekyn Your Grace right happye, that ye be now at libertye to serve God, and to lern to experyment, how ye shall banyshe and exyle the vayn desyrys of this unstabyll woorld, which undowtydly dothe nothing elles but allure every person therin, and specyallye such as Our Lorde hath most indewyd with his gyftes, to desyre the affeccyons of theyr mynde to be satysfyed; in studying and sekyng wherof, besydes the gret travaylles and afflyccyons, that men suffer daylye, most persons bene dryvyn to extreme repentaunce, and, serching for plesure and felycyte, fynd nothing but trowbyll, sorow, anxyete, and adversyte. Wherfor, in myn oppynyon, Your Grace beeing as ye ar, I suppose ye woolde not be as ye were, to wyn a hundreth tymys as moche as ever ye were possessyd of.

The Busshop of Bayon [1] ys daylye lokyd for, and my Lord of Wyltshyre [2] ys cummyn home. The sayng here is, that the Emperour hathe good obbedyence of his subjectes in all thinges, savyng that they wyll not dissent from the Lutheran sekt. It ys also sayd, that the Emperour doth make musters for a gret armye to be preparyd ayeinst the Turke, to passe into Hungarye, for the recoverye of that regyon, and that the second son of the Emperour ys departyd this present lyffe. The newes here ys, that the Jermaynes wyll immedlye have a Generall Consaylle, for the reformacyon of many thinges. The Florentynes dothe styll contenew and defende the power of the Pope, and it ys supposyd that they shall vynce, by meane that ther ys a gret pestylence fallen amongyst them, being in the felde, of the Popis partye. Ther ys also a gret carystye in Italye of all maner of grayn, in so moche a quarter of whet ys worth generallye fortye shelyngges. They loke daylye for an Ambassadour from the Pope, who, at the ferthest, wilbe here within 14 dayes. The Kynges Highnes is this nyght at Amptell, and ther wyll contenew thes 14 dayes.

It may please Your Grace to pardon me, that I do not repayre unto yow at this tyme; for undowtydlie it ys not possyble, as this berer shall ferther declare unto Your Grace. Our Lord knowyth my wyll and mynde, and I trust verylye that Your Grace doth perfytlye thinke, that I woolde be gladde to see yow; and unfaynydlye I wolde have sene Your Grace long a thys, yf I hadde not bene lettyd by importune busynes.

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[1] John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, afterwards Cardinal.

[2] Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

Wherfor

Wherfor I eftsones most humblye beseche Your Grace of pardon, and though I am not with yow in person, yet be ye assuryd I am, and duryng my lyff shalbe, with Your Grace, in hert, spyryt, prayer, and servyce, to the uttermost of my poore and symple power. As knowyth Our Lorde, whom I most hertelye beseche to preserve Your Grace in long lyff, good helthe, with thincreace of your hertys desyre. At London, the 18th daye of Auguste.

I beseche Your Grace to depeche this berer, whom I myght evyll have forborne at this tyme, but onlye that I persayvid, by your letters, that ye moche desyryd to be put in quyetacyon, and that besyd my self, I coulde not send any, that coulde certefye Your Grace of the effecte of such thinges, as ye desyre to be answeryd in, but onelye he; eftsonys beseching Your Grace spedelye to send hym home, for my busynes ys such that I cannot lakke hym.

CCI. Wolsey *to the* Duke *of* Norfolk.[1]

My singuler and special good Lorde. After myn humble recommendations, with my daily prayer, this shalbe to advertise Your Grace, that I have received the Kinges mooste honourable and gratious letters, conteynyng howe that complaint hath ben made unto His Highnes, on the behalf of Thomas Strangwise Esquier[2], againste me, for the non payment of suche money as he pretendeth that I shulde owe unto hym, for the warde of Bowes; wherin, in consideration of the calamitie of the said Strangwise, and recoverye of his right and duetie, as to justice apperteyneth, the Kinges saide Highnes pleasure

1 From Wolsey's Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House.

2 Among the Miscellaneous Letters in the reign of Henry VIII. in the same repository, Vol. 3. leaf 103. is a contemporary copy of one from Mr. Strangwise to the Duke of Norfolk, which elucidates the transaction here referred to.

" Mooste humbly I beseche Your Grace to have piete of my long imprisonment, and to " helpe me to obteigne a letter frome the Kinges Highnes to my Lorde Cardinall, commaundyng " hym to paye me the £700 whiche was awarded me by Sir William Gascon and Crumwel, " and by the ful assent and agrement of my saide Lorde Cardynal. And sens he had the " Kinges letters of pardon, he wrote to the Kinges Highnes, that he oweth me the foresaide " somme of £700, affirmyng the forsaide awarde to be good. And over and above the premisses, " this

pleasure is, that I shulde, discussing the equitie of the saide demaundes with my self, either by mediation of friendes to agree with hym, if I shal see any suche cause, or elles to sende unto His Magestie and honourable Counsail, som person instructed to make answer to the saide demaundes, soo that, upon due examynation, justice maye be mynistred accordingly.

My singuler good Lorde, as herunto I accompte my self mooste bowndyn and obligyd to praye for the Kinges Highnes and Your Grace, for that it hath pleased His Majestie to write soo gratiously and indifferently, in this behalf, wherby his high justice and indifferencie doith manyfestely appere, in not giving credence to the saide Strangwise surmyses, til myn answer may be herde by suche a person, as I shall send for the declaration therof; by the whiche I doubte not it shal manyfestely appere, that suche thinges as bee alleged by the saide Strangwise bee ferr discrepant from veritie and trouth, and that he oweth to have noo suche recompens as he demaundeth. Howe be it, that not withstanding, and the greate necessitie that I am in, with other respectes, whiche I beseche Your Grace in your nobyll, charitable, and pietefull hert to wey, I have been and ever shalbe, to be in quietnes, and oute of trowble, contented that, by mediation of friendes, som convenyent

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" this laste terme my saide Lorde Cardinal wrote to my Lorde Chauncellour, to my Lorde " Chief Judge, and to Mr Fitzherbert, and Mr Shelley, Justices, desiring theme to here and " determyn all the causes betwixt his counsail and me, in this behalf. And soo, accordingly, " they toke payne at lengh to examyne every thing; and, in conclusion, clerely determyned " that my saide Lorde Cardinal shulde paye me the £700, according to the forsaide awarde " made by Sir William Gascon and Cromewel, and they al to gither wrote a letter to my " saide Lorde Cardinal, according to the same, the copie of whiche letter I have sent to Your " Grace by this berer. Yet, not withstondinge al the premisses, I can get noo payment, to " myn utter undoing for ever, excepte Your Grace helpe me, as beforesaide, to a good quyk " letter from the Kinges Highnes to hym, and then I knowe wel, I shal have an ende made " with me incontynent. I have made a supplication to his saide Highnes, for the obteynyng " of his mooste gratious letter to my saide Lorde Cardinall. And I beseche Your Grace " helpe me, and, if I live, though I may doo Your Grace non other service, I shall praye for " you. My Lord Hussey shewed me that ye wolde be good and gratious Lorde to me, " and helpe me to thobteynyng of the forsaide £700. It is mervail that he can make any " further delayes of the saide money, seing that my Lorde Chauncellour, and the Judges, " have soo clerely determyned the matier, by his owne suete and requeste to theme, besides " the arbitrement beforesaide, and his confession to the Kinges Highnes that he oweth me " the forsaide some of £700. And if it were paied me, it wold not al ammounte to the 3rde " parte of the losses whiche I have susteyned by hym, as is well knowen.

" Mooste humbly at your commaundement,

" Thomas Strangwise."

(*Superscribed*)

" To my Lorde of Norfolkes Grace."

Strype, in the Appendix to his Memorials, Vol. 2. p. 93, gives a letter from the Cardinal to the Secretary on this subject.

ende might be made betwixt hym and me; and, for the same purpose, I have, within these thre daies after the delivery of the Kynges saide letter, written to my trusty friende, Mr Crumwell, to make certain reasonnable offers to the saide Strangwise, for that intent, and if he cannot conduce and bring hym to som reasonnable poynt, upon knowlege therof I shal not faile to sende som other person, sufficiently instructed, to make answere to his demaundes, soo that there shall appere in me noo wilfulnes or refusel, either to be ordred by mediation of friendes, or by the due course of justice. Mooste humbly beseching Your Grace to be graciouse, favourable, and good Lorde to me, in this and other my sutys and causys, and to considre the poore state and condition that I am yn, wherby ye shal deserve high thankes of God, and bynde me, as I am, to bee your daily chapplain and bedisman. As Our Lorde knoweth, who alwayes preserve and kepe Your good Grace with encrease of honour. From my poore house at Suthwell, the 25th daye of Auguste.

CCII. WOLSEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MYN owne lovyng Mr Crumwell. These shalbe not onely in [*right*] herty and lovyng maner to salute yow, but also to sygnyfye, [*that*] I am gretly desyrows to undyrstand and here from yow, h[*ow*] afferys stand and procede, not onely consernyng my Colleges, [*but*] also myn owne poore estat, in the releff wherof myn ondow[*bted*] trust ys, that ye woll, in all placys and tymys, shewe yowrselfe as myn assuryd frinde and onely comfort. And suerly, [*if you knew*] in what hevynes of mynde I am yn presently, and [*that the*] same dayly more and more do increase, I have no dow[*bt, that*] your gentyl hert wolde have compassyon therof, and that [*by all*] possybyll meanys ye wold studdy and labor for and releff. And albeyt I have acquyettyd my my[*nd with your*] assurance, consernyng the inquysycions of the landes apper[*taining unto*] my poore Archbysheopryche, yet such bruttes and opp sprongyn therof, in thes partes, that I am wery of undyrstand and here the same, ther ys no thyng

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[1] This is holograph, from the Cottonian Collection, Appendix, leaf 13. It is printed by Ellis.

here

here lamentation and mornyng, not knowyng sertenly
I pray God that I may be onys in reposse, and may be had
to my poore estat and old servys, ye be contynue yt, wher
ye may reduce all my thynges and dexteritie to summe
substancyall trayne, and in your powre to make my Lorde
of Northfolke I am moste desyrows; and havyng suche
to the Kynges presens, ye may from tyme
forthe my causys, at the reverens of God, to your gret
meryte

. And fynally .

END OF PART I.

STATE PAPERS.

King Henry the Eighth.

Part II.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

The King and his Ministers.

1530—1547.

Although this part of the work extends, nominally, from the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, in 1529, to the death of Henry VIII., in January 1547, yet, for the reasons given in the General Preface, it is very scanty, until the year 1540. Before that date, very few letters are supplied from the State Paper Office. After it, very little is derived from any other source. Even there, a chasm exists, from May 1542 to June 1543, for which no obvious reason presents itself.

It will be seen that Crumwell, after the fall of his master, Wolsey, gained on the affections of Henry VIII., till he acquired as great an ascendency, and nearly as much power, as the Cardinal had possessed during the preceding part of the reign; and, whatever office he happened to hold, he was looked up to, as the mover of the entire machine of the State. After his disgrace, the King issued his orders on various subjects to different ministers; but it is remarkable, how little the attention of any of them was confined to matters within his own department. It is not so surprising that Crumwell, who was the head of the Government, though he only held the office of Lord Privy Seal, should be found procuring supplies of money, in 1536 (pp. 478—488, 510). But we shall see Wriothesley, also, after he had become Lord Chancellor, exerting himself, not only for the same object, but also in the purveyance of clothing and provisions (pp. 767, 830, 835, 839, 879).

Several letters are inserted, with the view of drawing a lively picture of the puny efforts of the English Navy at this period, and of the dismay which was excited, during the war with France, in 1544 and 1545, by the presence of an enemy's fleet in the English Channel. In the watchward and countersign given out in the Lord Admiral's

Admiral's orders, on the 10th of August 1545, we may trace the origin of the national song, " God save the King," more than half a century earlier than the date which is usually assigned to it (p. 814).

No one is unaware of the scantiness of provisions, and the difficulty in their conveyance, which obliged our ancient Monarchs to remove their Court from place to place, for fear of producing famine. In the preceding part, we saw several instances of this scarcity, particularly where the visit of Charles V. was postponed, lest the stock of wine should be exhausted, (p. 67.) and lest there should not be sufficient fish for Lent (p. 94). Those, at least, were deemed plausible reasons to be assigned for such postponement. In this part we find an apprehension, of a similar kind, given as one of the grounds for not allowing James V. to pass with his young Queen through England, on their route from France to Scotland (p. 536).

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STATE PAPERS.

Part II.

I. Bishop Longland, Dr. Fox, *and* Dr. Bell *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Your Highnes to be advertised, that sithin the receypte of Your Graces letters to us directed, conteynyng Your Graces mynde and pleasure for the orderyng in our doynges here; forasmoche as contynually endevoring ourself, according to our moost bounden duties, for the acchevyng of Your Highnes purpose, we were in doubte always, withoute knowleage of any certaintie, what sholde ensue: we thought moost convenyent therfor, to dyffer the sendyng of any letters unto Your Highnes, untyl suche tyme as we might have summe certain matier to signifie unto Your Grace; whiche, after long tariaunce, and moche difficultie, we have attayned this daye; that is to say, the consente of all the hole Unyversite, that the decisyon of the saide Doctours and Bachelars, whiche be chosen to decyde your cawse, sholde be reputed and taken as the dyffynytion and determynation of the hole Unyversite. For the attaynyng wherof, it maye like Your Highnes to understande, that after the election beyng perfited, accordyng to the instrumente whiche I, Maister Foxe, this day sente unto Mr Secretarye, and thre publique disputàcions also had and kepte solemly in the Dyvynite Scholes, whiche we considered to be a very honourable cawse of differring of the acte, and moost convenyente waye to entertayne the multitude, untill suche tyme as we might obteigne their saide consente; yesterday we, Maister Bell and Maister Foxe, taking with us Doctour Coxe, and the Warden of Allsowle Colleage [1], first called before us the Regentes, in whom we thought all the

[1] Robert Woodward.

doubte consysted: purposing unto them, howe moche it sholde conferre to the redubbing of all suche displeasours, and inconvenyences, as might ensue unto them, upon Your Graces indignacion, conceaved most worthely agayne them, for their ungoodly behavour, used heretofore towardes Your Highnes; if nowe, at the lest wise, they wolde shewe and declare their good conformyte, in submytting themself, and their hole opynyons, to suche ordre, as had been devysed by the mooste sage and wise Doctours of the Unyversite; desired them, as of ourself, for somoche we wolde be very sorye to have cawse to make suche reaporte of them, as might, herafter, be occasion of their noo litel hinderance and utter confusion, beyng sure, neverthelesse, that the determynation, maugre their willis, shulde take and have good effecte and expediccion, that they wolde be contente the determynation of the Doctours sholde be taken and reputed as the determynation of the hole Unyversite. Wherunto diverse answered us very frowardely. Albe it, fynally cawsing them to devyde themself in to two partes, we had of our opynyon 27, and of the contrary parte ther was but 22. After whiche experience had of the good willis of the more parte, this mornyng, first we called Your Graces frendes unto us, and making overture unto them of our purpose, wherin we founde them all very agreable, it was concluded among us, to call a Convocatyon at after noon; in whiche Convocation, first calling a parte the Faculte of Dyvynyte, and, after them, the Faculte of Lawe Canon, and thirdely, the Faculte of Cyvyle, and fourthely, the Faculte of Phisike, and, after them, the Bachelars of Dyvynite, and Non-Regentes, and cawsing them, oon by oon, openly to shewe their myndes; we founde them all, excepte eight or ten, very conformable, and desirous to fulfill our saide desire, soo that then the oonly let and impedymente was in the Regentes. And forasmoche as practisyng with the Presidentes of the Colleages here, all the mornyng before, howe to attayne the saide Regentes good willis, it was devysed we sholde call the company of every Howse, singulerly, oon by oon, to shewe and give their voices in a secreate scrutenye; setting allwaies the Maister of their Colleage by me, the Bishopp of Lincoln [1], the Commyssary, and Proctours, to know if they dyd with us or noo, whiche had before promysed us, and their Maisters, soo to doo. And soo, fynally, had for our parte seven and thirty, our adversaryes having, on their side, but fyve and twentye. Wheruppon, desiring the Commyssary to publisshe the saide scrutenyes, we caused him also, there and thanne, ymedyately to make a decre theruppon, accordyng to suche fourme, as we sende here unto Your

[1] He was Chancellor of the University.

Grace.

Grace.[1] And soo, all thinges nowe havyng good successe, we entende to morowe to call all the Judges to gither, and after a Masse of the Holy Ghoost, (whiche I, the Bishopp of Lincoln, purpose to celebrate, God willing) to procede to the determynacyon; whiche bringing to good effecte, and as we trust to Your Graces owne desire, at after noon we purpose to have their saide determynation redd opynly, in a grete Convocation; wher also, eight must be chosen by the Commyssarye and the Proctours, to oversee and correcte the instrumente soo made, before it be sealed; whiche eight, forsomoche the Commyssary and the Proctours will chose suche, as we shall thinke good, ther is noo dowbte, but the same shalbe by them approved. And if we may have the instrumente well writen and clene, we doubte not but it shalbe sealed in the same Convocation, orellis the next morowe, withowte faile; whiche thinges doon, we entende to give them leave here to procede unto their Acte of Commencement, and soo to repayre to Your Highnes, with all dylygence, onles Your Grace shall commaunde us the contrary. At which our commyng, we shall declare unto Your Highnes, more amply, the hole cyrcumstance of all our procedynges here. Thus we pray Almighty God, to preserve your moost nooble and royall astate. At Oxforde, the 5th daye of Aprill.

Your Highnes mooste humble
subjectes and servauntes,
(*Signed*) JOHN LINCOLL'
(*Signed*) EDWARDE FOXE.
(*Signed*) JOHN BELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kings Highnes.

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[1] "Copia decreti, facti per Commissarios, quarto die Aprilis, post publicationem "scrutiniorum.

"Nos Johannes Cottisforde, hujus Alme Universitatis Oxoniæ Commissarius, autoritate et "consensu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, et diffinimus, "majorem partem omnium Doctorum et Magistrorum, tam Regencium, quam Non Regencium, "singularium facultatum hujus Alme Universitatis Oxoniæ, concessisse, et consensum pariter "et assensum suum prebuisse, quod determinatio, diffinitio, et responsio ad questionem nobis, "ex parte Serenissimi Domini Regis, nuper propositam, per illos triginta tres Doctores et "Bacchalaurios ad id per Facultatem Theologiæ nuper electos, sive per majorem partem "eorum, facienda, habeatur, censeatur, et reputetur pro diffinitione, determinatione, et "responsione totius hujus Universitatis, et quod liceat Dominis Commissario et Procuratoribus, "literis, super prefata determinatione per eosdem concipiendis, sigillum commune Universitatis "apponere."

II. INSTRUCTIONS, yoven by the Kinges Highnes unto his trustie Counsailour Thomas Crumwell, to be declared, on his behalf, to his Lerned Counsaill, and indelayedlie to be put in execucyon, this Terme of Saynt Michaell, in the 23ti yere of his most victoryous reigne[1].

FURST, his pleasure is, that Mr Attourney shall procede and call for judgemente ayenst Adam Travers, Robert Clyff, Thomas Pelles, John Parker, and Rowlande Philippes, which alredie have confessed before his Justice their offence in the Premunire.

Item, that Mr Attourney shall also procede ayenst Peter Ligham, Deane of the Arches, according to his lawes, whiche Peter as yet hathe not confessed, but stondeth in termes of defence.

Item, to make processe, and to prosecute ayenst Charles, Busshop of Hereforde[2], according to the lawes, with all spede, if he do not agree.

Item, that fynall assurances be made, devysed, and concluded for suche exchaunges, as the Kynges Highnes hathe made with divers persons, as the Abbot of Westminster[3], the Pryour of Charterhouse, the Maister of Cristes College of Cambrige, the Lorde of Saynt Johns, the Abbote of Saynt Albanes, the Abbot of Waltham, and the Provoust of Eton; and courtes to be kept, and possession, with attournement of the tenauntes, taken to the Kynges use, in all the landes exchaunged.

Item, that Mr Attourney shall procede ayenst the owners of the galeys and shippes now being at Hampton[4], which now have brought in malvesies, for not bringing in of bowestaves, contrarie to the acte made in the 12th yere of Kyng Edwarde the Fourth.[5]

Item, that Mr Attourney shall make sharpe proces agenst Sir Thomas Seymour, Knight, if he will not otherwise agree.

Item, that all obligations for conveyeng of corne, and other greyn, may be called out of the handes of the Customers; and also that serche may be,

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[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 486. [2] Charles Booth, Bishop of Hereford.

[3] These several exchanges, with the exception of that with the Charterhouse, were carried into effect by the first six private acts of the ensuing session, 23 Henry VIII.

[4] Southampton.

[5] Stat. 12 Ed. IV. cap. 2. required the importation of four bowstaves for every ton of merchandize, imported from any country from which bowstaves had been brought, before that act passed. This law continued in force until 1822, when it was repealed, among numerous other obsoleté commercial regulations.

who

who hath caried corne and greyn, aswell uncustomed, as ayenst the Kynges commaundement and restraynte, and sharpe proces to be made ayenst them for the same, withoute any delaye.

Item, enquierie to be made of the seasour of the manour of Fendon, in the countie of Sussex; and to make processe ayenst Sir John Dudeley, for the mean proffites, for the tyme that it hathe ben in his handes by intrusion.

Item, a communycacyon to be had with my Lorde Mountagewe, for the cleryng of certayn londes yoven to the Duke of Richemonde.

Item, to call for a boke, made by Nanffan, concerning the Dukedom of Cornewaill, wherein is alledged many thinges concerning the Kynges yerelie proffite.

Item, that Sir John Dudeley, and also the Lorde Bertley, may be commoned with, for the title of the manour of Bertley Horns[1], Wotton under Edge, and other manours graunted to the Kyng, of famous memorie, Henry the VIIth, and to his heires males; and to bryng the fee simple of the saide manours to the Kynges handes.

Item, the bill of Augmentacion of Treasons[2] to be made redie and engrossed ayenst the Parlyament; with a clause therein, that the fyrst accuser of any maner treason shall have his pardon, and a certen some for his labour, for the detectyon of any suche treason.

Item, a bill[3] to be made and devysed that no kerseys hereafter shalbe conveyed into the parties of Flaunders, Hollande, Brabant, and Zelande, ne into any the domynyons of the Duke of Burgoyn, oneles the caryers and conveyers of the same, do pay lyke custome, subsidies, and other dueties, as merchauntes straungiers, conveyeng kerseys, be accustomed to pay.

Item, a bill[4] to be devised that all maner malveseys, romeneys, sackes, bastardes, Gascoyn, and swete wynes, bought and provyded in Flaunders, Hollande, Zelande and Brabant, and brought into this realme, shall pay custome, subsidie, prisage, and butlerage, like as merchaunt straungiers be bounde to do.

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[1] The ancient possessions of the Berkeley family, which had been granted by Marquis Berkeley, in default of his own male issue, to King Henry VII. and his issue male, reverted to the family on the death of Edward VI., which event caused a failure of the male descendants of Henry VII.; so that the overtures, contemplated in these instructions, must have been made in vain.

[2] No statute of treason passed in the ensuing session, nor until stat. 26 Henry VIII. c. 13., which has not the clause here directed, in favour of an approver.

[3] This bill does not appear to have passed into a law.

[4] This bill became the act 21 Henry VIII. cap. 7.

Item,

Item, the bill[1] of Prymer Seasons to be in a redynes ayenst the begynnyng of the Parliament, and to put out of the same the clause concerning the Lordes.

Item, the bill[2] of Sewers to be studied, ingrossed, and put in a redynes, ayenst the begynnyng of the next Parliament.

Item, that the bill[3] of Apparell may also be studied, ingrossed, and put in a redynes, ayenst the begynning of the next Parliament.

Item, the recognisaunce of ten thousande poundes, wherein the Erle of Northumberlonde stondeth bounde to the Kyng, may be exemplified and put into the Kynges Thesaurie; and also the fyne with proclamation to be ingrossed.

Item, that communycation may be had, and proces to be made ayenst thexecutours of Mr Thomas Fitzwyllyam, Esquier, for a recognysaunce of a thousande poundes, due to the Kynges Highnes.

Item, a communication to be had with the executours of the olde Erle of Darby[4], for the some of £800, due to the Kinges Highnes, as it is alledged.

Item, that dyligent proces be made ayenst all the Kinges debitours, and that the King may have knowledge how forwardes they be, and who they be.

Item, that the indentures concluded to the Kinges use, bytwen certeyn persons, and the saide Erle of Northumberlonde, may also be put into the Kinges Thesaurie.

Item, that the saide Erles evydences may be called for, and delyvered, according to his convenauntes.

Item, proces to be made ayenst the jurie in Kent[5], for their veredicte, yovyn untrewlie ayenst the King, in thinformacyon for conveyeng grayne uncustomed.

Item, proces to be made also ayenst the jurie of Myddelsex[5], for their mysdemeanure in the informacyon for exercising of surgerye ayenst the statute.

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[1] The earliest legislative recognition of Primer Seisins, after this date, is in the statute of Wills, 32 Henry VIII. cap. 1., which merely reserves the King's right to them in lands devised.

[2] This instruction was executed by the act 21 Henry VIII. cap. 5., which still regulates the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Sewers.

[3] It seems not to have been ready until the succeeding session, when it was enacted, 24 Henry VIII. cap. 13.

[4] Thomas, earl of Derby, died 1521.

[5] The proceedings, adverted to in these two paragraphs, probably led to the act 23 Henry VIII. cap. 3., respecting Attaints.

Item,

Item, a bill[1] to be devised for every spirituall person, which that hathe or hereafter shall have any Busshopriche, or other spirituall promocyon within this realme, being resident, without the Kinges specyall lycence, in the Courte of Rome, or elles where, out of the realme, that the proffites of his Busshopricke, or other spirituall promocyon, shall yerelie, during suche tyme as he shall make his abode or residence in any straunge region or countrey, without lycence, as is aforsaide, be devyded in three partes, one thirde parte for himself, the other to be employed in the reparacyons of his manours, houses, and fermes, and the thirde parte to be distributed in deades of charytee; all this to be don by the appointement and ordenaunce of the Kynges Highnes, and his heires and successours, Kinges of England, for ever.

Item, som devise and order to be taken for regrating and forstalling[2] of corne, in every countrey.

Item, to call the Abbot of Tower Hill, and thAbbot of Beauley, for a thousande markes, supposed to be in their handes, levyed to the late Lorde Cardinalles use, of the Order of Cicestrences.

(*Indorsed by King Henry VIII. himself.*)
" Maters to be callyd apon by
" the lernyd Consell."

III. Coverdale *to* Crumwell.[3]

Most syngular good Maister. With dew humylyte I beseche unto your Mastyrschype all godly comforth, grace, and prosperus health. For so mych as your goodnesse is so great towarde me, your poore chylde, only thrugh the plenteusnesse of your favour and benyvolence, I am the booldyr of your goodnesse, in thys my rude style, yf yt lyke your favour, to revocate to your memory the godly communication, which your Mastyrschype had with me, your oratour, in Mastyr Moorys howse, upon Easter Eve, amongst many and dyverse frutefull exhortations, specyally of your syngular favour, and, by your most comfortabyll wordys, I persave your gracyus mynde towarde me. Wherefore, most honorabyll Mastyr, for the tendyr love of

[1] This bill does not appear to have passed into a law.

[2] This direction was not carried into effect 'till two years afterwards, by stat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 4.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

God,

God, and for the fervent zeall, that yow have to vertu and godly study, cordis genibus provolutus, I humbly desyre and beseche your goodnesse, of your gracyus helpe. Now I begyne to taste of Holy Schryptures; now (honour be to God) I am sett to the most swete smell of holy lettyres, with the godly savour of holy and awncyent Doctoures, unto whose knowlege I can not attayne, without dyversyte of bookys, as is not unknowne to your most excellent wysdome. Nothyng in the world I desyre, but bookys [1], as concernyng my lernyng; they onse had, I do not dowte, but Allmyghty God schall perfourme that in me, whych He, of Hys most plentyfull favour and grace, haith begone. Morover, as tuchyng my behavour (your Mastyrschypes mynde onse knowne) wyth all lowlynes I offer my self, not only to be ordred in all thynges, as schall pleyse your wysdome, but also as concernyng the education and instruction of other, alonly to ensewe your prudent cowncell; nam quicquid est in te concilij, nihil non politicum, nihil non divinum est; quicquid enim agis, nihil inconsulte agis, nusquam te primum philosophum prebes. De rore autem celi summam (more Jacob) surrepuisti benedictionem. De tuo ipso torrente maximo potari exopto, te quia coram alloqui non mediocriter cupio. Vale, decus literarum, conciliorum, omnium denique probitatum. From the Augustyns, this May Day.

Your chyld and beedman in
Jesu Chryst,
(*Signed*) FRERE MYLES COV'DALE.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the ryzt wyrschypfull, and hys most syngulare good Mastyr, Master Cromwell, thys be delyveryd, with dew maner.

IV. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* KING HENRY VIII. [2]

PLEASE it Your Highnes to understonde, that not willing to pretermyt any thing, to us prescribed in our instruccions, as nygh as we may; albeit we have not, at this tyme, any thing veray material to write unto Your Highnes, yet neverthelas, knowing aswel by letters, as by common fame, the moost

[1] The supply of books probably was the commencement of Crumwell's patronage of Coverdale, of which we shall see the fruit hereafter, in 1538. There is nothing to mark the year in which this letter was written; but, from the superscription, it was clearly before Crumwell became Secretary of State, and probably before he was of the Privy Council.

[2] From the Museum, Vespasian, F. XIII. leaf 131 b.

goodly

goodly passage that God hathe sent Your Grace, unto that your toun of Calais [1], we can not but, by thise our letters, after thankes to Almyghty God, make congratulacions unto Your Highnes of the same; beseching Jhesu so to secunde and prosper the residue of your successes, in this your absence, as we may sone likewise rejoyce of your most desired retourne.

The secrete serche hathe ben, this nyght passed, kepte in your Citie of London, and the suburbes of the same; in the whiche diverse have ben taken, to non excessive nombre, whiche be nowe in examination, withoute any notable thing, as yet, commen to our knowlege. After the reaport made, we shal signifie unto Your Grace any thing, that shalbe gretely material.

A fame there is, more then liketh us, of increace of the plage in your said citie, and the parties nere therunto, namely in the places nere aboute the Innes of your Courtes, and your Chauncery. We beseche Almyghty God to cease it, and long to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At your Counsail Chamber, at Westminster, the 14th day of October.

Your most humble subgettes and servauntes,

(*Signed*)

Edouarde Ebor. Thomas Audeley, Custos Sigilli. Robt. Sussex. T. Darcy.
Andrew Wyndesor. John Fitz James. Ric. Vuoleman.
Brian Tuke. John Daunce. John Aleyn.
John Tregonwell. Thomas Bedyll.

V. Lord Keeper Audeley *to* Crumwell. [2]

After my right harty commendation, with thankes for your late letters of newes, to me directyd by Mastres Hampton, whiche I receyved this Sonday, the 20th day of October, moche to my comfort, to knowe of the Kynges good and joyus successus, to his contentation and plesure; besechyng Our Lord to contynue the same, and send His Grace spedy and prosperus retourne. Sir, eny newes materiall be not here, in our parties, for all ys in good rest and quyett, as ferr as I can here or knowe. I never knewe yt better; savyng, as the fame moche runnyth, they dye sore of the plage in sondry partes in London. The Serjeauntes in Flete Strete have broken comons, for fere of yt; for ondowtyd ther hath been lately sore and sharpe visitation of dethe, at oon or 2 howses, by ther gate. Also they have broken

[1] Where the King landed on the 11th of October 1532.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

comens in the Inner Tempyll, for ther dyed oon; so that the Justices, Serjeauntes, and mynystres of the lawe, be moche in drede and fere, as many of them report, and wold gladly have the Terme adjorned. I suppose the mynysters have but small gayn, for there ys yett no gret confluens of peple. The Counsell her have comaundyd the Mayer to certyfy to them, to morowe, what number of persones have dyed of the plage in London, this last weke; so that I suppose that the Kynges Highnes shalbe advertysed by the Counsell, at ther next letters, as moche as they may knowe of the trouthe in this behalf. Sir, we have nothyng herde from the Northe partiez, sythen the Kynges departyng, but as I have herde by the Lorde of Carliell, and the Lord Darcy, that they have had reportes from ther frendes there, thatt al ys well, and the Scottes woll in nowise have warr, if, by eny meanys, they may have peace. The Counsell here be not yet advertysed of the Kynges plesure, whethir they may breke open eny letters that may happen to com from Scotlond, in the Kynges absens; wherof they made sute to know His Graces plesure, by ther fyrst letters, and as yet they have non aunswere. Sir, I assure you the Counsell here gyveth right good attendauns, and kepyth ther dayes of assemble, and be of as good unyformyte in opynyons, for good order, as ever I knewe; and yf it plesid the Kynges Highnes ones to wryte to them, it shuld be mervelous joyusly and comfortably acceptyd.

Yt may like you to remembir, that the 4th day of Novembir, the Parlament must be prorogid[1], and I must make a comyssion, under the Great Seale, for the same. It may like you to move the Kynge, to whom the auctoryte to proroge shalbe gevyn. It hath be usid afore, to a Temperall Lord, and to a Bischopp, and the Chaunceler. I hertely require you, that I may be advertysed, by your next letters, of the Kynges plesure herin.

Othir newes be none here materiall to advertyse you off. All your frendes and acqueyntauns, as ferr as I know, be mery, and in good helthe. I have sent you, by myn other letters, the Lady Marqueux patent, and also the Kynges acquytaunce, with as moche knowlege, as I can have have, how the warrauntes were lost[2]. I pray you, as I, afore this tyme, have prayed you by my former letters, that ye wyll breke the seales of the acquytaunces, that I sent you, and retourne them cancellid to me. I have no word yet from you, whether ye have receyved these thynges, or no. And thus I

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[1] This proves Hall to have been in error, in asserting that the Parliament was prorogued, at once, from the 14th of May 1532 to the 4th of February 1533.

[2] This alludes to a bundle of acquittances, which, after passing the Great Seal, were found in the street, through the negligence (as was supposed) of the Lord Keeper, who issued new acquittances. His letter to Crumwell on this subject, dated 16 October, is in the Chapter House.

hertely

hertely require you to have most humbly remembred to the Kinges Grace, to whom I beseche Our Lord send good fortune in al hys affayres, and prosperus, joyus, and spedy retourne, and send you as well to fare, and as good fortune and retourne, as I wold to my self. Wrytten at Norwyche Place in London, this Sonday, the 20 day of Octobir.

John Eston hath enformed me, that he hath a great matter in the parties of Fraunce; wherin Mr Hampton, in whoys favour ye have wryten to me, hath been a gret doer and factour for hym, and hath desired me to require you to move Hampton, how the mater stondyth, and that it may like you to advertyse me ageyn, what report he makyth to you therof; praying you in the favour of the said John Eston, that it may plese you to have it in remembrauns; and thus eftsonez fare ye well.

Your assured, to his litell power,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Custos Sigilli.

(*Superscribed*)
To his right hertely beloved Frend, Mr Crumwell, attending uppon the Kinges Highnes at Cales, this be delyvered.

VI. LORD CHIEF JUSTICE FITZ JAMES *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MASTER Cromwell. After moste hartie recommendations, with like thankkes, aswell for your kynd letter send to me at this tyme, as for meny other kyndenes. By whiche letter Y perceyve aswell the helthe off the Kynges Heighnes, and off his nobles and servauntes, syns his repayre to Calice, as off his godely and spedie passage theder, and howe His Magiste was visitide with the nobles off Fraunce, duryng his abode at Calice, to whom Y perceyve allso His Magiste made noble chere; and allso off the metyng off the 2 noble Princes, and off the sons off the Frenche Kyng, and off ther amycable, famylier, and honorable enterteyngment, on Prince to a nother, with all ther nobles and servauntes; wheroff wee be all bownd to thanke God, and for my parte, as a poer man, as joyeus theroff, as ony man lyvyng, hartely praying the gode Lorde for continuaunce off the same.

And to advertisse yow off the state of this royaulme, Our Lord be thankide, as gode peas and tranquilite, withowte great roberies or riottes, as Y knewe it meny yere. Sum besynes ben yn the Marches off Scotland, as

[1] From the Harleian Collection in the Museum, Vol. 6989, No. 30.

Y dowte

Y dowte not ye have herd; they began to bourne a towen off the Erle of Northumberland, and he hathe bourned a towen off theres, with summ other besynes, as more at large doth appier, by a letter send fro the saide Erle to the Kynges Magiste.

As to the Terme here, seurly as litill besynes, as ever I sawe yn ony Terme. The plagge off the great sikenes is increaside, syns the Kyngges departyng; and seurly it hathe bene sore yn Flete Strete, and 4 persons have died owte off bothe the Temples, and withyn this 2 dayes Bengemyn Dikby died yn London, yn the great sikenes, and James Clarell, yn like maner, as men say. Mr Baylye, on off the Aldermen off London, is lately departide to the mercy off God, but seurly not yn the sikenes. Y write to you off this, by name, but seurly ther is a great nomber yn this plagge, callide to the mercy off God. Mr Attourney hathe loste on servaunt, meny men saie, yn the great sikenes. Our Lord pardon them all, and long preserve yow, and send the Kyngges Heighnes save home, yn gode helthe and prosperite. At London, the 29th day off October. Your owne assuride, as Y am most bownd,

(*Signed*) John Fitz James.

Yn all maters bytwen Gervisse and my son Barkeley, Y wold ye wes jugge; ther is no mater bytwen hym and me.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right wurschipfull Mr Thomas Cromwell, on of the Kynges moste honorable Councell, be this delyvered.

VII. Audeley *to* Crumwell.[1]

After my right herty commendation. This ys to advertyse you, that I have be sore trobelyd with the stone, ever sythen I was last at Court; but yester day I avoyded a stone, wherby I am now metly well, thankes to God. Sir, sory I am, that I can not leyserly speke with you, for your advise in the mater movid to me by the Kynges Highnes; but thus bold I am to wryte to you my mynde shortely. Yff I were but owt of dett, whiche I am entryd in, sythen my comyng to this offyce, by reson of pourchesyng my howse, stuffe, and plate, I then feryd never oon whytt, beyng now

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

conveniently

conveniently provided of stuff, howshold, and plate, to meynteyn the charges wel inowe. Wherfor this dett sore trobelyth me, and afrayd I am, to require eny thyng of the Kynges Grace, he hath be so good Lord to me; and it I am in worse case, then ever I was, if eny chauns shuld happen; and so, I thanke you, ye have shewed me, that ye tolde the Kynges Highnes. But, Sir, yff, by your meanes, it mought plese the Kynges Grace, to gif me that poor house, I ones told you of, that late belongyd to Cristes Churche, a litel from London, with the landes and pastures therto belongyng, whiche, as I am enformed, excedyth not 20 marke a yere, and also that His Grace wold, of his goodnes, paye me the £100[1], that ys due to me of the Parlament, and lende me £600, upon good suerteez, to paye a 100 marke a yere, I wold then trust to bere the charges at His Graces commaundment, yf I shuld sell myn owen lond, and truste to his goodnes herafter, as shal stand with his plesure. Lothe I am to move for eny thynge, if a litel necessite compellid me not; whiche necessite hath growen by the great charges, that I had, before I had the Seale; by reson that I was Serjeaunt, at the Kynges Grace commaundment, cost me 400 marke. And as for sythen I had the Seale[2], I have no cause to compleyn, for losse that I have had therby; for the danger I stond in, ys by reson of purches of my howse, and byinge stuff and plate, whiche ys myn owen to make shift therwith ageyn. Praying you now to gif me your advise, and to contynue your olde frendly maner towardes me; and as ye wyl counsell me, so wyl I do. Upon 12th day I entend, God wyllyng, to wayte upon the Kynge, for ye sent me worde that I shuld not nede to com, tyl that day; praying you, as ye se cause, to excuse me; and by cause I can not speke with you, to wryte to me this nyght, at your retourne from the Court[3], sum parte of your counsell and advise, how I shall use my self, in gevyn myn answere to the Kynges Grace. And thus fare ye well, as I wold my self. Scribled this mornyng. I pray you burne this letter, or kepe it secret, for my necessyte aperyth in yt, whiche I wold that al shuld not know.

Yours to al his pouer,

THOMAS AUDELEY, K. Custos Sigilli.

(*Superscribed*)
To his right herty lovyng frend
Mr Cromwell, Escuyer, be this
delivered.

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1 Audeley was Speaker of the Parliament in 1530. £100 was the ordinary salary. See p. 124.

2 He received the Great Seal as Lord Keeper, on the 20th of May 1532, and was made Lord Chancellor, on the 26th of January 1533.

3 At Greenwich.

VIII. Archbishop Cranmer *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Hieghnes, that, wher Your Graces grete cause of matrymony is (as it is thought) thorough all Christyanyte dyvulgated, and in the mowthes of the rude and ignoraunte common people of this Your Graces realme, so talked of, that fewe of theym do feare to reporte and sey, that therof is likelyhod, herafter, to ensue grete inconvenience, daungier, and perill to this Your Graces realme, and moche incertentie of succession; by whiche thinges the saide ignoraunte people be not a litle offended: and forasmoche as it hath pleased Almightie God, and Your Grace, of your habundant goodnes to me shewed, to call me (albeyt a poure wretche, and moche unworthie) unto this hiegh and chargeable office of Prymate and Archbisshop [1] in this Your Graces realme, wherein I beseche Almyghtie God to graunte me his grace so to use and demeane myself, as may be standng with his pleasure, and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weale of this Your Graces realme: and consydering, also, the obloquie and brute, whiche daylie doth spring and increase, of the clergie of this realme, and specially of the heddes and presidentes of the same, because they, in this behalf, do not forsee and provide suche convenient remedies, as might expell and put out of doubt all suche inconveniences, perilles, and daungiers, as the saide rude and ignoraunte people do speke and talke to be ymmynent: I, your most humble Orator and Bedeman, am, in consyderation of the premisses, urgentlie constrayned, at thys tyme, most humblie to beseche Your most Noble Grace, that where the office and duetie of thArchbisshop of Canturbery, by your and your progenitours sufferaunce and grauntes, is to directe, ordre, judge, and determyn causes spirituall, in this Your Graces realme; and because I wold be right lothe, and also it shall not becom me (forasmoche as Your Grace is my Prince and Soveraigne) to entreprise any parte of my office, in the saide weightie cause, touching Your Hieghnes, without Your Graces favour and licence, obteigned in that behalf: it may please, therfore, Your most excellent Majestie (considerations had to the premisses, and to my moost bounden duetie towardes Your Hieghnes, your realme, succession, and posterite, and for thexoneration of my conscience towardes Almightie God) to licence me, according to myn office and duetie, to procede to the examination, fynall determynation, and judgement in the

[1] Archbishop Warham died in August 1532. Cranmer was selected by the King as his successor, and was confirmed by the Pope's Bulls, of the 21st of February 1533.

saide

saide grete cause, touching Your Hieghnes. Eftsones, as prostrate at the feete of Your Majestie, beseching the same to pardone me of thes my bolde and rude letters, and the same to accept and take in good sense and parte, as I do meane; which calling Our Lorde to recorde, is onlie for the zele that I have to the causes aforesaide, and for none other intent and purpose. From my Manour at Lamhith, the 11th day of Aprile, in the first yere of my Consecration. [1]

Your Highnes most humble Bedisman and Chaplain,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CANTUAR'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Hieghnes.

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[1] This letter is wholly in the Archbishop's handwriting, and it is not a little singular that another letter of the same date, and nearly of the same tenor, likewise written by the Archbishop himself, is preserved in the State Paper Office. They both bear the marks of having been folded and sealed, and of having been received by the King. It is so difficult to conjecture why they were both written, and why they differed from each other, that the second is subjoined.

" Please yt Your Hieghnes, that wher Your Graces grete cause of matrimony is (as it " is thought) thorough all Cristianytee dyvulgated, and in the mowthes of the rude and igno- " raunte common people of this Your Graces realme, so talked of, that fewe of theym do " feare to reporte and saye, that therof ys likelyhode, herafter, to ensue grete inconvenience, " daungier, and perill to this Your Graces realme, and moche incertentie of succession; by " whiche thinges the saide ignoraunte people be not a litle offended: and forasmoche as yt " hathe pleased Almightie God, and Your Grace, of your habundant goodnes to me shewed, " to call me (albeyt a poure wretche, and moche unworthie) unto this hiegh and chargeable " office of Primate and Archebisshope in this Your Graces realme, wherin I beseche Almyghtie " God to graunte me his grace so to use and demeane myself, as may be standing with his " pleasure, and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weale of this Your Graces saide " realme: and consydering also the obloquie and brute, whiche dailye doith spring and increase, " of the clergie of this realme, and speciallie of the heddes and presidentes of the same, " because they, in this behalve, do not forsee and provide convenient remedies, as might " expell and put out of doubt all such inconveniences, perilles, and daungiers, as the saide " rude and ignoraunte people do speke and talke to be ymmynent: I, your moost humble " Orator and Bedeman, am, in consideration of the premisses, urgently constrayned, at this " tyme, most humbly to beseche Your most noble Grace, that wher my office and duetie is, " by your and your predecessours sufferaunce and grauntes, to directe and ordre causes " spirituall, in this Your Graces realme, according to the lawes of God and Holye Churche, " and for relief of almaner greves and infirmities of the people, Goddes subjectes and yours, " happening in the said spirituall causes, to provide suche remedie, as shalbe thought most " convenient for their helpe and relief, in that behalf; and because I wolde be right lothe, " and also it shall not becom me (forasmoche as Your Grace ys my Prince and Sovereigne) " to enterprise any parte of my office, in the saide weightie cause, without Your Graces favour " obteigned, and pleasure therin first knowen: it may please the same to acerteyn me of Your " Graces pleasure in the premisses, to thentent that, the same knowen, I may procede for my " discharge afore God, to thexecution of my saide office and duetie, according to his calling " and yours. Beseching Your Hieghnes moost humbly, uppon my kneys, to pardon me of thes " my bolde and rude letters, and the same to accepte and take in good sense and parte. " From my Manour at Lamhith, the 11th day of Aprile, in the first yere of my Consecration.

" Your Highnes most humble " Bedisman and Chaplain,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CANTUAR'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Hieghnes.

IX. King Henry VIII. *to* Cranmer. [1]

Most Reverend Father &c., we greite you well. Doyng you to understande, that the 12 daye of this moneth of Aprele, we receyved letters from youe, dated at Lambhith, the 11 daie of the same moneth, in whiche letters ye write, that for asmuche as our greate cause of matrimony, whiche hathe long depended in question, is dyvulgated (as it is thought) through out all Christente, and it is communed of the mowthes of no small number of our people, and that many of them fere not to saye and reporte, that therof is likelyod, hereafter, to insue greate inconvenyences, daungers, and perilles to this realme, and muche incertentie to our succession, whereby our saide people is sene to be not a letle offended: wheruppon ye, whom God and we have ordeyned Archebusshopp of Cantorburie, and Primate of all this our realme of Englonde, to whose office it hathe byn, and is, apperteynyng by the sufferaunce of us and our progenytours, as ye write your self bothe justly and trulye, to order, judge, and determine mere spirituall cawses, within this our realme; havyng due consideration to the saide inconvenyences, daungiers, perilles, and incertente, if the saide cause of matrymonye shulde be suffered styll to contynue in question, indecyded; and, also, redusyng to your remembrance the greate blame, that hathe byn arrectyd to the clergie of this our realme, and specially to the heddes and presidentes of the same, bicause they have not hetherto studied and travayled for remedies, to exclude and put out of doubte suche incertentie, inconveniences, perilles, and daungiers; be moved in your conscience, by reason of the premisses, to endevoyr yourself, asfarre as ye maye, by reason of your said office of Prymacie, to set some direction and ende in the said cause of matrymonye, accordyng to the pleasure of Almyghty God; and theruppon ye, duely recognysyng that it becomethe youe not, being our subjecte, to entreprise any parte of your saide office, in so weightye and greate a cause, perteynyng to us, beyng your Prince and Souverayne, without our lycence obteyned so to doo; and, therefore, in your moste humble wise, ye supplye unto us, in your said letters, to graunte unto you our lycence to procede to thexamynation and final determynation of the saide cause, in exoneration of your conscience towardes God, and for the satisfyeng of your bounden

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[1] From the Harleian Collection, Vol. 283. leaf 97., which is the original minute of the letter. There are two other copies of it in the Museum, but both damaged by fire. Otho, C. X. leaf 159.

duetie

duetie towardes us, our realme, succession, and posteritie, in advoydyng of the said inconvenyences; and, fynally, in the ende of your saide letters, ye beseche us to pardon your boldnes, and rude wrytyng in that behalf, and to take the same in good sence and parte, as ye doo meane; calling God to your recorde, that onely for the zeale that ye have to the premisses, ye have written your saide letters, and for none other intent, cause, or purpose: My Lorde, where ye write in the last part of your saide letters, wherunto we make you firste answer, that ye be moved onely by the zele, that ye have to justice, and for thexonerating of your conscience against God, to write as ye doo unto us, we cannot, of reason, be discontented therwith, but condignly praise you therin. And for that we perceyve, that ye have suche a good mynde and fervent zeale to do justice, accordyng to your office, for the quyetyng of our realme, and for thexcludyng of suche daungiers and perilles, as be in your saide letters mencyonate, and also for puttyng our succession and posteritie oute of questyon, doubte, and incertentie; we cannot but moche commende and lawde your goode and vertuous intended purpose in that behalf. In consideration wherof, albeit we, beyng your Kyng and Souverayne, do recognyse no superiour in yerth, but onely God, and not beyng subjecte to the laws of any other erthely creature; yet bycause ye be, under us, by Goddis callyng and owers, the moste pryncipall mynyster of our spirituall jurisdiction, within this our realme, who we think assuredly is so in the feare of God, and love towardes thobservance of his lawse, to the whiche laws we, as a Christen Kyng, have alwayse heretofore, and shall ever moste obedyently submyt our self, will not therfore refuse (our preeminent powr and aucthoritie to us, and our successours, in this behalf, nevertheles saved) your humble requeste, offer, and towardnes; that is, to meane to make an ende, accordyng to the will and pleasure of Almyghtie God, in our saide greate cause of matrymonye; which hathe so longe depended undetermyned, to our greate and grevous inquyetnes, and burthen of conscience. Wherfore we, inclynyng to your humble peticion, by these our letters, sealed withe our seale, and signed with our Signe Manuell, do lycence youe to procede in the saide cause, and to thexamynation and fynall determynation of the same; not doubtyng but that ye will have God, and the justice of the saide cause, onely, before your eyes, and not to regard any erthly or worldly affeccion therin. For assuredly, the thynge, whiche we moste coveyte in this worlde, is so to procede, in all our actes and doynges, as maye be moste acceptable to the pleasure of Almyghtie God, our Creatour, and to the wealthe, honour of us, our succession, and posteritie, and the suretie of our realmes, and subjectes within the same.

X. CRANMER *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE yt Your Hieghnes to be advertised, that I have received Your Graces moost honorable letters, bering date at Your Graces Manour of Grenewich, the 11th day of this present moneth of May, and do right well perceve the contentes of the same. Signifying to Your Hieghnes, that wher, apon Saterday last passed, the noble Lady Catherin was, for hyr none apparaunce the same daye affore me, and apon suche certificate, as the Mandatary only made unto me apon his othe, pronunced contumax; I have, this present Monday, apon suche depositions, as have ben made and taken affore me, by Mr Briane, Gage, and Vaux, my fellowes, Your Graces servauntes, of and apon suche wordes and sayinges, as were spoken by the said noble Lady, in the tyme of thexecution and servyng of my monition, pronunced hyr vere et manifeste contumacem, so that she is (as the Counsell enformed me) precluded from ferther monition to apper; by reason wherof, I shall make more acceleration and expedition in my processe, then I thought I shulde, and I have declared my ferther mynde, in thisbehalf, to Mr Brian, to whome I humbly beseche Your Grace to geve credence. At Dunstable, the 12th day of this present moneth of Maij.

Your Highnes most humble
Bedisman and Chaplain,
(*Signed*) THOMAS CANTUAR'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Hieghnes.

XI. BEDYLL *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER my moost hertie commendations. Albeit it had been better that my Lady of Norfolk, and my Lady of Guldford, had been examined here, for diverse causes concernyng the chainging of the place of judgement, bi reason whereof it was thought necessary to make a new citation to the Lady Kateryne, to se the said Ladyes sweren at London, whiche citation wold have required delay of 15 dayes, whiche citation shuld not nede, after al mens opinions, if the said Ladies shuld have been examined here: yet now,

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

upon

upon thexamination and depositions of Maister Brian, and other, testifieng the said Lady Katerine is wordes and behaviour, at the tyme of citation executed against her, by Maister Legh, she is now declared vere contumax; and therupon a commission is sent downe for thexamination of the said Ladies, without any new citation of the said Lady Kateryne. And to tentent ye may more at large perceyve, and also informe the Kinges Grace, specially and particulerly, what was done the first day, on Saturday last, and the secunde day, this Moneday, I have caused my servant and depute, Thomas Argall [1], by whoes handes only al the actes of this greate cause be writen and made, to make me a copy out of the actes of the said two dayes, whiche ye shal receyve with thes letters. And if ye shal wyl me so to do, I wol likewise send you thactes of every day, after this, assone as they bee passed, and therein I doubt not to have Thomas Argall redy and diligent; whiche man I nede not to commende unto you, bycause ye understand alredy what he is: I assuer you, in myn opinion, such a oon, as of his havyour he hath but few perys in this reame. I trust the processe here shalbe sumwhat shorter, than it was devysed affore the Kinges Grace; assuring you, truly, that my Lord of Wynchester [2], and al other that be here, as of the Kinges Grace Counsell, studieth, as diligently as they can possibly, to cause every thing to bee handled, so as it may bee moost consonant to the law, as far as the mater wol suffer. And my Lord of Cauntrebury handleth him self very well, and very uprightly, without eny evydent cause of suspicion, to be noted in him by the counsel of the said Lady Katerine, if she had had any present here. But, suerly, as far as I could se or understand, there came no servant of hers in Dunstaple, sith our commyng hither, but only suche, as this day bee brought in, as witnes against her. I write this unto you, the more resolutely and diligently, bicause I know you to have as fervent affection as any man, to se a good ende in this cause; and bicause I doubt not, but ye wolbe glad to make reaport to the Kinges Grace of the toward successe of his said greate cause, to take an ende, to the pleasure of God, and His Grace. From Dunstaple, in hast, the 12th day of May.

Your owne,

(*Signed*) THOMAS BEDYL. [3]

(*Superscribed*)
To the right worshipful Maister Cromwell, one of the Kinges Grace moost honorable Counsell, my very singuler good frend.

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[1] Notary Public. [2] Gardyner. [3] Thomas Bedyll, LL.D., was Clerk of the Council.

XII. CRANMER *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE yt Your Hieghnes to be advertysed, that Your Graces grete matier is nowe brought to a finall sentence, to be geven apon Fryday[2] now next ensueing. And because every day in the next weeke[3] shalbe feriall, except Fryday and Saterday, therfore I cannot assigne any shorter tyme ad audiendam sentenciam, then in the saide Fryday. At whiche tyme, I trust so to endevour meself further in this behalf, as shall becom me to doo, to the pleasure of Almyghtie God, and the mere treuthe of the matier. From Dunstaple, the 17th day of May.

Your Highnes most humble
Bedisman and Chaplain,
(*Signed*) THOMAS CANTUAR'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Hieghnes.

XIII. CRANMER *to* KING HENRY VIII.[4]

PLEACE yt Your Hieghnes to be advertised, that this 23ti day of thys present moneth of May, I have gyven sentence in Your Graces grete and weightie cause; the copy[5] wherof I have sent unto Your Hieghnes, by thys berar, Richarde Watkyns. And wher I was, by the letters of Mr Thurlesbye[6], Your Graces Chapleyne, advertised of Your Graces pleasure, that I shulde cause Your Graces Counsaile to conceyve a procuracye concernyng the secounde matrymony, I have sent the said letters unto theym, and required theym to do according to the tenure therof. Most humbly beseching Your Hieghnes, that I may knowe Your Graces ferther pleasure concernyng the same matrymony, assone as Your Grace, with your Counsaile, shalbe perfectly resolved therin. For the tyme of the Coronation[7] is so instaunte,

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[1] This letter is holograph.
[2] Friday was the 23d of May.
[3] It was the week preceding Whitsunday.
[4] This letter also is holograph.
[5] It will be found in Lord Herbert, p. 375, in Burnet, Vol. 1. Coll. p. 120, and in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 462.
[6] Thomas Thirlby was, in 1540, made Bishop of Westminster, and was the only Bishop of that See.
[7] The Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn took place on the 1st of June 1533.

and

and so nere at hande, that the matier requireth good expedition to be hadd in the same. And thus Our Lorde have Your Hieghnes evermore in his blessed tuition and governaunce. From Dunstaple, the 23ti day of May.

Your Highnes most humble
Chaplain and Bedisman,

(*Superscribed*) To the Kinges Hieghnes. (*Signed*) THOMAS CANTUAR'.

XIV. The Reporte[1] of the Lorde Mountjoye, Sir R[*obert*] Dymmok, Knyght, John Tyrrell, Esquyer, Griffyth Richardes, and Thomas Vaulx, upon certain articles, by the Kynges moost honourable Counsell delyveryd unto them, to declare unto the *Princesse Dowager*[2], on the Kynges Hieghnes behaulf.

FIRST, afore the commyng of the Lorde Mountjoye, and the other above-sayde, to the presence of the saide *Princes Dowager*[2], which was upon Thursdaye the 3de daye of Julye (for soner she wolde not gyve heeryng), she commaunded that the said Lord Mountjoye, her Chamberlayne, sholde bring in to her Privie Chambre, with hym, asmany of her servauntes, as he could warne; for, as she sayde, she thought it a longe season, syns she sawe them. Her Grace there lyeng uppon her pallett, bicawse she had pryked her foote with a pyne, so that she myght not well stonde nor goo, and also sore annoyed with a coughe, perceyving that many of her servauntes wer their assembled, who myght heere what shold be sayd, than demaunded, whither wee, above named, had our charge to saye by mouthe, or by wrytyng; and we said, "Bothe". Wherupon she commaunded that suche artycles for informations, as wee had wrytten, shoulde ther be openly redd. But assone as wee beganne to declare and reade, that these artycles wer for our instructions to move unto the Prynces Dowagier, at the first

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[1] This and the following report are in the same handwriting with Lord Mountjoy's letter of 10 October, hereafter given, probably that of his secretary. He was Chamberlain of the Princess Dowager's household. Both reports are contained in Otho, C. X., in the British Museum. The present is leaf 199. Both are injured by fire, but the deficiencies are supplied from a copy of a much later period, in the Harleian Collection, Vol. 283. leaf 112 b.

[2] In these two places the words "Princess Dowager" are obliterated with pen and ink, and it appears from the second Report of these Commissioners (post, p. 402.), that the obliteration was made by Catharine herself.

she

she made exception to that name; sayeng that she was not Prynces Dowagier, but the Quene, and the Kynges true wief; and notwithstanding the motyon of our first instruction, that she shold not, from thenceforth, vendicate, nor take upon her, the name of Quene, she fermely persisted in the contrary; protestynge as bifore; and howe that she cam to the Kyng a clene mayde, for any bodely knouleage of Prynce Arthur; and therupon was coroned and annoynted Quene, and had by the Kyng laufull issue, and noo bastard; wherfore the name of Quene she wolde vendicate, chalenge, and so call herself, duryng her lyef.

Item, where it was declaryd unto her, that the Kyngs Hieghnes, aswell by thenserchyng of his owne conscience, as by the determynation of the moost famous unyversitees, and clerkes of Cristendom, hathe syncerely conceyved, that the matrymonye betwixte them pretensed, was unlauful, and their upon laufully they be separated and devorsed; and nowe, by the consent of all his Lordes Spirytuall aud Temporall, and all the Comons of his realme, hathe maryed, accordyng to the lawes of God, the Ladie Anne, his laufull wief, and that she is annoynted and coroned Quene of England: her aunswere was, as to the matrymonye, all the worlde knowythe by what auctoryte it was done, moche moor by powar, than by justice; she never being laufully separated nor devorsyd, nor yet knowing her judges; and also, lite pendente bifore the Pope, their shulde noo suche processe have be determyned within this realme. And for the universitees, it is also well knowne, that they wer procuryd by meryt; and she knewe right well, that the mooste dyscrete and beste learned persones wer on her syde, of dyverse unyversitees, and non suche as wer suspectyd of heresyes, or other erronyous opinyons; and that the seales of those unyversitees wer gotten out, she woll not saye by what straunge subtylle meanys. And as to thassent of the Lordes and Commynaltie, she sayeth, the Kyng may doo in his realme, by his royall powar, what he wolde; she adjugyng clerely, that that they have doon, to have been against their conscyences. And ferthermore she sayethe, her mattier dependethe nother to be determyned by the unyversitees, nor by thauctorite of this realme, but in the Courte of Roome, bifore the Pope, whom she accomptethe as Goddis Vycar, and hiege judge in erthe; as she hathe heretofore aunswered to the Duke of Northfolk, and other Lordes of the Kynges Counsell.

Item, where it was declaryd unto her, that it nother stood with the lawe of God, nor man, ne with the Kynges honour, to have twoo Quenes named within this realme, and that in dede he had but oon laufull wief, to the which he was nowe maryed, and cawsyd to be coronyd; to that she

she aunsweryd, that she was the same his laufull wief and Quene. Also, where it was declared unto her, that the Kyng dyd not a litle mervaile, that she wolde disobeye his commaundement, not oonly by her self, but also cawse other his subjectes to do the semblable; she saythe, in that she woll rather dysobeye him, than God, and her owne conscience, wherby she myght dampne her owne soole; and as for her servauntes and family, beyng the Kynges subjectes, she saythe, that they have served her as truely, as any men myght, and as gladly she wold recompence their travailles; but, in this cace, she woll remytte them to the Kynges goodnes; and openly their prayed them, that wer ther present, to be contented; for she wolde not hyndre her owne cause, not put her soole in daungier for them, whiche she thought she shoulde doo, if she dyd relynquyshe her name, and condiscende to the Kynges purpose in this behaulf.

Item, where as it was shewyd unto her, that she, followyng the Kynges pleasur in the premysses, myght enjoye all suche possessions as she now hathe, to use the same at her pleasure; to that her aunswer was, that, for her possessions, she passed not upon, in regard of this mattier.

Item, where as it was, also, shewed unto her, that yf so be she wolde persiste in this obstinacy, in disobeying the Kynges commaundement, to whom she was noon other then subjecte, and that she wolde not refuse the name of Quene, she shall therby not oonly declare herself vayne gloryous, in desyering of that name, but also be thought, in her, a manyfest pretence of dyssension to ensue therby, within this realme, and also lose the good zele and favour of the people; to that her aunswere was, that she dyd it not upon any obstynacye, but in defence of her cawse, whiche dependeth in the Courte of Roome, by the Kynges lycence; nor that she dyd it of any vayne glorye, but oonly for the savyng of her righte, for that she accompteth herself for the Kynges true wief. Also by her, she trusted, ther shulde be no dissentyon within the realme, for she never mynded yt, nor never will. And yf so be she shoulde lease the favour of the people, in defendyng of her right, yet she trustyd to goe to Heaven, cum fama et infamia, for it was not for the favour of the people, nor yet for any trowble or adversytee, that could be devysed for her, she wolde lease the favour of God.

Item, where it was further intymate unto her, that this mariage, bitwene the Kyng and Quene Anne, was laufully passed and concluded, aswell by the determynation of the said unyversitees, as also by the consent of all the astates of this realme, she myght now, therfore, be contented to forsake and relinquyshe the name of Quene, and to repose herself, like a woman of that vertue, and obedyence towardes her Soveraigne and Prynce, as she alwayes

alwayes hathe ben noted, and to quyet her self with suche honourable lyvyng and name, as is now lymyted unto her, and how that the Kynges Hieghnes, in her soo doinge, will rather augment and enlarge her said possessions, to her allotted by Acte of Parlyament, in suche wyse, as she shall and maye be right well contentyd: to that she aunsweryd, as for the relynquyshing of her name, she made suche aunsweir as she dyd before; as to the obedience, she sayethe that she hathe ben alwayes obedyent unto the Kyng, and so entendethe to persevere, not dammagynt her soole, whiche she knowythe welle, if she shoulde condyscende unto the premysses, shold be dyrectly against her owne conscyence, and to her dampnatyon in a nother worlde.

Item, where it was declared unto her, that yf she wold stylle remayne in her owne opynyon, not conformyng her self to theis forsaide moytions, accordyng to the Kynges pleasure, His Hieghnes shalbe constrayned openly to declare his honourable offers made unto her, and her refusall therin; upon whiche occasion His Hieghnes shalbe compelled to withdrawe his saide gentill offers, and hoole affection from her, and so to conceyve towardes her somme evyll opynyon of hiegh dyspleasure: to the whiche she aunsweryd, that their was noo maner of offers, nother of landes or goodes, in comparyson of that her cawse, that she had respecte unto; and for the withdrawyng of the Kynges affection from her, she trustyd to God, to whom she woll dayly praye for the preservation of his astate, that His Grace wolde consyder that she sewythe by his lycence, and, as she dothe veryly take yt, for the mayntenaunce of her right and juste cawse; wherfore she trusteth, in soo doyng, she should lose noo parte of His Graces favour.

Item, where as wee alledged unto her, that if she dyd reserve the name of Quene, yt was thought she wold do yt for a vayne desyer and appetyt of glorye, wherby she shoulde provoke the Kynges Hieghnes not oonly ayeinst her, but also ayeinst her hole familye and servauntes, to their utter hynderaunce and undoynge; and furthermore to be an occasion that the Kynge shoulde withdrawe his fatherly love from her honourable and moost derest doughter, the Lady Prynces, by the reason of her unkyndenes, whiche chiefly shuld move her, if noon other cawse dyd: to that her aunswer was, as for any vayne glorye, it was not that she desyred the name of a Quene, but oonly for discharge of her conscience, to declare herself the Kynges very true wief; and as to her servauntes, she aunsweryd, as bifore is specyfyed in theis fourmer articles; and as to the Prynces, her doughter, she sayde that she was the Kynges true begotten childe, and as God had gyven her unto them, so, for her parte, she wolde rendre her againe unto the

the Kyng, as his doughter, to do with her as shall stande with his pleasure; trustyng to God, that she woll proove an honest woman: and that nother for her doughter, famelye, possessions, or any worldely adversetye, or displeasure, that myght ensue, she wolde yeilde in this cawse, to putte her soole in daungier; alledging the wordes of the Gospell, that they shulde not be feeryd, whiche have powar of the body, but He, only, that hathe powar of the soole.

Also, where it was furder moved, that she wold have a specyall regarde unto all those, that servyd her here, by the Kynges sufferaunce and commaundement, soo that she wolde take no displeasure with them, that shold kall for her, in any servyce or otherwise, by the name of Prynces Dowagier, according to the Kynges commaundement, for the eschewing of suche daungiers and hiegh displeasure, that myght ensue to them; wee coulde in no wise perceave, that she was contentyd, that any persone shold soo name her; and that she, her self, wolde never aunswer to any, that so shall calle her, or serve her.

Fynally, whan all this was declared, with diverse other and sundrye persuasions, Her Grace made opene protestation, requyryng all, that wer there present, to bere recorde, before God and man, that she there affyrmyd it, upon her soole, that she was the Kynges true wyef; and soo she wolde take her selfe, and never to relynquyshe the name of Quene, untill suche tyme as sentence diffynytive shoulde be yeven to the contrarye by our Hooly Father the Pope, the Colledge of Cardynalles, and the Courte of the Roote [1], bifore whom her mattier dependethe, there to be adjudged and decyded according to Goddis lawes. This sayed, she requyred us that the [2] wolde move the Kynges Grace, that she myght have a copy of theis instructions, afore to her declaryd; and, by the Kynges lycence, she woll translate the same in to the Spanyshe tongue, for to sende to the Courte of Rome, wherby they myght see what moytions hath ben made unto her.

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[1] Rota. [2] Sic.

XV. The Reporte of the Lorde Mountjoye, Rychard Gryffyth, and Thomas Vaulx, of suche aunswere, as the Pryncesse Dowagier made unto theym, at Ampthyll, the Fryday, beyng the 4th day of July, there beyng present, also, Sir Robert Dymmok, Knyght, and John Tyrrell, Esquyer.[1]

Fyrst, wher as the Prynces Dowagier, at our declaration unto her of the Kynges pleasure, made aunsweir to all suche poyntes and articles, as wee declaryd unto her; and after wee had shewyd unto her, that wee wold make reporte unto the Kynges Hieghnes therof, or to suche of his Counsaill, as His Graces pleasure should be to apoynte; she requyred of us, in any wise, that ever wee departed thens, she myght see, by wrytyng, what our reporte shoulde be. Wherupon every of us, callyng to our remembraunce theffect of her aunswers, dyd put the same in wrytyng, as afore is expressed; whiche, after wee had redy to shewe unto her, and came to her presence with the same, she demaunded of us, whither wee had entytelyd for to reporte, lyke as she had aunswered. To the whiche I, the Lord Mountjoye, sayde, "As "nyghe as wee coulde remember", but that wee had wryten our reporte with the name of Prynces Dowagier, by the whiche name wee muste nedes certefy. Her saying was therunto, that, by that name, she wold make noon aunsweir, nor also wolde graunt that our reporte shoulde, in any wise, passe by the name of Prynces Dowagier. And therupon she requyred to see suche a booke, as wee had made, concernyng our reporte of her aunsweir in that behaulf; whiche had, she called for penne and ynke, and in suche places as she fownde the name of Prynces Dowagier, she, with her penne and ynke, strake yt oute, as it ys apparaunt[2]. That doon, she delyveryd the boke agayne to us, commaundyng to heare the same redde; whiche herde, wee could not perceyve, that she fownde us in any defawte, in reportyng of the mattyer; but where as she dyd perceyve, that wee had bifore charged her, that she dyd vendycate the name of Quene for meer appetyte of vayne glorye, she than ferther protestyd, that rather she wolde be a poore beggers wyef, and be sure of Heven, than to be Quene of all the worlde, and stonde in dowbte therof, by occasyon of her own consent; soo that she sayde plainly, she stucke not on thys mattyer for vayne glorye, but oonly for bicawse she knewe herself the Kynges true wief; as in our former reportes

[1] From the same Volume, Otho, C. X., leaf 203 b. [2] See p. 397.

more

more at large is specyfyed. Also, where she had annotyd in part of our motyon, that we had intymated unto her, that she was but as the Kinges subjecte; to that she sayed, as long as the Kyng toke her for his wief, as she sayde in dede she was, and ys, she was also his subjecte; but yf the Kyng take her not for his wief, she sayde, she came not in to this realme on marchaundise, nor yet to be maryed to any marchaunt; nor ferther to contynewe in the same, but as to be his lawfull wyef, and not as a subjecte, to lyve under his domynyon otherwise.

Item, she sayde, that she hathe allweye demeaned herself well and truly towarde the Kynge; and yf it can be provyd, that other in wrytyng to the Pope, or any other (whiche the Kyng maye see, at all tymes, if he please to make meane therfore), that she hath other styryd or procured any thyng against His Grace, or have been meanys to any persone to make any moytyon, whiche myght be prejudycyall to His Grace, or his realme, she is contente to suffre for yt. For she sayde, that she had doon Englande litle good, and the loother she wold be to do hyt any harme. For, if it coulde be provyd, that she had gyven occasyon to dysturbe the Kyng, or his realme, in any wyse, than she desyryd the Kyng, that her ponyshement, accordyng to his lawes, shoulde not be dyfferred. And she sayde ferther, that if she shoulde agree to our moytions and persuasyons, she shoulde be a slaunderer of herself, and confesse to have been the Kynges harlot theis 24 yeres; in whiche she shoulde do suche offence against God and her conscyence, that noo preiste there, nor yet her Goostly Fader, coulde dyspense therwith; allegyng theis wordes, "maledictus homo, qui necligat famam suam." Yea, and farther, than she sayde unto us, howe that she had been advertysed from Roome, how that the Kynges Excusator there, whom she called Doctour Kerne, had made sondry and many allegatyons bifore the Popis Holynes, howe prejudycyall it shoulde be to the Kynges Hieghnes to come to Roome, or to any other partye, before any Juges, to have his matter determyned farr from his owne realme; and yet he never confessed, but that the Kynges pleasure was, to have the same decyded and adjudged in a place that shoulde be indyfferent: yet, notwithstanding, it was brought, she can not tell by what subtylle meanys, to be determyned here, within the Kynges owne realme, bifore a man of his owne makyng, the Bysshop of Canturbury, to be her Judge, whom she thynkethe to be noo persone indyfferent in that behaulff; and also that the place was moche moor parcyall and suspecte, consyderyng that the Kyng was takyn here the hoole governour and Supremum Caput Ecclesie, here takyng upon hym asmoche, or moore, auctoritie than the Pope. But, as she farther sayde, she thought the place had

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been more indyfferent, to have been adjudged in helle, where as no truthe can be sofferyd; for, as she dothe suppose, the divelles themself do tremble to see the trouthe, in this cause, so soore oppressed, by the sufferaunce of God. "And where as yee woll have me to leave of the name of Quene, "and soo have commaundyd, on the Kynges behaulf, that I shoulde be called "and servyd; I doo ensuer you, yee are, in that case, as the saye in the "Spanyshe tongue, "Falso testimonio," or "Falsum testimonium" in the "Latyn tongue, agaynste me, as often as youe do soo commaunde or name "me, or elles wolde procure by your moytions, that I shoulde so take my "self;" advysyng us to beware therof, for wee shoulde aunswer therfore to a hiegher Judge. Thus, in conclusyon, and for fynall aunsweir, she dyd proteste, that yf she had sayde any thyng, whiche is written in this reporte, as her aunsweir, in any parte of this behaulf, that the same shoulde not be taken prejudycyal to her cawse; consyderyng howe that she myght erre in any word, bicawse she was no Englishe woman, but a Spanyerde borne, and had no counsell lerned to advertyse her, what she myght aunsweir in suche case; by reason wherof, she myght hinder her owne cawse: humbly requyryng the Kynges Hieghnes, that he wolde no further attempte her, nother by us, nor by any other, with any message in this matter; for whoso ever shoulde come, she woll give hym no heryng therin; and so besought the Kyng, that what ordere shoulde stonde with his pleasure, ferther to be doon with her, that the same myght be knowen shortely. All theis doon, wee shewyd unto her the Kynges pleasure concernyng her removyng, and what places wer apoynted for the same. To that she aunsweryd, that she was contentyd to remove to any place that the Kyng shoulde apoynte, soo that it be no suche houses, whiche she myght suppose to be prejudycyall to her owne cawse.

XVI. TUKE *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT Worshipful Sir. In my best maner I recommende me unto you. By your letters of the 12th of this moneth, I perceyve, that there is grete defaulte in conveyance of letters, and of special men ordeyned to be sent in post; and that the Kinges pleasure is, that postes be better appointed,

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle T.

and

and laide in al places most expedient; with commaundement to al townshippes, in al places, on payn of lyfe, to be in suche redynes, and to make suche provision of horses, at al tymes, as no tract, or losse of tyme, be had in that behalf.

Sir, it may like you to understonde, the Kinges Grace hathe no moo ordinary postes, ne of many days hathe had, but bitwene London and Calais; and they in no wages, save the post of London in 12^{d}, and Calais 4^{d} by day; but riding by the journey, wherof most parte passe not 2 in a moneth; and sens October last, the postes northewarde, every one at 12^{d} by day. Thise in wages be bounde but to on horse; whiche is inough for that wages, albeit som of them have moo. I never used other ordre, but to charge the towneshippes to lay and appoint suche a post, as they wol answer for. And Butler, the Kinges messenger, for thise northeward, was sent, when I laide them, to see them sufficient; and surely the postes northeward, in tyme past, have ben the most diligent of al other. Wherfore, supposing by my conjecture that the default is there, I incontinently sent, thorough them, a writing, sharpe inough, shewing their defaultes, the Kinges high displeasure, and the daungier. I also wrote to al the townships that way, semblably towching obeyng of placardes, and other writinges, sent for provision of post horses. Nowe, Sir, if the default be elleswhere, where postes lye, I, upon knowlege had from you, wol put to it the best remedy I can; but if in any other wayes like ordre shalbe taken, I pray you advertise me. For, Sir, ye knowe wel, that, except the hakney horses bitwene Gravesende and Dovour, there is no suche usual conveyance, in post, for men in this realme, as is in the accustumed places of France, and other parties; ne men can kepe horses in redynes, withoute som way to bere the charges: but when placardes be sent for suche cause, the constables, many tymes, be fayn to take horses oute of plowes and cartes, wherin can be no extreme diligence. This I write, lest the tract shulde be imputed there, it is not. But, Sir, not taking upon me to excuse the postes, I wol advertise you, that I have knowen, in tymes past, folkes, whiche, for their own thanke, have dated their letters a day or 2 more bifore they wer writen, and the conveyers have had the blame. As to postes bitwene London and the Courte, there be nowe but 2; wherof the on is a good robust felowe, and was wont to be diligent, evil intreated many tymes, he and other postes, by the herbigeours, for lak of horse rome, or horsmete, withoute whiche diligence can not be. The other hathe ben the most payneful felowe, in nyzt and day, that I have knowen amongst the messengers. If he nowe slak, he shalbe changed, as reason is. He sueth to the

the Kinges Grace for some smal living for his olde service; having never had ordinary wages, til nowe, a moneth or litle more, this postes wages. It may please you to advertise me, in whiche of them 2 ye fynde default, and he shal be changed. I wrote unto my Lorde of Northumberlande, to write on the bak of his pacquettes the houre and day of the depeche, and so I did to other; but it is seldome observed. I wol, also, desire you to remember, that many tymes happen 2 depeches in a day, on way, and somtyme moo; and that often seasons happen countre postes, that is, to ride bothe northeward and southewarde; this is moche for on horse, or on man. My Lorde of Northumberlande hathe sent a post, my Lorde Dacre an other, in the neck of hym; they of Berwick a 3rde, and somtyme Sir George Lawson aparte, an other; and, in the same tyme, depeches from hens northewarde. Nowe I have advertised you of the premysses, it may please you I may knowe the Kinges further pleasure; and I shal, according to my most bounden duetye, diligently obeye the same, by Goddes grace, who preserve you. At my poore house, the 17th day of August, 1533.

Al at your commaundment,

(*Signed*) Brian Tuke.

Sir, I have also received other your letters, of the 12th and 13th, the on concernyng ordre for letters of the Frenche Ambassadour, northewarde, whiche shalbe perfourmed; and the other for £300, for W. Gonson, whiche shalbe paid. Sir, it is shewed me the Kinges Grace rekneth I receyved £4000 in thEschequier, the last Terme. Sir, it was but £2000, wherof Gonson had £900, and the rest, with moche more, was assigned by warrantes, or ever it was received; and I have paid sens litel lak of £5000.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right worshipful Mr Thomas Cromwel, Squier, Counsaillour to the Kinges Highnes, and Master of his Joyels.

XVII. QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN *to* LORD COBHAM.[1]

By the Quene.

RIGHT trustie and welbiloved, we grete you well. And where as it hath pleased the goodnes of Almightie God, of his infynite marcie and grace, to sende unto us, at this tyme, good spede, in the delyveraunce and bringing furthe of a Princes[2], to the great joye, rejoyce, and inward comforte of my Lorde, us, and all his good and loving subjectes of this his realme; for the whiche his inestymable benevolence, soo shewed unto us, we have noo litle cause to give high thankes, laude, and praising unto oure said Maker, like as we doo mooste lowly, humbly, and with all the inwarde desire of our harte. And inasmuche as we undoubtidly truste, that this oure good spede is to your great pleasure, comforte, and consolation, We, therefore, by thies our letters, advertise you thereof, desiring and hartely praying you to give, with us, unto Almightie God, high thankes, glorie, laude, and praising; and to praye for the good helth, prosperitie, and contynuall preservation of the said Princes[2] accordingly. Yeven under our Signet, at my Lordis Manour of Grenewiche, the 7 day of September, in the 25th yere of my said Lordis reigne.

L. S.

(*Superscribed*)
To oure right trustie and welbiloved,
the Lorde Cobham.

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[1] This letter (from the Harleian Collection, Vol. 283, leaf 75.), fixes the date of Q. Elizabeth's birth to have been the 7th of September 1533, which some historians state to have been the 6th, and others the 13th, of that month. It is not a little remarkable, that in the Harleian Catalogue this letter is stated to be from Queen Jane Seymour, notifying the birth of Prince Edward. A similar letter was written on the latter event, which is to be found rather incorrectly printed by Fuller in his Church History, p. 421, and is still extant in the Museum, Nero, C. X. leaf 1.

[2] The final letter *s* has been added, in these two instances, subsequently to the writing of the letter, which was, no doubt, prepared before the Queen's delivery. It is sealed with the Queen's Signet.

XVIII. Lord Mountjoy *to* Crumwell.[1]

Sir. In my herty maner I recommende me unto youe; in the same wise thankyng you for the great favour and frendeship, that I, dyverse wayes, have fownde in youe; trusting of good contynuaunce, whiche to my powar youe shall well knowe I woll deserve. Sir, the 8th daye of this present moneth of October, I receyved the Kynges moost honourable letters, datid at Grenewiche, the 6th daye of the same moneth, by the whiche I do perceyve His Grace is credybly enfourmed, that ther be in the house of the Lady Pryncesse Douagier sundry and dyverse persones, whiche obstinatly and wylfully, contrary to the determynation taken in that behaulf, do not desyste and forbere in callyng the sayd Lady by the name of Quene; wherin they shoulde shewe them selfes as the Kynges dysobedyent subjectes, not a litle to His Hieghnes displeasure; whiche thyng the Kynges Hieghnes dothe recken muste nedes comme to my knowlege. Wherfore His Grace wollethe me, if I have knowlege of any suche, to certefye the names of the same persenages, for that, that ferder order may be taken therin, as shall appertaigne. Sir, what busynes I have had in this matter, sens hyt firste beganne, aswell in the Cardinalles dayes, as sythen, by the Kynges commaundement, I have good cawse to have hit in remembraunce, for the hiegh displeasour, whiche I have had for the same. And I do perceyve well, the ferder I do wade herin, the more shalbe my busynes; and yet it shall not lye in me to accomplyshe the Kynges pleasour herin; whiche hathe cawsed me to absent my self from the Pryncesse house, by a good space. But, Sir, to certefye youe, howe I dyd leave the companye there, at my laste beyng there; suche as be of Her Graces Cowncell, and her offycers, and the officers of householde, forbare to calle her Quene; but dyvers of her chaplaynes made playne aunswer, that they coulde not see, howe the Kynges Grace coulde discharge their conscyences to calle her Pryncesse, they beyng sworne to her as Quene; and of that mynde wer, also, the Gentlewomen, aswell of the Privye Chamber, as other. And the Pryncesse Douagier hyrself sayde dyvers tymes, wee dyd her playne wrong, in calling her Pryncesse; for, in soo doyng, wee do bere false wytnesse agaynst her, whiche wee shoulde aunswer to afore God, and wee therin went aboute to undoo her. Yf hit so be nowe, that they of the Pryncesse householde do esteme lesse

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle M.

the

the Kynges hieghe commaundement, by me at twoo tymes declared unto them, than they dyd afore, I do suppose hit commythe of that, that in the same Pryncesse house a brute there is, and also a copye of a letter sente from Rome, by the whiche it is declared that the sentence is gyven with her at Rome, with many other sore thynges in the same letter contaigned, as I am enformed. Theise thynges consydered, I suppose hit shall not be well possible for me to be a reformer of folkes tongues, in this matter; and for me to be a complayner and accuser of them, whiche, as I veryly do thynke, bere their trewe hertes servyce and allegyaunce to the Kynges Grace, hit is not my parte, nor for me, this often, to vexe or unquyet her, whom the Kynges Grace cawsed to be sworne unto, and truly to serve her to my power; she keepyng herself trewe unto the Kyng, as I knowe noon other. I have had dyvers tymes sore wordes of the Pryncesse, for the messages whiche I have brought her, and executyng of commaundementes; that I had lever serve the Kynges Grace in any cawse, if hit wer very daungerous, then ferther to medle in this. And if hit be thought unto the Kynges Hieghnes, that any other can serve hym, in this rowme, better than I have doon, as I dought not but there be many; I hertely requyer youe to be a meanys, on my behaulf, to His Grace, that I maye, without His Graces displeasour, be discharged of the rowme of Chamberlaine; and I shall truly serve His Grace otherwise, at his pleasour, to my power; and I shall recken therby to be more often in his presence, than of longe tyme I have been, whiche shalbe moost to my comforte in this worlde. Sir, as I have aunswer agayne from youe, I shall order me, as nyghe as I canne to the Kynges pleasure, and your advyse. And thus Our Lorde have youe in his tuycyon. Wryten at Stondon, the 10th day of October.

Asurydly youres to hys power,

(*Signed*) W. Mountjoy.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right worshipfull, and his espetyall frende, Mr Cromwell, of the Kynges moost honorable Councell.

XIX. Bishop Salcot[1] *to* Crumwell.[2]

Ryght Worshypfull. After moste lovyng comendacyon, with moste harty thankes to yower Mastershyppe, for yower gret goodnes towardes me. Plesythe ytt yow to be advertysyde, that, of late, I reseyved serteyne letters from my frend, Master Thomas Wrythysley, the whyche I send yow by thys berer; and by the sayde letters I perseve, the Poopys Hollynes wyll, in noo wysse, grawnte me the Bulle, accordynge to the tenor of my supply-cacyon to hym made: wherfor I cane goo noo further in thys matter, tylle I knowe yower cowncelle in the same, wheerof I mooste humbbelly desyer yow to asserteyne me. My chapleyne, thys berer, shalle alweys attende uppon yow, to knowe yower plesure. And in caas the Bulle canne natt be opteynede, as ytt ys dyvysyde, I beseeche yower Mastershypp to calle to yower remembrans, that ye devysyde, and thowght ytt goode, the Kynges Hyghnes to gyve me the temporaltees of the sayde Bysshoppryche; wheer on to I humbelly desyre yow to be a meene for me, yff ytt may stand with yower pleesure; to the whyche I hoolly commytte all thys matter. Yff ytt be yower meende, I shalle nowe, att thys tyme, come to yow my selffe; yower pleesure knowyn, I wyll shortly be with yow. And thus the Hooly Trynyte preserve yow. Wrytyne att the Monastery of Hyde, the 4th day of November.

Your dayly Bedysmane,
(*Signed*) John Electe Bango?
& Abbott of Hyde.

(*Superscribed*)
To the ryght worshypfull, Master Cromewell, of the Kynges moste honorabull Cownsell.

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[1] John Salcot, alias Capon, D.D., Abbot of Hyde, was consecrated Bishop of Bangor, at Croydon, 19 April 1534, and retained his Abbey.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

XX. Minutes for the Council.[1]

Fyrste, to sende for all the Bisshoppes of this realme, and specyallie for suche, as now be nerest unto the Courte, and to examyn them a parte, whether they, by the law of God, can prove and justefie, that he, that

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[1] From the Museum, Cleopatra, E. VI. leaf 313. This paper has been printed by Burnet, Vol. 3. Coll. p. 71., but he has erroneously asserted the marginal notes, which are in Crumwell's hand, to have been in the King's. A paper, which appears to be the first draft of these minutes, indorsed "Mynutes, — Capite Rerum, as touching for sending of Busshopis, and "others, to perswade men that the Pope hathe no power in Englaunde," and largely corrected both by Audeley and Crumwell, is preserved in the Chapter House, in the Third Volume of Tracts, Theological and Political, leaf 88. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh of the above articles, are not in the other paper, which contains the eight following articles, not retained above:

"Item, a streyt commaundement to be yoven to the Maire, Aldermen, and Comen Counsaile of the Cytee of London, that everye of them, in their houses, shall lyberally speke at "their bourdes, and also teche their servauntes to declare, that he, that calleth himself Pope, "is but the Bisshop of Rome, and under the obedyens of the Generall Cownsayll; and hathe "non other auctoryte nor jurisdiction gyvyn to hym, within this realme, by the lawes of God, "then any other foreyn Bisshop hath, which hath nothing at all; and that lyke commaunde-"ment be gyven to the heddes, governers, and rulers of every good towne, within this realme, "to sett forthe the sayd oppynyon.

"Item, that all the Nobylytee of this realme shall have lyke commaundement to set "fourth the same opynyon, at their bourdes, openly; and also to declare the same to their "famylie, in every of their houses, and to commaunde their said famylie to brute the same "in all places, where they shall com.

"Item, devises to be made, and also put in execution, with all spede, for the fortyficacion "of all the frontures of this realme, aswell uppon the costes of the see, for the fortresses "and havens to be fortefyed and munyted, as also the frontures foranenste Scotlande; and "specyally those frontures of Scotlande to be most spedely provyded for, and money to be "sent to Yourke, to be in redynes, yf anye besynes sholde happen.

"Item, specyallie to remember to sende som trustie persons into Irelonde, to see that "domynyon establisshed; and also to drawe, combyne, and adhere towardes the King, asmany "of the grete Yrisshe rebelles, as is possible; and to practise to kepe peax there, and to "withstand all other practysys, that myght be practysyd ther with other.

"Item, to remember Wales; and to sende thither som gravous and assuryd persons, to "set that contrey in staye; and to call hither, from thens, suche persons as be evyll dooers, "and be not maynteners of justice, and to put in their places suche trustie persons, as will "surely travayle to preferre justice, and kepe those partes in quyet.

"Item, the Kinges navie to be repayred, with all convenyent spede; and in suche places "the reparacions to be made, as the same navie, ones being repayred, may most easely set "fourth to the see, when nede shall requyre, for the defence of the realme.

"Item, to survey all the Kinges ordynaunces and munycions of warre, and to knowe in "what state they stonde; and reparations to be made of the same, as the case shall require.

"Item, to knowe what store the King hathe of bowes, arrowes, handegonnes, gonnes, "gonnepowder, and stone, and other thinges necessary for the warre; to the intente that, if "lacke be of any kynde of those thinges, mete for the warre, provysion may be made in "season."

is now called the Pope of Rome, ys above the Generall Counsaile, or the Generall Cownsaile above him; or whether he hath gyven unto hym, by the law of God, any more auctoryte within the realme, then any other foreyn Bisshop.

2. Item, to devyse with all the Bisshoppes of this realme, to set fourth, preche, and cause to be preched, to the Kinges people, that the sayd Bisshop of Rome, called the Pope, is not in auctoryte above the Generall Counsaile, but the Generall Counsaile is above him, and all Bisshopes; and that he hathe not, by Goddes lawe, any more jurisdiction within this realme, then an other foreyn Bisshop, being of any other realme, hathe; and that suche auctoryte, as he before this hathe usurped within this realme, ys bothe ayenst Goddes law, and also ayenst the Generall Counsailes; which usurpacion of auctoryte onelie hathe growen to hym by the sufferaunce of Prynces of this realme, and by non auctoryte from God.

3. Item, therefore, that order be taken for suche, as shall preache at Paules Crosse, from hensfourth, shall contynually, from Sonday to Sonday, preche there, and also teche and declare to the people, that he, that now calleth himself Pope, ne any of his predecessours, is, and were, but onelie the Bisshopes of Rome, and hathe no more auctoryte and jurydiction, by Goddes lawe, within this realme, then any other foreyn Bushop hathe, which is nothing at all; and that such auctoryte, as he hathe claymed heretofore, hathe ben onelye by usurpacyon, and sufferaunce of Prynces of this realme; and that the Bisshop of London may be bounde to suffer none other to preche at Paules Crosse, as he wyll answer for, but suche as wyll preche and sett fourth the same.

4. Item, that all the Bisshoppes, within this realme, to be bounde and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preched thorough out all their dyoces.

5. Item, that a specyall practise be made, and also a streight commaundement yoven to all Provyncyalles, Ministers, and Rulers of all the foure Orders of Freers within this realme, commaunding them to cause the same to be preched, by all the preachers of their religions, in and thorough the hole realme.

6. Item, to practise with all the Freers Observauntes of this realme, and to commaunde them to preche in lyke wise; orelles that they may be stayed, and not sufferyd to preche in no place of the realme.

7. Item, that every Abbote, Pryour, and other heddes of religious houses, within this realme, shall, in lyke maner, teche their conventes and brethern to teche and declare the same.

8. Item

8. Item, that every Bisshop shall make specyall commaundementes to every parson, vicar, and curate, within hys dyoces, to preche and declare to theyr parochians, in lyke wise.

9. Item, proclamacions to be made thorough out the realme, conteyning the hole Acte of Appeles[1]; and that the same Acte may be impressed, transumed, and set up on every churche dore in Englonde; to thintent that no parson, vycar, curate, nor any other of the Kinges subjectes, shall make themselffes ignorant thereof.

10. Item, the Kinges provocation and appellations, made from the Bisshop of Rome unto the Generall Counsaile, may also be transumed, impressed, publisshed, and set up, on every churche dore in Englond; to the intent that if any censures should be fulmynate ayenst the King, or his realme, that then it may appere to all the worlde that the censures be of none effecte; considering that the King hathe alredy, and also before any censures provulged, bothe provoked and appeled.

11. Item, like transumptes to be made and sent into all other realmes and domynyons, and specyally into Flaunders, concerning the Kinges saide provocacions and appellacions; to thintente the falsehode, iniquyte, malice, and injustice of the Bisshop of Rome may thereby appere to all the worlde; and also to thintent that all the worlde may knowe, that the Kinges Highnes, stonding under those appeles, no censures can prevayle, ne take any effecte, ayenst him and his realme.

12. Item, a letter to be conceyved from all the Nobles, aswell Spirituall as Temporall, of this realme, unto the Bisshop of Rome; declaring the wronges, injuries, and usurpacions used ayenst the Kinges Highnes, and this realme.

Not yet done, ne can welbe done, before the Parlyament.

13. Item, to sende exploratours and espies into Scotlande, and to see and perceyve their practises, and what they intende there; and whether they wyll confeder them selffes with any other owtwarde Prynces.

For to send letters to my Lorde Dacre, my Lorde of Northumberland, and Syr Thomas Clyfford.

14. Item, certen discrete and grave persons to be appoynted to repaire into the parties of Germany, to practise and conclude some lege or amytee with the Prynces and Potentates of Germany; that is to sey, the King of Pole[2], King John of Hungary[3], the Duke of Saxony[4], the Dukes of Bavyere[5], Duke Frederyke[6], the Landegrave Van Hesse[7], the Bisshop of Magons[8], the Bisshop of Trevers[9], the Bisshop of Coleyn[10], and other the Potentates of

In the Kynges arbytrement.

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[1] Stat. 25 H. VIII. cap. 19., which prohibits Appeals to Rome. [2] Sigismond I.
[3] John Zapol. [4] John Frederick, the Magnanimous. [5] William IV., the Constant.
[6] Of the House of Brandenburg. [7] Philip, the Magnanimous. [8] Mentz. [9] Treves. [10] Cologne.

Germany;

Germany; and also to inserche of what inclynacion the saide Prynces and Potentates be of, towardes the King and this realme.

To knowe when, of the Kyng.

15. Item, like practise to be made and practised with the Cytees of Lubeke, Danske, Hamburgh, Bromeswyke, and all other the Steddes of the Haunse Tutonyk; and to inserche, of what inclynacion they be towardes the King and this realme.

16. Item, lyke practise to be made and practised with the Citees of Norimbergh, and Aughsbrough.

This is all rede doon.

17. Item, to remember the merchauntes adventurers, haunting the domynyons of Brabande; and to speke with them.

The order is taken.

18. Item, to set order and establisshement of the Pryncesse Dowagiers [1] house, with all celeryte; and also of my Lady Maryes [2] hows.

The orders taken.

19. Item, a full conclusion and determynacion to be taken for my Lady Prynces [3] house.

Acta in Consilio Domini Regis, 2do Decembris. [4]

Fyrst, that the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this booke, with the circumstances therof, is committed to Mr Deane [5], and Almoner [6], and oother Doctours, to serche their bookes, and to make answer againe therupon to the Lordes of the Counsail, by Friday or Saturday nexte; the Bishops of London [7], Lincoln [8], and Bathe [9], to be warned to be here afore the Counsell.

And as unto the oother 7 articles, depending upon the saied first, the Counsail will be advised therof, untill the retourne of the saied answer.

And as to the 9th 10th and 11th article, it is committed to my Lord Chauncellour and Mr Cromewell, to put in execution, with all spede, according to theffecte of the same.

As unto the 12th article, it is ordered, a mynute of a letter shalbe drawen and conceaved by Mr Almoner, according to the purport therof, and that, first of all, ther shalbe exhibited to the Counsail the copie of an olde

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[1] Catharine of Arragon.

[2] The Princess Mary, who was no longer called by that title. [3] Elizabeth.

[4] From the Museum, Cleopatra, E. VI. leaf 317. This must be the paper to which Lord Herbert refers, pp. 395, 396.

[5] Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapel.

[6] Edward Fox, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Provost of King's College.

[7] John Stokesley. [8] John Longland. [9] John Clerk.

letter

letter sent unto the Poope by the Nobles, in King Edwarde the First; and also the letter, whiche was laste sent to the Poope.

And as towching the 13th article, it is commytted to my Lorde of Norfolke and Mr Cromewell.

And as unto the 14th 15th and 16th articles, it is ordered that letters shalbe, with all spede, devised and sent unto Mr Wallopp, to advertise the French King therof, before any of them shalbe put in execution.

Item, for the demynyshyng of the howse and order of the Princez Dowager, the Kynges Highnes hath apoynted that the Duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Sussex, Mr Controller[1], and Mr Deane[2], shall repayer thedir, and to use them selfes accordyng to suche instructions, as shalbe devised for the same.

Item, for the demynyshyng of the howse, and orderyng of the Lady Mary, the Kynges Highnez hath apoynted, that the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Marquex, the Erle of Oxford, and Mr Almoner[2], shal repayer theder, and use them selfes accordyng to suche instructions, as shalbe devised for the same.

Item, the Kynges Highnez hath apoynted that the Lady Princes shal be conveyed from hens toward Hatfelde[3] upon Wednysday the next weke; and that Wednysday nyght, to repose and lye at the house of the Erle of Rutland, in Endfeld; and the next day to be conveyed to Hertford, and ther to remayne with suche famyly in houshold, as the Kynges Highnes hath assigned and established for the same.

XXI. The Duke of Suffolk, and Others, *to* King Henry VIII.[4]

Pleas it Youer Highnes. Apon Wennesdaye laste past, aftre dyner, we, according to your commandement, shewed and declared youer most gratiouse pleasure to the Princesse Douager, in her Gret Chamber; all manner servauntes of the house then there being, to heare what shuld be said. Whereunto the said Princesse, percisting in her gret stomake and obstynacye,

[1] Sir William Poulet.

[2] See notes, 5 and 6 in preceding page.

[3] "Hatfelde" is interlined, instead of "the Castell of Hertford," which words have been erased with a pen. "Hertford" has been suffered, by an oversight, to remain in the subsequent part of the paragraph.

[4] The Book (Otho, C. X.), from whence (leaf 210) this letter is published, is much injured by fire; but the deficient passages in this report are supplied from a copy in the Harleian Collection, No. 283. p. 102. made before the injury was sustained.

made

made aunswer, with an opyn voice, saying, that she knewe her self for youer Queane and true wyfe, never carnally knoen by Prince Arthur; and that she wold ever stand to, and prosecute, in the Courte of Rome, where the matter is depending, to be hewne in peses; utterly refusing not only the name of Princesse Douager, and her removing to Somersham, be cause of her helth; but, also, refusing utterlye to remove to any oder place, by the name of Princesse Douager, and to take the service of any persone, sworne to serve her as Princesse Douager; for all persuasions that coude be made to her by us, and after, by the Lord Mountjoy, Master Dymmok, her Almoner, and Receavour in her Chamber; wiche used all meanes they coude to persuade her, apon her sending for them to speke with her, that she should content her remove, and to take your most gratiouse order for her servauntes and housolde, howe some ever she dedd order her self in her cause. To whom, for aunswer, she said that she toke this chaunge of her name, and this oathe of her servauntes, to be to the gret hurt of her cause, and therefore she wold not, in any wise, conferm her self to that orders, ne oderwise obbey them, but compelled. Whereapon, the servauntes appointed by Your Highnes to serve her, when they cam bifore us, to receyve knowlege of your most graciouse pleasure, and to take that their new othe, they said they were lothe to serve her, percisting in the mynde she whas of. Neverthelesse, to obbey your commaundement, they wolde serve her, so they myght not be sworne; for they said, consydering there first othe made to her, as Queane, they myght not take the seconde othe without perjurye. And so they contynued atyme stiffly in there opinions, unto the tyme we had, with moch difficulte, gotten of them, that they hadd that knowlege of Abell and Berker, her chaplyns; whom we called and examyned, and founde them stiffly standing in there conscyence, that she whas your Queane and laufull wife, and that no man, sworne to serve her as Queane, myght chaunge that othe without perjury. And so they knoledged, that they had sheued to asmany as asked ther councell, and what whas there conscience; and in that opinion they percist still, saying, there learnyng so informyth there conscience. Whereapon we have commytted them to the porters warde, there to remayne, not speking with any oder person then their keper, till Your Graces further pleasure be therin knowen. And after this was disclosed, uppon good exortations, with some difficulte, many of the servauntes, appointed apon trust of your most gracyous favour, have receyved there rowmes and othes accordingly. And so we trust, by Godes helpe, to procede to the stablishment of the servauntes, and order of the housolde. Albeit, some persons, named in Your Graces boke, we chaunge apon good consyderation;

deration; and the Busshop of Langdaf[1], whom Your Grace appoynted to departe, we suffer to tary, til your further pleasure be knoen; for that she hath no Confessour lefte, yf he and Abell depart, that can speke Spaynyshe; in the which speche she is ever confessed, and cannot be in any oder, as she saith. And as we perceyve by reporte, the said Bushop is the man of most simplicitie, and shal do lest harme to tary, and be her Gostly Fader. And for asmoch as she, wilfully, and ageinst all humanite and reason, contynuyth still in this opinion, saying that, al though Youer Grace have pointed her to remove to Somersham, she may, ne will, in any wise folow Youer Graces pleasure thereyn, unlesse we shuld bynde her with ropes, and violently inforce her thereunto; saying, also, that she will not take the service of theise men, sworne to her as Princesse Douager, but as the service of men that hath the keping of her: and for asmuche as she persisteth in this obstinacy, and so will contynue, as we surely think; and for that also, by her wilfulnesse, she may fayne her self sycke, and kepe her bedd, or kepe her bedd in healthe, and wilnot put on her clothes, or oderwise order her self, by some imagination, that we nowe cannot call to remembraunce; which extremityes were not remembred at the making of our instructions, by reason whereof, your pleasure is not set furthe in our said instructions, what order shulde be taken with her, being in any such extremites: we most humbly beseke Your Highnes, the premisses considered, to send unto us your expresse pleasure, howe, and in what manour, Your Grace will have the same ordred, and put in execution: and as we may receyve the same your pleasure, apon Sonday next, be cause the Fest[2] approchith so fast. And this the Holy Trinite ever preserve Your Grace. From Bugden, this Friday, 6 at the clocke after none, being the 19th day of this present moneth of December. And be cause we doubte the Busshop, and the rest of her chaplins, shall refuse to make any othe, we have spared to speke with them, til Youer Graces further pleasure be thereyn knoene, what order shalbe taken with them, in case they shall so doo.

By your moste humble
subjectes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. (*Signed*) ROBT. SUSSEX.[3]
(*Signed*) WILLIAM POULET.
(*Signed*) RICHARD SAMPSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

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[1] John de Atequa, a Spaniard, whom Catharine had brought with her out of Spain, and who continued to be her chaplain.

[2] Christmas. [3] All the signatures, except that of Lord Sussex, are burnt off in the original.

XXII. The Duke of Suffolk, and Others, *to* The Duke of Norfolk.[1]

My Lord. In our most harty maner we recommend us un to Your good Lordschip. And by cause that we have writtin at more leinth to the Kinges Highnesse, we schall oonly advertyse yow, that we fynde here the most obstinate woman that may be; in so much that, os we thinke, suyrly there is noon other remedie, but by force to conveye hyrre from hense to Somersame. And forsomuch that, concerning this, we have nothing in our instructions, we pray Your good Lordschip, that with spede we may have knowleg off the Kinges expresse pleasour, at the forthest by Sonday[2] at night; or els ther schall not be tyme before the Fest[3], to remove hyrre.

My Lord, we have had no small traveyle to induce the servantes here to take the new othe; notwithstonding, now, many off theim are sworne, with promyse to serve the Kinges Highnesse, according to his pleasour. My Lorde, we founde thinges here farre from the Kinges exspectation, we assure yow, os more at our retorne ye schall know.

Morovyr, wher os Tomeo[4] was appoincted to be Clerke Comptrollar here, in this howse, and Wylbrayme with my Lady Princes[5], we undyrstonde that Your Lordschip hath taken Tomeo to serve my Lady Princes, and dyscharged Wylbrayme; by reason wheroff this howse is yet clerely disapoincted off that necessarie officier, by cause that, withowght hym, the stewarde here schall not be able to occupie the rome. Wherffor ther is now known noon other means, but that it may pleas Yowr Lordschip to send Wylbrayme hither, with diligence, to supplie that rome here.

Also we hartely pray Yowr good Lordschipp, that sure ordre may be there, for money to be sent hither with diligence now; for here is no more then to pay the dettes; wherffor, in the mean tyme, we have made provision of oon £100, tyll money may be sent. And, my Lord, it schall not be oonly necessarie to send money now, but that provision may be, from tyme to tyme, for lyke money. Ther must, also, my Lord, with diligence

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1 From Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Henry VIII. in the Chapter House, Vol. 3. leaf 130. It is in the handwriting of Dr. Sampson.

2 Dec. 21. 3 Christmas Day.

4 Probably Richard Tomyow, who afterwards filled the same office in the household of Lady Anne of Cleves. He was also steward to Lord Crumwell.

5 The Princess Elizabeth.

be

be sent hither commissions for provisions; wherof we have sent a dokette[1] to Mr Cromwell. These thinges we hartely pray Your good Lordschip to have in remembrance, that these 2 gentylmen, to whom the Kinges Grace hath now committed the charge, be not onfornisched, now, at ther begynning. And thus fare ye hartely well. At Bugden, this Fryday, the 19 off December.

(*Signed*) Charlys Soffolke.
(*Signed*) Robt. Sussex.
(*Signed*) William Poulet.
(*Signed*) Rich. Sampson.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lord, my Lord off Norfolke.

XXIII. Archbishop Lee *and* Bishop Tunstall *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Hieghnes to undrestande, that this daie we repaired to the Princesse Dowagier, and there I, thArchbisshop of Yorke, for an introduction, to declare to her theffect of our commission, saide to her, first, that Your Hieghnes had often sent to her diverse of Your Counsaill, and amongist them, me oon, to declare to her the invaliditie of the mariage betwen Your Hieghnes and her; secondly, that carnall knowleage, whiche is the greate kaie of the matier, is sufficiently proved in the lawe, as also som that were of her Counsaill do avowe; thirdely, that upon prove so sufficiently made of carnall knowleage, divorce was made betwen Your Hieghnes and her; fourthly, that upon divorce made by lawfull sentence, she was admonisshed to leave the name of a Quene, and not to accompte or call herself, herafter, Your Hieghnes wief; fifthly, howe that after Your Hieghnes was discharged of the mariage made with her, youe contracted newe mariage with your derest wief, Quene Anne; sixthly, that forsomoche as, thanked by God, fair issue[2] is already sprong of this mariage, and more likelie to folowe, by Goddis grace, that thole bodie of Your realme, gathered

[1] This docket remains in the Chapter House (among Crumwell's Correspondence, Bundle S.) inclosed in the letter to Crumwell, which is of the same tenor with that above printed.
[2] The Princess Elizabeth was born 7 September 1533.

to guether in Parliament, hath, for thestablishment of this issue by your derest wief, Quene Anne, and the succession commyng of this mariage, made actes and ordinaunces against all them, that wolde, in worde or in dede, withstande them; and that for these purposes we were sent to Her Grace, to thintent she myght understande the true purporte of these actes, with the paynes; lest, by ignoraunce, she sholde fall in any of them: and so I declared the Acte[1]. Whiche thing being thus declared to her, she, being therwith in great coler and agonie, and alwaies interrupting our wordes to the forsaide poyntes, made these answers folowing. To the first, that she toke the matrimonie betwen Your Hieghnes and her for goode; and so alwaies wolde accompte herself to be Your Hieghnes lawfull wief, in whiche opinion she saide she wolde contynually, til death, persiste. To the seconde, she uttrely denyed that ever carnal knowleage was had betwen her and Prince Arthur, and that she wolde never confesse the contrarye; and, with lowde voice, whenne mencion was made of this poynte, she said they lied falsely, that so saide. To the thirde, she answered, that she is not bounde to stande to that divorce, made by my Lorde of Cauntorbury, whom she called a shadowe; and that although he had geven sentence against her, yet the Pope had geven sentence with her, whom she toke for Christes Vicar, and therfore wolde alwaies obeye hym, as his faithfull doughtour. To the fourth she answered, that she wolde never leave the name of a Quene, and she wolde alwaies take herself for Your Hieghnes wief. To the fifth she said, that this mariage, made after her appeale, whiche she made by Your Hieghnes leeve and consent, is of no valeur. To the sixth she answered, that she is not bounde to thactes of the Parliament; forsomoche as she is Your Hieghnes wief, and not subgiet to Your Hieghnes; and also, because these actes were made by Your Hieghnes subgiettes in your favour, Your Hieghnes being partie in this matier; with diverse other unseamyng wordes. Unto whiche her aunswer, I, the Bisshop of Duresme, replieng, forasmoche as she had saied in her communication, that both I, and the residue of her Counsaill, had alwaies shewed unto her, that her matier was juste and goode, I saide, that all the question, whereupon we were consulted, at soche tyme as the Legates were here, depended onely upon the validitie of the Bull and Bref; albeit I saide, that, sith that tyme, diverse oother questions had risen, and had been debated by many universities, the chief of Christendome, of whiche oon was Bonanie, the Popes own town, and by them concluded,

[1] Stat. 25 H. VIII. cap. 22. An Act for the Establishment of the King's Succession.

that,

that, after the decesse of the brother, who had had carnall knowleage with his wief, the brother lyving might not marye the said wief, by any dispensacion of the Pope, bicause it was forbidden by the lawe of God. And forasmoche as the Pope, albeit the saied conclusions have been by lerned men, sent from Your Hieghnes, declared unto him, never made aunswer to maynteigne lawfully his power to the contrarye, but rather, in confirmacion of thopinions of the saiede universities, saied at Marsile [1], that yf Your Grace wolde sende a proxie thidre, he wolde geve the sentence for Your Hieghnes against her; bicause that he knewe that your cause was goode and juste; whiche his saying was according, also, to an Epistle Decretall, sent hither by the Legate Campegius, whereof theffect was, that yf mariage and carnall knowleage were had betwixt Prince Arthur and her, the Legates shulde pronounce for the divorce; according wherunto, proves were brought in before the Legates, and also sens, bifore the Convocacions of this realme and the Bisshop of Cauntorburye, and by them allowed and approved, as sufficient and lawfull; wherby it doth plainely appeare, that the sentence, geven by the Pope to the contrary, was not vaileable, bicause it pronounced the dispensacion, whiche he had no power to graunt, seing it was against the lawe of God, to be goode: therefore I had nowe chaunged my former opinion, and exhorted her to do the semblable, and to forbeare to usurpe any more the name of a Quene; specially, for that the sentence, whiche she sticketh so greately unto, was geven after Your Graces appeale to the Consel Generall, and intimate to the Pope, so that it coulde not be vaileable; and that yf she wolde so doo, she might thereby attaigne moche quietnes for herself, and her freendes, and that she being conformable so to doo, I doubted not but Your Hieghnes woolde suffre her to have abowt her suche persons, as shulde be to her pleasour, and intreate her as Your Graces moost derest sistur, with all libertie and pleasour; with diverse oother thinges, which, by her moche entrelacing, I was forced to aunswer unto: the specialties whereof, and of her obstinacie, that she woll in nowise, ne for any perill, or losse of her lief or goodes, relinquishe the name of a Quene, we do remitte, for tediousnes, unto the wisdomes and discretions of my Lorde of Chestre [2], Maister Almoner, and Mr Bedell; who, like as they have veray substancially, wisely, and effectuelly ordered themself in thexecucion

[1] The Pope was at Marseilles in October 1533.

[2] Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The modern Bishoprick of Chester was not erected till 1541, but the See of Lichfield having anciently been at Chester, the Bishops were often afterwards familiarly called Bishops of Chester.

of

of the premisses, so we doubt not, but that they woll sincerely reaporte the circumstaunces of the same unto Your Hieghnes: whom we beseche Almightie God long to preserve in moche honour, to his pleasour, and your hartes desire. At Huntington, the 21st daie of Maie,

by Your Hieghnes moost humble
subgiettes, servauntes and chapilaines,
(*Signed*) EDOUARDE EBOR.
(*Signed*) CUTHBERT DURESME.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Hieghnes.

XXIV. BEDYLL *to* SECRETARY CRUMWELL.[1]

As I am greatly bounden to youe, so I commende me hertly to you. I am right sory to se the folisshenes and obstinacy of diverse religious men, so addict to the Bisshop of Rome, and his usurped power, that they contemne al counsell, and likewise the jeopardie of thair bodies and soules, and the suppression of thair houses, as careles men, and willing to die. If it were not for the opinion, whiche men had, and som yet have, in thair apparent holinesse, which is, and was, for the most part, covert hipocrysy, it made no greate mater what became of thaim, so thair soules were saved; and, as for my part, I wold that al suche obstinat persons of thaim, whiche be willing to die for the avauncement of the Bisshop of Rome his auctoritie, were ded in dede, by Goddes hand, that no man shuld run wrongfully into obloqui for thair just punisshement. For the avoiding whereof, and for the charite, that I owe to thair bodies and soules, I have taken som paynes to reduce thaim from thair errors; and wol take more, if I be commaunded specially; to thentent that my Soveraine Lord, the Kinges Grace, shuld not be trobled or inquietted with thair extreme madnes and folie. I meane this, not only by diverse of the Charterhouses, and chefely at London, but, also, by others, as by diverse of the Frirys at Sion, whiche be mynded to offer thaim self in sacrific to the greate idole of Rome; and in thair so mynding, they be cursed of God, as al other bee, whiche put thair trust and confidence in any man, concernyng everlasting life. And in caas they had not suche confidence in the Bisshop of Rome, they wold never be so

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

redy

redy to lose thair temporall life for him, and for his sake, whiche is the greate impostor and disceyver of the worlde.

Yesterday, Maister Mores, surveyour of the landes of Sion, being a right honest man, and a feithful to his Prince, asfar as I coulde ever perceyve, came to me, to Otford [1], to declare to me the state of the house of Sion, concernyng the Kinges Grace title of the Supreme Hed of the Churche of England, as he had knowlege by the confessor of that house, whiche is a sad man, bothe tractable, and conformable to do every thing, according to his duetie: whiche Mores, knowing by the relation of the said confessor, and of others, suche thinges as hereafter ensue, thought that it was his part to utter it, as it myght com to your knowlege; and, by you, to the Kinges Grace, if ye demed it to be expedient: and therefor, he desired me (whiche had medled sumwhat in that mater affor), to write unto you, as here after foloweth:

First, that the confessor there hath preched twice, sythens my Lord of London and I wer at Sion, and dyd his dutie, concernyng the said title accordingly; and likewise did Maister David Curson, two tymes, saving that he brought in, one tyme, these wordes, "mea culpa," out of frame, as diverse did report. Percaas he thought no harme thereby, but was a terme, that he commonly used, and so came into his speche unadvisedly.

Item, on Sonday last, one Whitford, one of the most wilful of that house, preched, and wold speke no worde of the Kinges Grace said title; and this man hath but small lernyng, but is a greate rayler.

Item, on Sainct Bartilmews day, one Ricot preched, and declared the Kinges title, as he was commaunded; but he had this addicion, that he, whiche commaunded him so to preche, shuld discharge his conscience; menyng thereby (as I suppose) outher the Bisshop of London, or els the confessor. And assone as the said Ricot began to declar the Kinges said title, nyne of his brethern, Friers of Sion, departed from the sermon, contrarie to the rule of thair religion, to the great sclaunder of al the audience; and the names of thaim, whiche so departed, be thes, Coppinger, Lache, a very wilful and sedicious person in this cause, Letell, Bisshop, Parker, Browne, Turlington, Androw, and Bowell.

It may please you therefor to forese and judge, whether, in this caas, it shalbe better, for a season, tyl your retorne to London, to commaunde thaim to surcesse of al preching, or els to provide som remedy, in the meane tyme, against thaim, whiche shal preche, and wol not do thair duety; and

[1] See page 9.

against

against thaim, whiche wol fle from the sermon of thair brethern, declaring the Kinges Grace said title. If any suche remedie shalbe put in execution, as towching the attachement, or putting in prison, of any of thaim, it shuld be best bestowed, in myne opinion, upon Frire Whitford, and upon Lache, whiche bee the vauntperlers, and heddes of thair faction, as I evidently perceyved, whan I was there meself; yet upon trust of reformation of thaim to be goten by the persuasions of the confessor (whiche promised to do the best that he myght therein), I forbor, hitherto, to shewe any thing of thair lewde behavor, shewed in open audience, when I was at Sion. But now, understanding that the confessor can do no good with thaim, and that the obstinat persons be not in fere of him, but he in greate fere and dainger of his life, by reason of thair malice, whiche grudge sore against him, for that he hath consented to the Kinges said title, and hath preched the same; I can do no lesse, but certifie you thereof, seing I am in muche dispaire of thair reformation by any gentyl and favorable maner. Item, it shuld not be ill doen, in myne opinion, if som of the Kinges Grace servantes, inhabited thereabought, were commaunded to be present at thair sermons, and in caas any of thaim fayled to declare the Kinges said title, acording to the commaundement gyven to thaim in that behalf, or wold wilfully depart from the sermon of thaim, whiche wold do thair duetie in declaring the said title, that the Kinges Grace said servant, or servantes, shuld attache the said misdoers, and bring thaim to prison, to the terrible example of thair adherentes, and to the discharging of the house of Syon of suche corrupt and malicious persons. The confessor there, and som other of the wisest of his brethern, the Abbas, and al her religious susters, like good, wise, and feythful ladyes to our Soveraine Lord, be wel contented with the Kinges Grace said title, and wolbe redy to declare thair consentes to the same, when so ever they shalbe required; as I am now informed, and as I also perceyved meself, when I was at Sion. It is doubted, that som of the Frires of Sion wol attempt to escape out of thair cloyster; and if they so did, so men shuld never here tidinges of thaim, nouther know where they became, it were no greate lost.

The Brethern of the Charterhouse of London have caused a frend of thairs to write a letter to me, desiring that I wolbe meane to my Lord of London to com thither againe, ons affore your coming to London, and to com with him; affirmyng that there is good liklyhood, that than they wolbe brought to good conformite, acording to thair duety. Whiche I wolbe the more redy to accomplisshe, if I may have som commaundement so to do; and without that, I wolbe lothe to medle with thaim any more; seing I labored

labored so muche alredy, in vayne, to bring thaim from thair inveterat error to the very duety of a feithfull subject to his naturall Prince.

I am long in thes my letters, and yet I write not al whiche is nede to be writen; reservyng the same to your commyng to London, where I wolbe sone, upon the knowlege of your commyng thether, by the grace of God; who preserve youe in long helthe and welthe, to his and your pleasure. And I pray you to remember me, as one of your owne. From Otford, the 28th day of August.

By your owne,
(*Signed*) THOMAS BEDYLL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Maister Secretary [1], my moost especial frende.

XXV. THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD *to* KING HENRY VIII. [2]

Illustrissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Henrico, ejus nominis Octavo, Fidei Defensori, necnon Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in terris post Deum Supremo Capiti, Universus Oxoniensium cœtus perpetuam exoptat fœlicitatem.

MISIT huc Sacratissima Tua Majestas, Serenissime Rex, duos egregios viros, qui autoritate tua, quæ summa in hoc regno et est, et esse jure debeat, non tam hujus Academiæ Tuæ Collegia, quam Aulas, sic enim vulgo appellamus, inviserint, non ob aliud, sicuti res ipsa palam declarat, quam quod velis virtutum ac bonarum literarum studia, sicubi frigescere viderentur, excitare. Et quoniam linguarum cognitio plurimum habeat ad meliores literas percipiendas momenti, curasti, Regum prudentissime, ut bona collegiorum pars suis perpetuo alat impensis, qui Græcam pariter ac Latinam linguam publice profiteantur. Ob quod tuum tam præclarum facinus, quantum nos omnes, atque adeo solidioris literaturæ candidati, Tuæ Sublimitati debeant, ne verbis quidem, tantum abest ut literis ullis quantumvis prolixis, exprimere possimus. Sed de ijs hactenus narrabant nobis præfati duo eximij viri, mandasse Majestatem Tuam, uti non tam Romani Pontificis autoritati, quem in hoc regno nullam habere constat, scriptis (ut vulgari modo loquamur) renunciaremus, sigillo nostro communi obsignatis, quam in tua ac tuorum successorum verba

[1] The precise date of Crumwell's being made Secretary of State is not ascertained. His promotion to that office took place between 7 December 1533 and 12 April 1534.

[2] This is printed from a contemporary copy, which is without signature or seal.

fideliter juraremus. Quæ tametsi antea semel fecimus [1], attamen ne videremur parum mandatis tuis obtemperantes, denuo quoque facere non sumus gravati. Proinde dignetur, rogamus, Sacratissima Tua Majestas, Oxoniensis Academiæ alumnos, quos in suam susceperit clientelam, solitis privilegijs ac immunitatibus donare; sine quibus nec Musas ipsas, quibus est quies cum primis grata, immo nec Christianam concordiam colere possumus. Et nos Sacri nominis Tui memoriam ita precibus renovabimus, ita literis ac monumentis nostris conservabimus, ut adversus omnem oblivionis injuriam semper manserit invicta. Christus Optimus Maximus Majestatem Tuam quam diutissime servet reipublicæ incolumem. Oxoniæ, 18° Calendas Octobris.

(*Superscribed*)
Serenissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Regi,
Henrico, ejus nominis Octavo, Fidei
Defensori, necnon Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ
post Christum Capiti Supremo.

XXVI. Sir William Poulet *to* Crumwell. [2]

After most harty recommendation. The Kinges Highnes, well considering the letter directed to you, from my Lady Brian, and oder my Lady Princes officers, Is Grace, with the assent of the Queanes Grace, hath fully determyned the wenyng of my Lady Princes, to be don with all diligens, and that Her Grace shall have the hole place, where Arr Grace light, without restreint of any part, with that the officers put the hous of Langley in redynes, to serve, as case shall require. And so I have, by the Kinges commaundement, wretyn to them; wiche letters, with a letter from the Quenes Grace to my Lady Brian, this bringer hath. And the Kinges Highnes willed me to advertise you, that the commissions for the depeche of His Graces Imbasitours shalbe shortly spede, for that he wold have you return to His Grace agayn. Signifying you, that His Grace, and the Quenes Grace, doth well, and be mery, and all theres, thankes be to God. From Sarum, the 9th day of October. Yours assuredly,

(*Signed*) William Poulet.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right wurshipfull
Master Secretary.

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[1] Strype seems to have thought (Life of Cranmer, p. 26.) that the declaration of the University of Oxford against the Pope, which is extant in the Cottonian Library, Cleopatra, E. VI. fo. 209, was the original document; but it is only a copy, apparently made towards the end of the 16th century. It is dated "in Domo Convocationis, 27 Junij 1534," and is the same with that which is published by Burnet. Vol. 3. Coll. p. 53.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle P. Holograph.

XXVII. BISHOP CLERK *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT honorabyll, and my syngler good Master, in my moost harty maner I commend me unto yow, with lyke thankes for your manyfold goodnes towardis me; praying yow off contynuance off the same, as I may deserff it unto yow, with my prayr, for I can not otherwise. So it is, this same Sonday, ther preachyd heer, in the Cathedrall Churche of Wellys, oon Doctor Carsley, Chanon and Resydenciary of the same Churche; and when he cam to the byddyng off the beadis, after a very honorabyll mention maad off the Kynges Highnes, he sayd these wordis, "that, accordyng to "our most bownden dewty, we shold pray for His Grace, and for the Lady "Katheryn the Quene, and, also, by expresse name, for my Lady Elsabeth "Prynces, ther dowghter." Immediatly I opynly shewyd hym off his error, and reprovyd hym for the same. The trewth was, that he staggaryd a season, and wold in no wyse be a known, that he hadd spokyn off the Lady Katheryn any word; butt, at the last, assuryd theroff by me, and other, that he had spokyn it, he opynly, by for all the audience, knowleged his error and fawt, and semyd to be very sory therfor; saying, "I call God "to record, that I thowght not off the Lady Katheryn. I ment only Queen "Anne, for I know no moo Queenys, but hyrr." The manne is reaportyd to be a good man; he is not moche under the age off 80; ther was no man there, butt he myght well perceiff that the word scapyd hym unwars, ex lapsu lingue. Notwhitstandyng, I thowght it my dewtye to advertyse yow theroff, and, by my fidelite to God, and to the Kyng, so have I, off the hole and playn trowthe. And thus, Master Secretary, iff ther be any thyng, wher in I canne shew yow any pleasur or service, testor Deum, ther shalbe no man moor redy therunto, then I. Thus the Almyghty God preserff yow. From Wellys, the 21 day off February.

Your Beadman,

(*Signed*) JO. EPS BAT. & WELLEN̄SS:

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorabyll Master Cromwell,
Secretary to the Kynges Grace.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

XXVIII. Archbishop Lee *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right Honorable. After my hertiest commendation. I send you, by this bearer, my profession to the Kinges Highnes, signed and sealed aftre the fourme, wiche you wrote to me, as by the same dothe appere; declareng my self redie in this, and all ooder thinges, as my conscience and lerneng woll suffre, to folowe the pleasour and commawndment of the Kinges Highnes; so that Our Lorde bee not offended, and the unitie of the Faiethe, and of the catholique Chyrche saved: for the saveng wherof I well perceive the Kinges christen and catholique mynd, in a statute[2], the 25th yere of the King, in the 21 Chapiter. Ne I shall wilfullie and knoweng offende His Highnes, my naturall Prince and Soveraigne Lorde, in any thing, wherin I maye save me from his offense, God not offended. And with this I truste His Highnes wolbee content, to whom I shall daylie praye Our Lorde to send rest, and quietnesse, and peax of hert in hym. And thus fare you hertelie well, my verie good Mr Secretarie. From Thorpe[3], the 27th February 1534.

Your owne ever assured,

(*Signed*) Edouarde Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable my speciall good freende, Mr Secretarye.

XXIX. Bishop Shaxton *to* Crumwell.[4]

Honorable Sir, my deutie done, in my most humble, and no lesse hartie maner, these shalbe to intreat you to have in remembraunce the instrument, that I dede speke unto you for, which is called "Custodias Temporalium"; that it wyll pleas you to commaund your servaunt, Mr Pople, to make an ende in itt, and delyver itt unto you; that ye, like as ye sayde to me ye

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle L.

[2] Stat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 21. against Peter-pence and Dispensations, passed in February or March 1533.

[3] Bishopthorpe, one of the Archiepiscopal Palaces in Yorkshire.

[4] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S. This is wholly written by Shaxton.

wold

wold doo, mought gett ytt signed bi the Kynges Heighnes; so that I mought be discharged by itt, in the Eschekyr, for the revenneuse of the Bysshoprick of Sarum nott to be exacted for the half yere; that is to saye, frome Mychaelmes unto the Annunciation of Our Ladie last past: and more over, that ye wyll adresse your letters, by me, unto the Chanons Residenciaries of Sarum, that they exact none othe of me, at my repayryng thither, neither for my Bysshopricke, whiche I confesse myself to take onely of the Kynges hand, by your good meanes, nor yett for the Prebende of Poterne to the same annexed: for these two thynges, onely, kepe me now from my dyocese; and, your pleasure in them had, I am redy to goo thedyr, and doo my deutie to God, and my Kynge, as wele as my small wytt wyll serve me. The othe includeth these 3 poyntes, that I shulde swere and promyse fidelitatem Ecclesie Sarum, et quod defenderem, pro viribus, jura et libertates ejusdem Ecclesie, pariter cum consuetudinibus antiquis et approbatis. Now how these particles canne stond with myn othe, gevyn befor to the Kynges Grace, I cann not perceyve. Wherfor doo that ye thynke good in this matter, I most hartely praye you, and late me knowe your pleasure, and I shall ordre myself therafter, by the grace of God, who preserve you. Murtelack, the 27 daye of Maij.[1]

Your own to comaund,

N. Shaxton, Bysshop of Sarisburye.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my synguler good Master, Secretarie to the Kyng his Heyghnes.

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[1] Shaxton succeeded to the See of Sarum, on the deprivation of Cardinal Campeggio. The writs for the restitution of his temporalties are given by Rymer, (Vol. XIV. p. 550.) as bearing date 1 April, 26 H. VIII. i. e. 1535. But there is probably a mistake in that date, for not only in this letter of the 27th of May, but in another, of the 4th of June, printed in Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 101., Shaxton complains to Crumwell, that he had not received custodias temporalium; and, according to Cranmer's Register, as given by Strype, in his Life of that Archbishop, p. 37., Shaxton appears not to have been consecrated till the 11th of April, until after which he was not capable of doing Homage, a ceremony which precedes the restitution of the temporalties. He resigned the See on the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, in 1539, and returned to the Roman Catholic Religion.

XXX. Bishop Gardyner *to* Crumwell.[1]

Master Secretary. After my most harty commendations. Albeit in my last letters to youe, sent with my letters of answer to the Kinges Highnes, I desired of youe to have knowlege thence, howe my Lord of London[2] proceded there, in thexecution of the Kinges Highnes commaundement, which was, as I thinke, of oon tenour to us both; yet nowe doubting, lest your greate busynes might differre the answer therof, lenger thenne I wold it shuld, I have, of myn owne hed, made oute commaundementes, thorowe out of al my diocesse, of such tenour, as my servaunte, this berer, shal shewe youe; in which I thinke I have satisfied theffecte of the Kinges Highnes letters to me directed, for somoch. Wherunto if ye thinke any thing to be added, in that matier, it may soone be supplied. As touching childern, I have delyvered thiese verses, herin inclosed, to be lerned, to the scolers of Winchestre; to other pety teachers I geve commaundement, in general. This is doon onward, and more shalbe, if ye thinke necessary; wherof I praye youe take the payne to advertise me. And althowe, as I have devised the wordes to be spoken, I preache the matier, upon Sonday next, in every mannes mouth, yet wyl I prech, also, omitting al other respectes of myself, rather thenne I shuld be otherwise taken, thenne I am; that is to saye, openly to swere oon thinge, and pryvely to worke, saye, or doo otherwise; wherof I was never gylty. Nevertheles, I have as gret cause as any man, to desire rest and quiet, for the helth of my body; wherunto I thought to have entended, and to absteyne from bookes and wryting, having finished the translation of Saynt Luke and Saynt John, wherin I have spent a gret labour.[3]

And nowe restith the levying of the Subsidie, and the Commissions of Sewars, in two places, and the Commission for Musters; wherin, upon your advertisement, we have stayed hitherto; abyding nowe, whither ye wil commaunde us to doo any thing in it, or noo. I seme to be here in ocio, and I was never more buysied; what with the matiers itself, and what

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W. This letter is holograph.

[2] Stokesley.

[3] The Convocation, in December 1534, besought the King to have the Bible translated. The Archbishop allotted the work to various Divines, all of whom completed their task, except Bishop Stokesley, who refused to undertake it. See Strype's Life of Cranmer, pp. 24 — 34.

with

with care, lest I do not well. Finally, as it shall please the Kinges Highnes to ordre expressely, I shall gladly doo; of which mynde I have ever constantly been. As knowith God, who sende youe helth and prosperite. From Waltham [1], the 10th day of June.

Your assured frende,

(*Signed*) STE. WINTON'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right worshipful Master Thomas Cromwel, Principal Secretary to the Kinges Highnes.

XXXI. INTERROGATORIES, ministered, on the Kinges behalf, [*unto*] John Fissher, Doctour of Divinitie, late Busshop [2] [*of Rochester*], the 14th daie of June, in the 27 yere of [*the Reign of*] King Henrie thEight, within the Towre [*of London, by the*] right worshipfull Mr Thomas Bedyll, [*Mr Doctour Aldrige*], Mr Richard Layton, and Mr Richard [*Curwen, being of the*] Kinges Counsaill, in the presence of Harrie [*Polstede and John*] Whalley, witnesses, and me, John ap Rice, Notary [*Publick*], with thansweres of the said Mr Doctour Fissher to the [*same*]. [3]

FIRSTE, whether he wolde obeye the Kinges Highnes, as Supreme Hedde in Erthe under Christe, of the Church of England, and hym so repute, take, and accepte, according to the Statute in that behalf made?

To this interrogatorie, he answered and said thus; that in thende of the communication and examynacion, had last bifore this tyme, with this respondent, one of [*them did*] make mocion unto hym, [*lyke as*] this respondent thought , to the which mocion [*he gave*] than a certain answere, [*and to the*] same he is yet content (the Kinges Highnes pleasure s[*ignified to him*] therein) fully to stande; and th[*at he*] woll further, with his owne hande, more at length write and [*declare*] the same; which answer being eftsones nowe repeted by mouth, [*with*] all the circumstances of the [*sa*]me, he required the said Counsaill to s[*hew*] unto the Kinges Majestie.

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[1] Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire, where the Bishop of Winchester had a Palace, which was destroyed in the Civil War of the 17th century.

[2] Bishop Fisher was attainted by Parliament, in December 1534, for refusing to take the Oath of Succession, but he was not beheaded till 22 June 1535.

[3] This paper, which is mutilated by damp, is among 'Tracts Theological and Political' in the Chapter House, Vol. 7. leaf 5.

Item,

Item, whether he woll consent, approve, and affirme [*the Kinges*] Highnes mariage with the moste noble Quene Anne, [*that now*] is, to be good and laufull; and affirme, saye, and pr[*onounce*] thother pretended mariage betwene the Kinges said High[*nes and*] my Lady Catherine, PrincesseDowager, was and is [*unlawful*], nought, and of no[*ne effect*], or no?

To this interrogatorie, he answered and said; that [*he wold*] obeye this, and all o[*ther ar*]ticles and particles, conteign[*ed in the Acte*] of Succession in all [*point*]s, (saving allweys his conscience): [*and*] as touching the su[*ccession, he*] saith he is not onlie content to accepte and approve the same; ye, and swere therto, but also to defende the same, and dampne the tother. Albe it to answere absolutely to this interrogatorie, ye or nae, he desireth to be pardoned.

Item, examined wherein, and for what cause, he wolde not answere resolutelye to the said interrogatories?

To this interrogatorie he desireth, that he maye not be driven to answere, leste he shulde fall therby into the daungers of the Statutes.

(*Signed*) J. (*Notarial Mark*) R.

XXXII. Interrogatories, ministered to Sir Thomas More, Knight.[1]

1. Firste, whether he had any communication, reasonyng, or consultacion with any man or person, syns he cam to the Towre, touching thActes of Succession[2], thActe of Supreme Hedde[3], or thActe, wherin speking of certain wordes by the Kinges Highnes is made treason[4], or no? and yf he saye, yes; than be he asked, whan, howe ofte, with whome, and to what effecte?

2. Item, whether he receaved any letters of any man, or wrote any man, or wrote any letters to other men, sens he cam to the Towre, touching the said actes, or any of theym, or any other busines or affaires concernyng the Kinges Highness, his succession, or this his royalme? and if he saye, yes; than be he enquired, howe many, of whome, and to whome, whan, and of what tenour or effecte?

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[1] From the same Volume, leaves 6 and 7. Sir Thomas More was attainted for the same cause, and at the same time, as Bishop Fisher; his execution was delayed a few days longer, viz. to 6 July 1535.

[2] 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22. [3] 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. [4] 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.

Item,

3. Item, whether the same letters be foorth commyng, or no? and yf he saye, no; than be he asked, why, and to what entent they were doon aweye, and by whose meanes?

4. Item, whether any man of this royalme, or without this royalme, did sende unto hym any letters or message, counsailling or exhorting hym to continue and persiste in the opinion, that he is in? Yf he saye, yes; than be inquired, howe many theye were, of whome, whan, and to what effecte?

Thansweres of Sir Thomas Moore, Knyght, made to certain interrogatories ministred unto hym, the 14th daie of June, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi 27°, within the Towre of London, on the behalf of the Kinges said Highnes, before Mr Bedle, Mr Doctour Aldrige, Mr Doctour Layton, Mr Doctour Curwen, in the presence of Polstede, Whalley, and Rice aforesaid.

To the firste he answereth, that he never had any communication, or consultacion, touching any of the actes or matiers specified in this interrogatory, sens he cam to the Towre, with any person, as he saith.

To the seconde interrogatorie he saith, that sens he cam to the Towre, he wrote divers scrolles or letters to Mr Doctour Fissher, and receaved from hym some other agein; wherof the moste parte (as he saith) conteigned nothing els, but comforting wordes from either to other, and declaracion of thestate that they were in, in their bodies, and gevyng of thankes for suche meate or drinke, that the tone had sent to the tother. But he saith, that he remembreth, that apon a quarter of a yere, to his remembraunce, after the commyng of this deponent to the Towre, this respondent wrote a letter to Mr Fissher, wherein he certified hym that this examinat had refused the othe of succession; and never shewed the Counsaill, nor intended ever to shewe any other, the cause, wherfor he did so refuse the same. And the said Mr Fissher made hym answere, by a nother letter, agein, wherin he declared what answere he had made to the Counsaill, and remembreth that this was parte of the contentes therof: "howe he had not refused to swere "to the succession." And saith, that there went no other letters betwene theym, that any thing touched the Kinges busynes, lawes, or affaires, till the Counsaill cam hether, firste of all, to examye this deponent upon thActe of Supreme Hed. After which examination, this examinat receaved a letter from Mr Fissher, of this effect, vizt "Howe he was desirous to knowe of "this respondent, what answere he had made to the Counsaill." And

therupon thys respondent answered hym by a nother letter, other thus: "My Lorde, I am determyned to medle of no thing, but only to geve my "mynde uppon Godd, and the summe of my hole studie shalbe, to thinke "upon the Passion of Christe, and my passage out of this worlde, with the "dependences therupon"; — or els thus: "My Lorde, myne answer was "this, that I was determyned to medle with no thing," &c. as above: he can not well remembre, whether of bothe the seid weys he wrote the same letter. Than, within a while after, he saith, he receaved a nother letter from the said Mr Fissher, of this effect; "That he was infourmed that there was a worde in "the statute[1], "MALICIOUSELY;" and yf it were so, that he thought therby, "that a man, speking nothing of malice, did not offende the statute; and "desired this respondent to shewe hym, whether he sawe any otherwise in it". And this respondent answered hym agen, by a nother letter, shortely after, of this effecte, vizt "Howe this examinat toke it to his thinking, as he did; but "the understanding or interpretacion of the said statute shulde nother be "taken after his mynde, nor after this deponenentes mynde; and therfor it "was not good for any man to truste unto any suche thing".

And saith farther, that other in this laste letter, or in a nother meane letter, betwene this and the firste, he wrote never, whether this examinat, confessing howe he had spoken to the Counsaill, that he wolde medle with nothing, but wolde thinke on the Passion of Christe, and his passage out of the worlde, and that he had written the same wordes to Mr Fissher; and fearing, leste it might happen hym to speake the same wordes, or like, in his answere to the Counsaill, this examinat desired hym to make hys answere according to his owne mynde, and to medle with no suche thing, as he had written unto hym, leste he shulde geve the Counsaill occasion to wene, that there were some confederacie betwene theym bothe.

Also saith, that syns the last examination of hym, this examinat did sende Mr Fissher worde, by a letter that Mr Sollicitour[2] had shewed hym, that it was all one not to answere, and to saye agein the statute what a man wolde, as all the lerned men of England wolde justifie, as he said than; and therfore he said, he coulde reken upon nothing els, but upon the uttermoste: wherfor he prayed hym to praye for this examinat, and he wolde agein praye for hym.

Also he saith, that he, considering howe it shulde comme to his doughters eare, Mr Ropers wife[3], that the Counsaill had ben with hym, and shulde here

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[1] 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.

[2] Richard Rich.

[3] Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas More, was the wife of William Roper, Esq. of Teynham and Eltham, in Kent.

thinges

thinges abrode of hym therupon, that might putt her to a soden flight; and fearing leaste she, being (as he thoughte) with childe, shulde take some harme by that soden flight, and therfor myndyng to prepare her bifore, to take well awoorth, what so ever thing shulde betide of hym, better or worse; did sende unto her, bothe after the first examination, and also after the laste, letters, by the whiche he did signifie unto her, howe that the Counsaill had ben to examyne hym, and had asked hym certain questions touching the Kinges statutes, and that he had answered theym, that he wolde not medle with no thing, but wolde serve God: and what thende therof shulde be, he coulde not tell; but what so ever it were, better or worse, he desired her to take it pacientlye, and take no thought therfor, but onlie praye for hym. And saith, that she had writen unto hym, bifore, divers letters, to exhorte hym, and advertise hym to accomodate hymself to the Kinges pleasure; and specially, in the last letter, she used greate vehemence and obsecration, to persuade this examinat to incline to the Kinges desire. And other letters, than are bifore touched, he nother sent, nor receaved, to or from any person, sens he cam to the Towre, to his remembrance; and saith that George, the Lieutenauntes servaunt, did carie the said letters to and fro.

To the third interrogatory he saith, that there is non of the said letters foorth commyng, where he knoweth; but this examinat wolde have had George to kepe theym, and George allweys said, that there was no better keper than the fire, and so bourned theym. And whan he sawe, that he coulde not persuade George to kepe theym, he wolde have had George to shew theym, firste to somme trustie freende of his, that coulde reade, and yf he sawe that there were any matier of importance in theym, that he shulde carie the same to the Counsaill, and geate the thankes hymself, first of any man, therfor: and yf there were non such matiers in theym, that he shulde deliver theym, where he be directed. Yet the said George feared so (as he allweys said) his master, the Lieutenaunt, which had charged hym highely, that he shulde medle with no suche matiers, leaste he wolde have ben extremely displeased with hym, if he had seen that he had doon any thing, were it never of so small importaunce, ageinst [*his*] commaundement; and therfor he wolde nedes bourne theym.

To the 4th interrogatorie he answereth, nae.

Examined further, to what entent he did sende the said letters to the said Mr Doctour Fissher? saith, that considering they were bothe in one prison, and for one cause, he was glad to sende unto hym, and to here from hym agein. (*Signed*) J. (*Notarial Mark*) R.

Interrogatories, ministred, on the Kinges behalf, unto Sir Thomas Moore, Knyght, the daie, yere, and place above recited, by the Counsail afore named, and in the presence of the said witnesses; with his answers unto the same.

Firste, whether he wolde obeye the Kinges Highnes, as Supreme Hedde in Erthe, immediately under Christe, of the Churche of England, and hym so repute, take, accepte and recognise, according unto the statute in that behalf made?

To the which interrogatorie he saieth, that he can make no aunswere.

Item, whether he woll consent and approve the Kinges Highnes mariage with the moste noble Queene Anne, that nowe is, to be good and laufull; and afferme that the mariage betwene the Kinges said Highnes, and the Lady Catherine, Princesse Dowager, pretensed, was and is unjuste and unlawfull; or no?

To the same he saieth, that he did never speke nor medle ayenst the same, nor therunto make no aunswere.

Item, where it was objected unto hym, that by the said statute, he, being one of the Kinges subjectes, is bounde to aunswere to the said question, and to recognise the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hedde, as is aforesaid, as all other his said subjectes are bounden to recognise, according unto the said statute:

To the same, he saieth that he can make no answere.

(*Signed*) J. (*Notarial Mark*) R.

XXXIII. Bishop Goodrich *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable Mastre Secretary, in my most harty maner I commend me un to yower Masterchypp. And, accordyng to my promesse, I doo send you the copy off the old othe, wyche my predecessor was wont to gyve un to them, whom he dyd admytt to any benefys; and also a drawght off a new othe, whyche, yff ytt lyk yow, yow may compell them to be sworn un to ytt, ether when they compound for their First Fruittes, or elles when the Bysschopps institutes them to their benefices.

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle E.

Morover,

Morover, Syr, I beseche yow, that yff on Palgrave mak any suytt for any fery un to yower Masterschypp, not to gyve hym ony credens, to suche tym as yow hear the treuthe off the matter openyd; for he ys a man off fayer speche and small honesty, and for certein wordes against the Kyng, whiche he spak, he was sett off the pyllary, att Huntyngton. All the Justys off the contreythe can informe yow off hym, well enowghe. I offeryd hym to putt my matter in to yower handes, or to any 2 lernyd men, whom you wold appoint, to examyn ytt, or to any 2 indifferent men whom he wold, and look what end yow, or they, schall then tak therin, I wold abyd ytt. But zitt he wold not; but styll he facyth and braggythe, that muche to doo we haff to keep the pease. Wherfor I hartyly beseche yower Masterschypp, accordyng as yow promysyd me in the old chappell at Westminster, when we warr all to gether for the First Fruittes of Beneficys, at the last Parliament, that yow wyll gyve hym no comfort, to suche tyms as my broder schall enfourme yow off the trewthe in thys matter; and I doubt not, butt that ytt schall apeer evydently un to yower Masterschypp, that myn officers hathe doon nothing to hym, butt ryght; for otherwysse I wold be sorry they schold doo. As knowythe Jhesu, who long preserve yower Mastreschypp to hys most pleasur, and yower hartisease. Amen. From Somersham, thys 29th day off July.

Yowers to the uttermost of hys power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS ELIEN'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable Mastre Thomas Crumwell, Chieff Secretory to the Kynges Grace, be thys deliveryd.

[Inclosure in the preceding letter.]

The Olde Othe.

Ego N. juro, ad hec Sancta Dei Evangelia per me hic corporaliter tacta, quod ero obediens Reverendo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino Nicholao, Permissione Divina, Eliensi Episcopo, et successoribus suis, in omnibus licitis et canonicis mandatis, juxta juris exigentia: Item, quod nullam Heresim Luthereanam, seu aliam quamcunque ab Ecclesia dampnatam, docebo, predicabo, aut raciosinando quovis modo defendam; aut pro eis, earumve aliqua, inter conferendum, auctoritatem vel rationem quamcunque, joco vel serio, animo deliberato, in medium afferam; sed eas omnes et singulas, pro ingenij mei viribus, et doctrina, et eorum fautores, impugnabo. Sicut Deus me adjuvet, et hec Sancta Dei Evangelia.

The

The New Othe.

Ego N. juro, ad hec Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, quod ero obediens Reverendo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino N. Miseratione Divina, Eliensi Episcopo, et successoribus suis, in omnibus honestis ac licitis mandatis. Item juro, me imperpetuum renunciaturum Papem, una cum constitutionibus ac decretis suis, que a Parliamento Domini Regis dampnata sunt, aut imposterum dampnabuntur; quod que nec docebo, predicabo, aut raciocinando quovismodo defendam, aut pro eis, eorumve aliquo, inter conferendum, auctoritatem vel rationem quamcunque, joco vel serio, animo deliberato, in medium afferam; sed ea omnia et singula, pro ingenij mei viribus, et doctrina, et eorum fautores, impugnabo. Sic ut me Deus adjuvet, et hec Sancta Dei Evangelia.

XXXIV. Lord Chancellor Audeley *to* Crumwell.[1]

After my right herty commendations. Thies shalbe to advertyse you, that I, beyng informed that ye wold have retourned to London, by this present Saturday, the 7th day of August, did repayer to London, trustyng to have mett with you there, for fynyshyng of the Subsidy. And now, at London, I here, that ye do not retourne this 9 or 10 dayes. Wherfor I entend, God willyng, to ride down to my poor howse to Colchester, and there to repose, and make mery, for a moneth. For, as I am enformed, they dy of the plage in dyverse parishes in London. Hertely praying you to make my most humble recommendations to the Kynge's Mageste, and to the Quene's Grace, besechyng Jhesu to send them bothe good helthe in there progresse; and you aswell to fare, as I wold my self.

As for the Actes for Irlond, ther wil ryse many difficultiez in the orderying and devisyng of them, but I wil take sum payn in them. My poor advise ys, that, concernyng the Act for Dispensationz, that the subgettes of Irlond shuld take their dispensations here, in Englond, at the handes of the Archebishopp of Canterbery, with confirmation under the Gret Seale, as the Kynges Inglishe subgettes now do; by cause Englond ys the chefe part of the Crown, and Irlond a membir apendaunt to it. And me semyth this wey were honerable for the Kynge, and not to enhabill eny Primate of Irlond to graunt suche

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

dispensations.

dispensations. Never the lesse I desire you to know the Kynges plesure herin, and that yt may like you to advertyse me therof, by your letters, to be delyvered at my howse at London; with suche other occurrauntes, as may like you to sygnify to me for my comfort. And thus eftsones hertely fare ye well. Wryten at my howse at Christchurch, in London, this present Satirday the 7th day of August.

Your assuryd,

(*Superscribed*) To hys right herty lovyng frend, Thomas Cromwell, Esquyer, Cheff Secretory to the Kynges Highnez.

(*Signed*) THOMAS AUDELEY, K. Chauncelō.

XXXV. AUDELEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER my right herty commendations. These shalbe to advertise you, that I have travalyd paynfully in the Actes for Irlond, by my self alone, and have putt thus many in order, as herafter ensuyth. Fyrst, The Act of Suppreme Hede of the Churche of Irlond. The Act for the Kynges Succession. The Act for declaration of Tresones. The Act for Licences and Dispensations, whiche ys devised, that they shal be grauntyd, within this realme, by the Bysshop of Canterbery. The Act for takyng awey the Annates from Rome, and for election and consecration of Byshoppes. The Act for Apeles, in al spirituall maters, to be made from Irlond to the Kynges Highnez in Englond, and none apele to the Byshopp of Rome. I pray you know the Kynges plesure therin; for I have new devysed it, after this facyon, that in al casez where any subgett of Irlond usyd eny provocation or apele to Rome, they shal now apele to the Kynge, in Englond, and have ther comyssion or delagacy, like as subgettes of Englond have in apeles, by reson of the late Act of Apelez made in Englond. The Act for Fyrst Frutes, whiche extendyth oonly but to Archbyshopps, Byshoppes, Deanys, Parsonz, and Vicars, and not to Abbotes, nor Priours, for this tyme. The Act for Atteynder of the Erle of Kyldare, and his complices. The Act for a Subsydy to be grauntyd in Irlond, after the old custom; and an Act for Resumption of the Duke of Norfolk and hys coparcenerz londes, and the Erle of Shrewysbery londes, the londes of the heyres generall of the Erle of Ormond, and

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 125. Holograph.

the

the londes in Irlond of dyverse Abbotes and Priores in Englond.[1] I pray you advertyse the Kynges Highnez therof, whethir his plesure be to sett that Act forthe, without declaryng his mynde and plesure therof fyrst to the said Duke, Erle, and heires generall to the said Erle of Ormond. I have also seene the Act made in Irlond in Ponynges tyme, and delyvered it ageyn to Mr Gostwik. I do not take that Act, as they take it in Irlond; never the lesse, for clere mater of the Actes that shuld passe in this Parlament at Irlond, I have made a short Act, that this Parlament, and every thynge to be done by auctoryte therof, shall be good and effectual, the said Act made in Ponynges tyme, or eny other act or usage of the lond of Irlond, not withstonding. Whiche short Act shalbe fyled under the Great Seale, emonges the other, to passe in Irlond. I pray you move the Kynges Highnez, if His Grace be so plesyd, or elles these Actes now beyng made and sent in to Irlond, may be dyrectyd to the Depute and Counsell ther, with a letter that they, with al spede after the receyt of them, shal cause a traunsumpt of them to be sent in to Englond under the Seale of Irlond; whiche traunsumpt may be here, or the begynnyng of the Parlament there: and then ys al circumstaunces observyd. Also I desyre you to knowe the Kynges plesure, whethir the comyssion to be made into Irlond for somonyng and holdyng the Parlament shall be made to the Depute alone, or to eny other with hym, joyntly and severally; and what person shal be joyned with the Depute; and if eny be joyned, whethir thys clause shalbe in the comyssion, that he, that ys joyned, shal not intromytt in the liff of the Depute; for it were a gret blemysshe to the Depute, beyng the Kynges Lefetenaunt there, to have any joynt felowe in his auctoryte duryng hys liff. Also I pray you to knowe, what daye the Parlament there shalbe gynne. Also I pray you putt the Kinges Highnes in remembrauns for certen Baronz, that His Grace seyd he wold make in Irlond, for the encrese of the number of Temperal Lordes of his Parlament there; and whethir they shalbe made by his wrytt from hens, or elles that his Grace will direct his letters to the Chauncelour of Irlond, to direct his wrytt, under the Great Seale there, to them; whiche me semyth ys the most ordynary waye. I have putt al these Actes, before rehersyd, to wrytyng, fayer; so that assone as I may knowe from the Kynges Grace, who shalbe joyned with the Depute, and what day the Parlament in Irlond shalbe gynne, I shal dispache the comyssion and actes for Irlond,

[1] Most of the Acts, here enumerated, will be found in the Irish Statute Book, 28 Hen. VIII., some of them with, and others without, alteration. The Parliament did not meet till 1 May 1536. The delay may have arisen from the preparation of other Acts, which the King thought necessary.

for

for they shalbe redy wryten by Monday next. I have left the Act of Heresy, and the Act of the Submyssion of the Clergy, for this tyme; for I thynke it not necessary for that lond; for the statute of Kynge Herry the 4th, in casez of heresy [1], was never putt in execution in that lond, as I am enformed. And as for the submyssion of the Clergy, after the lawes for the spirituall jurysdiction be ratyfyed her in Englond, by the 32 assigned by the Kynge, and then confirmed by auctoryte of Parlament here, then it were necessary the same lawes shuld be receyved in Irlond, by auctoryte of Parlament there. Never the lesse, I desire you to know the Kynges plesure, whether I shal leve these 2 Actes or not. I have declared to you my oppynyon in them. As towchynge the Actes of Probate of Testamentes, Mortuaryez, and Pluraliteez of Benefices, they be also sparyd for this tyme; for it semyth to me it were to moche to medyll with to many at ones; and as I thynke, the Parlament in Irlond shalbe prorogyd, and then if the Kynges plesure be, they may be sett forthe for the profite of that lond. And as towchyng the Act for the Erle of Ossery, the Erle of Wilteshire, as his departyng from London in the ende of the Terme, made this request, both to you, me, and the Kynges Solicitour, that it wold plese the Kynge to deferr the saide Act, til suche tyme as he, and his coparcener Selenger [2], myght serche ther evidences, and declare what prejudice they mought take by resone of that Act; so that if it myght plese the Kynge, he moche desyred a spare, for this tyme, til the next prorogation in Irland. Never the lesse he concludyd, that if yt plesyd the Kynges Highnez, that it shuld now passe, he wold conforme hym self, humbly and obediently, as shuld stond with his plesure. Wherfor it may plese you to advertyse the Kynge of his desyre. And yff the Kynges Grace wil have the said Act now go forwardes, it may then like Hys Grace, by hys letters, so to advertysse the Erle of Wilteshire, and to wylle hym to cause a sufficient proviso to be made, for savynge al his interestes and titlez, and to be sent to me, to be sent over with the Act. And over this, the Kynges Highnez may wryte over to the Depute and Counsell, that they shal take a bonde, be recognysaunce of the Erle of Ossery there, in a gret sum, that he, nor his heyres, nor eny to ther use, shal take

[1] Stat. 2 Henry IV. cap. 15.

[2] Thomas Earl of Ormond, who died in 1515, left two daughters and coheirs, of whom Margaret married Sir William Boleyn, and Anne married Sir James St. Leger. The inheritance, both of the Earldom, and of the estates, fell into controversy between the coheiresses and Sir Piers Butler. Sir Piers was created Earl of Ossory, and Sir Thomas Boleyn, the son of Sir William and Margaret, was created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. Lord Wiltshire appears to have succeeded in his request.

any advauntage, by reson of that Act, ageyn the Erle of Wilteshire and his comparcener, nor ther heyres, nor ageyn any claymyng to ther use.

And as towchyng the demenour of the Priour of Wurcetter, and his monke, I have sent to you, by this brynger, a Comyssion of Oyer and Determyner, accordyng to your request, with al the examinations that ye sent to me. And lokynge and advisyng them, yt semyth to me, that the wordes spoken in Marche last by the monke towchyng apelez wyll hardely bare treson, but mysprysyon; for ther ys no expresse mention made of the Kynge, nor the Queene. And the wordes spoken of the Kynge, and the Queene, by the said monke, at Cristemas last, or afore February last, had be treson without dowt, yff they had be spoken syn the fyrst day of February; but, afore that day, they be no treson by the Act[1]; they be mysprisyon by the Act of Succession[2]. But it were best to have them indyted truly upon the fact, as it was in dede; and then let them remayn in warde til further opynyonz be knowen. Ye may execute the comyssion, or spare it, at your plesure. And thus I right hertely desire you to make my most humble recomendations to the Kynges Highnez, and to the Queenes Grace. I pray God send them good prosperite and helthe, in al ther progresse, and you as wel to fare, as I wold my self. Wryten at Chrischurche, in London, the Satirday at none, the Eve of the Assumpcion of our Lady[3]. I entend, God wyllyng, to ryde on Tuysday towardes Colchester, thankes be to God; ther ys so gret dethe in London, as the comen fame runnyth.

Your assured to al his power,

(*Signed*) Thomas Audeley, K. Chũncelõ.

(*Superscribed*)
To his right herty lovyng frend Thomas Crumwell, Esquyer, Chef Secretory to the Kynges Highnez.

XXXVI. Sir John Aleyn *to* Crumwell.[4]

Rycht Wourshipfull Sir, yn my most humble wyse I commende me unto you, and very gladd to hire of your good helth, &c. Plesynge you to undrestonde of our grete Fear, nowe at this present tyme to be holden yn Smythfyld, called Bartlemew Fear, whiche ye know the use and customs therof, aswell or better then I can advertise you; yet, notwithstandynge, I

1 Stat. 26 H.VIII. cap. 13. 2 Stat. 25 H. VIII. cap. 22. 3 Aug. 14. 1535.
4 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

am,

am, at this tyme, bolde to sende my slender mynde unto you, to advertise you of suche thynges, as I hyre and knowe, &c.

First, yt ys not unknowen unto our Soveraigne Lorde, and to you, of the dethe that nowe ys, and hath ben withyn the Citie of London; whiche ys nothynge so grete, as yt ys bruted yn the contry, by the sayenges of suche persons as resorte to the seid Citie at this present tyme; God be thanked, and to cease hit at his pleasure.

And, furdermore, the cause of this my wrytynge unto you, at this tyme, ys, as shall foloo. Thanked be God, the Selande flete ys come home yn savety, well loden with as dere wares, as ever was bought yn that cuntre, the whiche will staye many men of ther byeng. And where as ther ys, at this present tyme, many sellers of clothes come to this Citie, to utter ther seid clothes, by that that I can perceive, they shal have veray slak sale, both of the Kynges subjettes, and also of straungers, that were wount to bye at this present tyme; by reason whereof, they have shewed unto me, that they must be fayn to discharge ther workemen, for lack of money, yff sume remedy, yn that behalf, be not provyded by the Kyng, and you especially, and other of his most honourable Counselers. Sir, I am bolde to advertise you of my mynde yn that behalf, desyrynge you, apon the syght therof, to accept my mynde, as ye shall thynke best, and not to putt confydence yn this my slender wytt, but as shalbe thought by your hygh discression theryn; wheryn I trust ye shall undrestonde, that my meanynge and yntent ys, specially, for the honour of our seid Soveraigne Lorde, and also for the comen welth of all his subjettes, the whiche I knowe well hath ben ever your mynde and entent unto this daye, and so I pray God longe to contynewe you, &c. First, please yt you to undrestonde, that the citizens of this Citie be nott stored with money, to dispatche the seid clothes, and other commodityes, yn the said Fear, as they have doen yn tyme past. Wherfore, yf hyt may please our seid Soveraigne Lorde, by your intercession, to make a preast to the seid Citie, of suche a summe of money, as may comfort the seide Citie, and his subgettes that doo resort to this seide Fear. And yf hit please His Grace so to doo, he shall doo a great dede of cheritie, not only to his seid Citie, but also to all his subgettes thorough out his realme; and shall cause many a man, women, and children to be sett aworke, the whiche wille begge or stele, yf a remedy be not founde. And yf sume remedy theryn be had, as ys aforeseid, or otherwise, by your procurement, as I shall dayly pray to God hit may be, yn your so doynge ye shall not only have merytt of God, but also the prayers of all the Kinges subgettes, thorough out the realme. Also desirynge

you to concyder the hie derth of all vytall, and also the advauncement, of late, of all maner of grayne, yn all the partes of this realme &c. Please yt you to calle to your remembrance the grete substans, that shall come to this Fear, beyng of the Kynges commodyties, the whiche I do esteme, at the least, at £20000. Wherefore, yf ye thynke hyt convenyent to move our seid Soveraigne Lorde for £10000, for a preast, he shall doo a gracious dede theryn. For the assurans wherof, I, for my part, wilbe bounden to our seid Soveraigne Lorde yn body, landes, and gooddes, for no lucre to my silf, but only for the comfort of his seid subgettes, whiche I doo thinke verely shall stonde yn great nede, and suffer great penury, for lack of comfort at this tyme, yf His Grace, at this tyme, doo not helpe them.

Furthermore, desyrynge you to pardon me of this my bolde wrytynge unto you, for that that I have not geven you knowlige herof before this tyme; but the cause ys, that I had no perfytt knowlige herof, untyll Saterday last past, at 2 of the clok yn the after none; as knoweth God, who ever preserve our Soveraigne Lorde, and the Quene, and the Prynces, and also your Mastership, with all his honourable Councelers. At London, the 22th day of August, yn the 27th yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lorde.

Your assured, with hart
and mynd to hys lytell power,
(*Signed*) John Aleyn[1], Ald[?]man.

Sir, this Fear shall contynue tyll Saterday next comynge; desirynge you of your aunswere and mynde yn this behalf, with as muche spede as ye may convenyently; for I can doo no good, yn this behalf, without your comfort. I assure you, that I knowe none yn London, of whom I mought boroo, for this purpos, £100 in money.

(*Superscribed*)
To the ryght wourshipfull Mr. Thomas
Cromwell, Hygh Secretory to our
Soveraigne Lorde the Kynges Grace.

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[1] Sir John Aleyn was Lord Mayor of London, 1525 and 1535.

XXXVII. AUDELEY *to* CRUMWELL.

AFTER my right hertie commendations. It may like you to understond that I, according to the Kinges commaundement, have drawen a proviso for the suertie of His Highnes, the Quenes Grace, and the Erle of Wilteshere, and his coparcenour, and their heires, and caused the same to be written in the ende of the Act, that the Erle of Osserye desireth to have passe; bicause if the proviso were in a cedule, it mought happen to be craftily withdrawen from the recorde: the contentes of which proviso ye maye se more at large conteigned in the saide Acte, which I send you emonges the other Actes, with a Commission, directed to the Kinges Deputie of Irlonde, for holding his Parliament ther, after the old custume. And I have sent the true copie of the same proviso to the Erle of Wilteshire, by his servaunt, which he sent to me with his indenture for drawing therof. I have made the commission for holding the Parliament, to the Deputie onlye; bicause I have no knowlege, sithen I wrote to you, otherwise of the Kinges plesure in that behalf. But me semeth it were best the commission shold goo onely to him, for els it shold take away, in the opynion of the people, a parte of his reputation, which were convenient for him, being the Kinges Deputie, to have. Nevertheles it maye lik you to move the Kinges Highnes therof, and if his pleasure be otherwise, to advertise me, and I shall ensue the same. I also desier you to make report unto the Kinges Highnes of the number of the Actes that I send you annexed to the[2], and of their particular effectes; to thintent that His Grace, having notice of theym, may take such order, in sending all, or withdrawing enye, as shall stond with his pleasure.

I have also made 2 Patentes, for 2 Barons in Irlond, that is to saye, to Sir Richard Power, Knight[3], and Thomas Ewstace, Gentleman[4]. Cowley[5] shewed me that the old course to make Barons ther is to have Letters Patentes out of the Chauncerye here in England; wherfore I have made and sealed the same Patentes, and send theym unto you, for spede of the dispache of Irland mattiers; praying you to move the Kinges Grace therof, and to order the said Patentes, as shall stond with his pleasure.

I have be lately enfourmed that the erraunt false treytour, Thomas Fitz Garrald[6], is taken; but the fame runneth, that he shold submyt him self, uppon

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 429.
[2] Sic.
[3] Created Lord Le Poer and Curraghmore.
[4] Created Lord Kilcullen.
[5] Robert Cowley, Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.
[6] Son of Gerald, late Earl of Kildare.

certayn

certayn condicions and appoyntementes, that he shold comme unto the Kinges presence fre out of warde; which I, being a man of verey litle experience, and lesse witt, beleve not that the Counsaile of Irland, or any other, wold take any such appoyntment with so erraunt and cankrid a traytour, and specially that he shold comme in the Kinges sight, fre and out of warde. If this be intended, that he shold have mercye, I mervell moch, that dyvers of the Kinges Counsaile in Irlond have soo largely told the King, afore this tyme, that ther shold never be good peax and ordre in Irland, till the bludde of the Garroldes were holy extinct. And it was also saide, that the Irisshemen spared theire effectuall diligence in the persecucion of him, bycause they herd he shold have pardon, and then he wolde revenge; and now it semeth, they wold procure him mercy. They be people of a strange nature, and moche inconstancy. The Kinges Highnes may do his pleasure; but my pore advise shold be, that the saide false treytour shold never come to His Graces sight, for the evill exsample may groue of hit, to corage traytours. The verey good waye were to send him to the Tower. And albeit his tresons were don in Irland, out of this realme, yet, by the newe statute made for treasons [1], he maye be indicted in any shere of this realme, wher it shall pleas the King, byfore such Commissioners as His Grace woll apoynt by his Great Seale; and when he is indicted, the indictment to be sent into the Kinges Bench, and there let him appere. And thus, fiat justicia [2]. This waye he maye be shortly spede, after his desertes; and therby shall growe good example and drede to such traitours, except it maye appere, that by his keping alive, ther shold growe any knowlegge of treasons, or other commoditie to the Kinges Grace. What so ever I wright in this behalf, I praye you take it in good part, for it is but my pore conceyt; not doubting, but that the Kinges Highnes, with your advise, and other of his Counsell nowe present with His Grace, will order this mattier better, then my wit can devise.

Ye shall also understond, that I, commyng towardes London, herd tell the siknes ther rather encreaseth, then mynissheth. Wherfore I dare nott yet com thither, but, with a fewe of my folkes, lye at Olde Forde besides Stratford. Sithen my comyng thither, there be 2 of the Commissions for the Spiritualtie comen to my handes, and no more. As they com, I shall receyve theym de bene esse, till your comyng. If the siknes shold contynue, as God defend, it may pleas you to move the Kinges Grace towching his Parliament, whether he will proroge it, or not; and also whether His Grace woll ajorn the Terme

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[1] Stat. 26 H. VIII. cap. 13. §. 4.

[2] He was executed on the 3d of February 1537.

till

till Halowmasse[1], and then begyn Parliament and Terme together, or proroge the Parliament, as it was last[2], till the 4th daye of February.

It may also like you to knowe, that ther is a boke come forth in prynt, towchyng the taking awaye of Images, which I send you; praying you to know, whether ye be priveye to the setting forth therof. I ensuer you, in the partes wher I have byn, some discord ther is, and diversitie of opynions emonges the people, towching worshipping of Sayntes and Images, and for creping at Crosse, and such lik ceremonies, hertofore used in the Church; which discord were good shold be put to silence. And this boke woll make moch busines in the same, if it shold go forth. Wherfore I pray you, I maye be advertised, whether ye know it or noo, for I intend to send for the printer and stop theym; but ther be many abrode. It were good that the prechers and the people absteyned from opynions of such thinges, till such tyme, as by the report of such, as the Kinges Highnes hath apoynted for serching and ordering of lawes of the Church, His Grace may put a finall order in such thinges, how his people and subjectes shall use theym selffes, without contencion. And if the people were this commaunded by proclamacion to abstayne till that tyme, such proclamacion, drawen in honest termes, wold do moch good to avoide contencion. I requier you to move the Kinges Highnes in that behalf, and know his pleasure therin.

Ther is also a suddayn rising of the prises of whete and rye in dyvers partes; it is comen to a marke, and 16^{s}, a quarter. And the common fame is, that ther is convenient plentie of old corn; so that, although the newe be nott well taken, yet the old is able to supply that default; and also ther is plentye of newe barley, otes, pese, and bene. I have byn soo bolde as to make proclamacion in the shere of Essex, after the tenure of a mynute, which I send you; which hath done some good in that shere. I have, also, made commissions for serche of olde corn, in the same shere; to thentent I wold knowe the trought of the plentie therof. But I have forborn to make proclamacions and commissions in other sheres for the same, till the Kinges pleasure were therin knowen; praying you to advertise His Grace herof; and if his pleasure be they shal go forth, as I think it vereye necessary, I shall, uppon your advertisement therof, make good spede to sett theym forward. And albeit it were not good that the Kinges Highnes shold forthwith sett a resonable price of whete and rye, till the plentie and scarcite therof were knowen by a serche, yet me semeth, if His Grace set a price to theym, that hath bought of the tiller to sell agayn, it mought be resonably done after

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[1] Nov. 1. [2] It was in 1533, and not in 1534, that the Parliament met on the 4th of February.

this

this forme; that such byers to sell agayn, shall take clere gayn, 12d, or 16d, in the quarter, and not above. And if ye thinke this good, I praye you move His Grace therin; and if His Highnes be so pleased, I will adde it to the proclamacion.

And thus, finally, after this long letter, I hertely desier you, that I maye be advertised from you, aswell of the contentes of my other letter, sent by Coly, as of the contentes of this letter by my servaunt, with as convenient spede as ye maye; and of your retorn into thies parties; and whether the Kinges pleasure be, that I shall, in the mean tyme, calling some of his Awditours unto me, servey the certificathes for the 10th of the Spiritualties, as they shall come to my handes. And thus I herteley praye you to make my most humble recommendacions to the Kinges Highnes, and the Quenes Grace.

And bycause, sithen my departing from my house at Brittons, there chaunced a woman to dye, none of my servauntes, nor while I was there, yet I dare nott therfore go thider; and I lye verey nygh London, to my daungier. Wherfore if I dirst have byn so bold, I wold have borowed the Quenes Grace house at Havering; but I know nott, how my sute wold be taken, wherfore I were loth to attempt it. And thus hartely fare ye well, as I wold my self. Written at the Old Forde, the 13 day of September.

Your assured to his litel power,

(*Signed*) Thomas Audeley K. Chauncelo[illegible].

XXXVIII. Audeley *to* Crumwell.[1]

After my right hertie commendacions. It may like you to understond, that I have receyved the Kinges most honerable letters, dated the 13th daye of this moneth, by the contents wherof I do perceyve, that His Graces pleasur is, that I, with all spede, shold make out writtes to all sheriffes for notificacion of the prorogacion of his Parliament to the day, that it was proroged the last yere; whiche, as I remember, was the 4th daye of February. I signifie unto you that, according to His Graces commaundement, I shall use good diligence in that behalf. Nevertheles I, and the Speker, with somme other, must assemble in the Houses accustumed, the third daye of

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

November

November next, and there, by vertue of the Kinges letters patentes, to proroge the same. And as towching the adjornement of the Term, I am right joyous, that the Kinges Highnes, considering the increas of siknes in the citie, hath, of his excellent goodnes, suche respectes to the suertie and helth of his people. And albeit by my late letters, which I trust, by this tyme, be comen to your handes, I required you to move the Kinges Highnes bothe for prorogacion of his Parliament, and adjornement of his Term, declaring partly my pore opinion for the same; yet, nevertheles, insuying the Kinges commaundement by his said letters, that I shold send to His Highnes knowlege of myn advise in that behalf, thies shalbe to advertise you, that my pore advise is, that the Parliament shold be proroged to the 4th day of February next, and the Terme adjorned till Crastino Animarum, by which tyme ther is good hope, by coldnes of the wether, that the plage shold ceas; and if nott, His Grace may then adjorn it further, till Hillary Term. If His Grace shold sodenly adjorn the hole Terme, being of that length as it is, and the siknes, by Goddes grace, mought happen to ceas, it shold then not onely be moche prejudiciall unto His Highnes, for losse of the proffittes of his Seale, but also moch damage unto his people, for lak of admynistracion of justice. Praying you to declare this my poore advise unto His Highnes; and as I may have knowledge of his further pleasure therin, I shall effectually ensue the same. The manner of the adjornement must be the first day of the Terme, where one Justice in every Court, as hath byn accustumed, must sit, and then the Kinges writt must be directed unto theym, for adjornement of the Terme, till suche a daye, as shall pleas the Kinges Highnes to lymyt by his writt. I also requier you, to know the Kinges pleasure, whether the Eschequier shalbe adjorned, aswell as all other Courtes. My poore advise is, that all shold be adjorned to gether.

Furthermore, it shall like you to understond, that the new Shereffes of London have made me a faightfull graunt, for nominacion of the Undersheref of Middelsex; and that, notwithstanding, I am enfourmed, sithen ther graunt made unto me, you have written to them for a frind of yours, adressing not onely the Kinges letters, but yours, for the same. I pray you call to remembraunce, that the last yere I had like graunt of the Shereffes, and yet, nevertheles, uppon communicacion betwixt you and me, I abstayned at that tyme; at which tyme ye promised me not to interupt me, if it shold chaunce me, after that, to attayne any graunte of the Shereffes for the saide office. Ye knowe I have few advauncementes for my servauntes, and ye have many. Wherfore I right hertely requier you, to suffer me to enjoy my graunt of

the same office, for this tyme; wherby ye shall do me great pleasure, and bynde me to recompence your gentilnes in that behalf. And thus I requier you to make my most humble recommendacions to the Kinges Highnes, and to the Quenes Grace; and hartely fare ye well, as I wold my self. Written at the Olde Furd, besides Stratford, the 15th day of September.

Your assured to his power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS AUDELEY, K. CHAUNCELO[?].

(*Superscribed*)
To his verey harty frend
Mr Secretary, be this
yoven.

XXXIX. AUDELEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER my right herty commendations. These shalbe to advertyse you, that I have sent forth wryttes for prorogacion of the Parlament, commyssions and proclamations for corne, and also proclamations for clothiers, accordyngly as ye heretofore advertysed me, that it was the Kynges plesure that I shuld so do. I have, also, made redy wryttes for adjournement of the Terme, til Halowmas, and also sent letters, in your name and myne, for certificate of the residewe of the bokes of the spiritual possessions, yet beyng on retourned; wherin the Comyssioners, I promyse you, have been very necligent. I send to you a boke of the instructions for courne. I have usid my poor wytt in yt, trustyng it shalbe taken in good part. I am enformed that Doctour Lee[2] is substitute, by you, to visite al the religeous houses in the diocese of London. My sute, at this tyme, ys to you, that it may plese you to spare the visitation of the House of Barkyng, til your retourne in to these partiez; that I and you may speke to gether, and ye shal comand me as moche to my power. If it like you, that this abstynens may bee at my request, I then hertely desire you to direct your letters to Doctour Lee for the same. In good fayth, my request ys, not for any defaut or suspect that I have in Doctour Lee, for I here not, but that he usith hym self right indifferently, in the execution of his charge; but it is for other considerations, that I wold be a sutour to you for the said House. And when ye and I have spoken to gethir, at your retourne, do as ye shal

1 This letter is holograph, and is preserved among Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

2 Probably Dr. Thomas Legh, who was employed to visit in Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and some other counties.

seeme

seeme best; trustyng for my sake, and at my contemplation, ye will use the more favour to the House. Praying you to remembir al my requestes in my last letters to you directyd, and eftsones desire you to make myn most humble recommendations to the Kinges Highnes, and to the Quenes Grace. And thus fare ye as hertely well, as I wold my self. Wryten the morow after Michaelmas day. Your assured to al his power,

(*Superscribed*) To his hertie loving frend, Mr Secretory, be this yoven.

(*Signed*) Thomas Audeley, K. Chauncelo.

XL. Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld *to* Crumwell.[1]

Pleaseth yt yower honorable Maystershyp to be advertysed, that the 30th day of December, betwyn 7 and 8 of the clock at after none, I have receyved yower lettours, wheryn ys sygnyfyed that the Kynges Grace ys advertyzed by thEmperours Ambassadour, that the Lady Dowager[2] ys yn grete dawnger of lyffe; the trewth wherof I have wrytun to yower Maystershyp, to the uttermoste of the knowleg that I cowld get; not dowtyng that my poor lettours war cum to yower hand, before that I receyved yower lettours. Syr, I truste, yn thys matter, yt ys aparant, yn what grete truste Mayster Chamberleyn[3] and I be yn, bothe with her, and also wyth all suche as be abowt her; that the Ambassadour shold have knowlege, before us that dayly contynew yn the hows. Neverthelesse, ondowtedly, yn as brefe and short tyme, as I was any thyng made prevy, I sent with dylygens, God my juge. And, Syr, for thastate that she ys yn now, at thys present tyme, as by the reporte of the Doctour of Fesyck, yn theys wordys, "non multum "pejus quam erat, neque longe melius;" Syr, she dothe contynew yn payn yn her stomake, and can take lytell reste. Her wekenes, as I have wrytun to yow, yn my formar lettours, consydered, the sycknes remaynyng yn force, canne yn no wyes long contynew, withowt God otherwyes dyspoys. Syr, I am enformed by the sayd Doctour of Fesyck, that he moved her to take more cowncell of fesyck; wherunto she answered, she wold yn no wyes have any other Fesytion, but onely commyt herselfe to the pleasour of God. Syr, as furder matter, yn thys cays, shall ensewe, yow shalbe advertyzed, as farr as knowleg maye be obteygned, with all spede; trustyng that lack of

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.
[2] Catharine of Arragon.
[3] Sir Edward Chamberleyn.

parfyt

parfyt knowleg shalbe to us, poor offycers, and the Kynges trew servantes, a suffycyent dyscharge, the rather by yower good meanes, yn hwom ower truste ys. As knoweth God, zoo preserve yower good Maystershyp to hys pleasour. At Kymbaltun, this laste daye of December, by yower at commaundement,

(*Signed*) Edmũde Bedyngfeld.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Mayster Secretory to the Kynges Hyghnes, be thys delyvered.

XLI. Sir Edward Chamberleyn *and* Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld *to* Crumwell. [1]

Pleaseth yt yower honorable Maystershipp to be advertysed, that this 7th day of January, abowt 10 of the clock before none, the Lady Dowager [2] was aneled with the Holy Oyntment, Mayster Chamberlein and I called to the same; and before 2 of the clock at after none, she departed to God. Besechyng yow, that the Kyng may be advertysed of the same, and furder to know yower pleasour, yn every thyng aperteynyng to that purpose [3]; and furder in all other causes, concernyng the hows, the servantes, and all other thynges, as shall stand wyth the Kynges pleasour and yowers. Syr, the Grome of the Chaundry here can sere her, zoo shall do that fete; and furder I shall send for a plummar, to close the body yn lede; the whych must nedys shortly be done, for that may not tary. Syr, I have no money, besechyng yow of ayed, wyth all spede. Wrytun at Kymboltun, abowt 3 of the clock at after none. Yower owne at commaundement ever redy,

(*Signed*) Edward Chãbleyn.
(*Signed*) Edmũde Bedyngfeld.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and hys synguler good Mayster, Secretory to the Kynges Hyghnes, be thys delyvered, in all possyble haste.

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1 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

2 An account of her illness and death is given by Strype in his Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 241., &c.

3 Among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{7}$ is "A Remembrance "for thinterrement of the right excellent and noble Princesse, the Lady Catherine, Doughter "to the right highe and mighty Prince Ferdinand, late King of Castle, and late Wief to the "noble and excellent Prince, Prynce Arthure, Brother to our Souveraign Lord King Henry "the VIIIth", in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Secretary of State, &c.

XLII. Archbishop Lee *to* Crumwell.[1]

Ryght Honorable. Aftre my hertiest commendation. Doctour Laiton[2], at his late beeinge with me, as the Visitoure by you deputed, examyned me verie sore and rigorouselie, by the Kynges commaundement, of certayne wordes, pretended to be spoken by me to the generall Confessoure of Syon, or to som oodre, that came to me for cownsell from the saide confessour. Wherein lieke it you to undrestonde, that, by that fayethe, that I owe to God and the Kynge, and in the worde and othe of a preest, I never sent cownsayle to the saide confessoure, ne have received anye messinger for cownsell from hym, in anie thinge, more or lesse, concerning odre the Kinges title of Suppreme Hed, or anie oodre thinge toochinge His Magestie. And if he had sent to me for cownsell, he sholde have had suche cownsale, as I have geven to oodre, desiereng my cownsell in suche maters; as heerto fore I have advertised you of the Pryours of Hull, and Mount Grace, whome, oodrewies stiff and determined to abide the last daunger, rathre than to yelde to the saide title, I have torned and satisfied; and trust that yet I have not so litle respecte to my poore honestie, to uttre suche wordes, that implie that I have doone againste my conscience; wich thinge is implied in the pretended wordes, if I had spoken them. And besides private cownsell, what declaration I have made, as well in my parson, as devised for oodre to uttre openlie, I trust you partelie knowe, and I doubte not the Kinges Highnes hathe herde of it. And what opinion I have, in my conscience, of the said title, the growndes of Scripture, and raisons made for the same, doo testifie. For I doo not, with bare wordes, magnifie that title, but furnishe it with growndes, as in a booke delivered to the Archideacons, to devulge in everie parishe, dothe appeere; wiche thinges declare my true meanenge, and good fayethe. Wherfore I, as entierlie as I can, pray you, according to your daylie goodnes shewed to me, to bee meane for me, that His Highnes doo not conceive any displeasur againste me, for the said surmyse, wiche nodre hathe trowethe, ne anye liekliod therof; oodrewies never bee I saved. My answere to the saide surmyse I have made in a letter to His Highnes; wiche, with thees, I sende to your handes, that it may please you, at the deliveraunce and readinge of them, with youre favorable wordes, to deliver me from His Highnes grevouse

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle L.

[2] Dr. Richard Layton, one of the Visitors of the Religious Houses.

displeasur,

displeasur, if anie he have conceived against me, opon the same surmyse; for wiche you shall more bynde me to you, my good herte and prayour. And thus, in my hertiest maner, fare you well. Frome Cawod[1], the 13th of Januarie 1535.

Your owne evermor assured,

(*Signed*) EDOUARDE EBOR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my speciall good frend, Master Secretarie.

XLIII. BISHOP LEE *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MOSTE harty recommendations premysed. Hit may please you to be advertised, that lately I was enfourmed, that the Kinges Graces pleasure was, to make Wales Shiregrounde, and to have Justices of the Peace, and off Gaole Delyvery, as in Englande. And forasmoche as I am putt in truste here[3], and that by your meanes and pleasure; I can no lesse doo (my duety remembred), then to declare to you my mynde in oone poincte, specially, as in tryall of fellons. For, if they maye comme to their trialles at home, where oone thief shall trye an other, as, before the laste statute[4] in that party provyded, they did; then that, as we here have begon, is fordon: the experience teacheth the same here dailye. I am sure, att this daye, ye cannot doo the Welshemen more pleasure, then to breke that statute[5]. Wolde God I were with you oone howre to declare my mynde therin at full. And, allso, for Justices of the Peace, and off Gaole Delivery, to be in Wales, I thinke hit not moche expedient[6]; for there be very fewe Welshemen in Wales above Breknock, that maye dispende ten pounde lande; and, to say truthe, their discretion lesse then their landes. And farther,

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1 Cawood, in Yorkshire, was one of the Palaces belonging to the See of York.

2 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle L.

3 Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was Lord President of the Council of Wales.

4 By the Act 26 Henry VIII. cap. 6. felonies committed in Wales were to be tried in the next English County.

5 It still remains in force.

6 In this point the President's advice was not taken, for by Stat. 27 H. VIII. cap. 5. the Chancellor is enabled to issue Commissions of the Peace, and of Gaol Delivery, into the Counties Palatine of Chester and Flint, and into the Counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, in North Wales, and Cardigan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan, in South Wales, with the like authority as in England. The Counties of Denbigh, Montgomery, Brecknock, and Radnor, were created by a subsequent Act of the same Session, cap. 26., which introduced this English Law into Wales. The Welsh Jurisdiction was finally arranged seven years afterwards, by the Act 34 & 35 H. VIII. cap. 26.

where

where ther is as yet some beryng of theves by gentlemen, if this saide statute goo forwarde, ye shall have no other but beryng ther, and lytle justice mynystred; as I dowbte not your circumspecte wisedome will considre, as by the demeanours of Meryonethshire[1] and Cardiganshire it dothe appere; which (although they be Shiregroundes) cannot, as yet, be brought to good ordre, and be as ill, as the wourste parte of Wales. Nevertheles, Sir, uppon this my rude intimation, I truste ye will considre, and kepe the former statutes provided for the saide Countreye of Wales, aswell in the premisses, as for bering of wepons and otherwayes; whereby ye shalbe assured the goode rule, nowe begon, herafter to contynue, to the pleasure of God, honour and laude of our Soveraigne Lorde, the Kinges Majestie, and to your renowned fame in counsailing the same.

Advertising you farther, that of late, oone John Trevour of Oswestre, gentleman, (whom this Counsaile sent for, for that he consented, and was thoccasion of the willfull burnyng of a mannys house in Chirklande, who was, by the Kinges Graces commaundement, attached by thofficers of Oswestree aforsaide, and by them necligently suffered to escape,) is nowe gon to the woode, in felowshippe with Robert ap Morice, of late, in like maner, gon to the woode, for recetting of David Lloide, or Place, and his felows; desiring you, if sute be made to the Kinges Highnes for their pardons, to staye the same, wherby other maye take ensample. As knowith He, of whom all goodenes procedith, who preserve you. From Ludlowe, the 12th of Marche.

Youres most bownden,

(*Signed*) ROLAND CO: ET LICH':

(*Superscribed*)
To my moste entierly beloved frende, Master Secretary.

XLIV. THE PRINCESS MARY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

IN as humble and lowly maner as is possyble for [*me*], I beseche Your moste gracyous Hyghnes of your dayly blessyng. And albeit I have alredy (as I truste in God) upon myn humble and harty sewte and submyssyon, requyr-

yng

[1] The 12th clause of the Act enabled the Justice of North Wales, if in his discretion it should be thought convenient, to try in Carnarvonshire, or Anglesey, felonies committed in Merionethshire. But this clause was repealed by the Statute 8 Eliz. cap. 20.

[2] From the Museum, Otho, C. X. leaves 261. 264. There are two copies of this letter, in the handwriting of the Princess, but both so mutilated by fire, as, singly, to be incapable of publication; but from the two combined, this nearly perfect transcript has been made. The only

yng mercy and forgivenes for myne offencys to Your Majestye, obtayned the same, wyth lycence to write unto you; wherby I have also conceyved great hope and confydence that Your Grace, of your inestymable goodnes, wyll lyke[*wise*] forgyve me my sayd offencys, and withdrawe your dyspleasur conceyved upon the same; yet shall my joye not returne parfaitly to me, ne my hope be satysfied, untyll suche tyme as it may please Your Grace sensybly to expresse your gracyous forgyvenes and pardon unto me, or such a towardnes therof, and of the reconsiliacyon of your favour, by your moste gracious letters, or summe token or message, as I may conceyve a perfit that I shall not only receyve my moste harty *de*]syer therin, but for a confirmatyon therof an accesse to Your Majestye, whiche shall o be to me moste joyeus and comfort[*able* same I shall have the fruicyon of presence; moste hartyly (as my duety requyr I do moste humbly beseche Your Grace to pardon ighe, I presume thus to molest your gracyous wyth my sutes and rude wrytyng, for hys operacyon in the same. Eftsones th humbly prostrate befor your moste noble feet, I humbly and lykewyse to accept the condicyon therof, at your dysposicion and apoyntment, what so ever it shalbe; desyryng Your Majestye to have pety on me, in the grawntyng of myne humble sewtes and desyers; who shall contynually pray to Almyghty God (as I am moste bownden) to preserve Your Grace, with the Quene, and shortly to send you a Prince, whiche shalbe gladder tydynges to me, then I can expresse in wrytyng. From Hownsdon, the 10 day of June.[1]

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only variation between them is that of the date, one being the 10th, the other the 13th of June. The reason of the Princess' making two copies is explained by herself, in the following letter, in her own hand, to Mr. Secretary Crumwell, vizt,

"Good Master Secretary. I do send you by this berer, [*my*] servant, bothe the Kynges "Hyghnes letter, sealed, and [*a*] copye of the same ageyn to you; wherby (I trust) [*you "will*] parceyve that I have folowed your advyse and [*direction*], and wyll do, in all thinges, "concernyng my d[*utie to the*] Kinges Grace, God, and my conscience" &c. &c. Otho. C. X. 262 (b).

The remainder of the letter contains merely protestations of duty and obedience to the King, and is so burnt, as to be useless.

Both Burnet and Strype place this correspondence immediately after the execution of Anne Boleyn, in 1536. Henry VIII. married Jane Seymour on the 20th of May, in that year, so that the marriage had taken place only 20 days, when this letter was written, wishing the birth of a Prince; a wish, which was not gratified till 16 months afterwards. This letter, it will be seen, did not effect a reconciliation between the King and Mary.

[1] The signatures of both letters are burnt off.

XLV. The Princess Mary *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Moste humbly prostrete before the feete of Your most excellent Majestie, your most homble, faythefull, and obediente subjecte, which hathe so extremely offended Your most gratyous Highnes, that my heavie and fearfull hert dare not presume to calle you Father, ne Your Majestie hathe any cause by my desertes, saving the benignetye of your moste blessed nature dothe surmounte all evelles offences and trespasses, and is ever mercyfulle and redy to accepte the penytente callynge for grace, in any convenyente tyme. Havinge receaved this Thursdaye, at nighte, certene letteres from Mr Secretary, aswell advisyng me to make my homble submyssyone immedyatly to your selfe, which because I durste not, without your gracyous lycence, presume to doe befor, I latly sente unto him, as sygnefyenge that your moste mercyfull harte and fatherly pyttye had graunted me your blessyng, with condissyone that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begoone; and that I should not eftsones offend Your Majesty by the denyall or reffusalle of any suche artycles and comaundementes, as it maye please Your Highenes to addresse unto me, for the perfite triall of myne harte and inward affectyone, for the perfait declaratyon of the bottome of my herte and stomake. Fyrste, I knowledge my selfe to have moste unkyndly and unnaturally offended Your most excellent Highenes, in that I have not submytted myselfe to your moste juste and vertuous lawes; and for myne offence thearin, which I muste confesse wear in me a thousand folde more greevous, then they could be in any other lyving creature, I put myselfe holly and entyrely to your gratyous mercy; at whos handes I cannot receave that punishment for the same, that I have deserved. Secondly, to opene my herte to Your Grace, in theis thinges, which I have heartofore refused to condiscend unto, and have nowe writtene with myne owne hand, sending the same to Your Highenes hearwith; I shall never beseeche Your Grace to have pyttye and compassyon of me, yf ever you shall perceave that I shall, prively or appertly, vary or alter from one pece of that I have writtene and subscribed, or refuse to confyrme, ratefy, or declare the same, wher Your Majesty shall appointe me. Thurdly, as I have and shall, knowinge your excelent learnynge, vertue, wisdome, and knoledge, put my soulle into your directyone; and, by the same, hathe and will, in all thinges, from hence foarthe,

[1] From the Museum, Harleian Collection, No. 283. leaf 111 (b).

directe my consyence, so my body I do holly commyte to your mercye and fatherlye pyttye; desiringe no state, no condissyone, nor no mannore degre of lyvinge, but suche as Your Grace shall appoynte unto me; knoledging and confessynge, that my state cane not be so ville, as ether the extremyty of justice wold appoynte unto me, or as myne offences have required and deserved. And what soever Your Grace shall comaunde me to doe, touchinge any of theyse pointes, ethere for thinges paste, presente, or to come, I shall as gladly doe the same, as Your Majestie cane comaund me. Most homblye, therfor, beseeching your mercy, most gratyous Soveraine Lord and benigne Father, to have pyttye and compassyon of your myserable and sorowfull child; and, with the aboundance of your inestymable goodnes, so to overcome my iniquitie towardes God, Your Grace, and your holle realme, as I maye feele some sensyble tokene of reconsyllyation; which, God is my judge, I onely desyre, without other respect, to whome I shall dayly praye for the preservation of Your Highenes, with the Queenes Grace, and that it may please him to send you issue. From Hownsdon, this Thursdaye[1], at 11 of the clocke at nighte.

Your Graces moste humble and
obedient Daughter and Handmayd,
(*Signed*) MARYE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most gratyous
Highnes, my Father.

The Confessyon[2] of me, the Lady Mary, mad uppon certene pointes and artycles under written; in the which, as I doe nowe playnly, and with all myne harte, confese and declare myne inward sentence, beleife, and judgment, with a due conformety of obedyence to the lawes of the realme; so, myndinge for ever to persiste and contynue in this determination, without change, alteration, or varyance, I doe most hombly beseeche the Kinges

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[1] As the preceding ineffectual letter to the King seems to have been despatched on the 13th of June, which was Tuesday, this Thursday was probably the 15th of that month.

[2] This Confession is printed by Burnet, in his first Volume of the History of the Reformation, pp. 207, 8; but the preceding letter is not given by him. By comparing it with the articles, which Mary was required to sign (See Strype's Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 285. and Appendix, No. 75.), it will be seen, that with two of those articles she never complied; and the reason of her signature appearing above her confession of bastardy, may be conjectured to be, that she was, with great difficulty, prevailed on to make that admission, and having concluded without making it, was afterwards persuaded to add it. Burnet quotes this paper as being in the Cottonian Library, Otho, C. X., where it does not now exist; but there is a copy in the Harleian Collection, No. 283. leaf 111 b. from whence this publication is made.

Highenes,

Highenes, my Father, whom I have obstynatly and inobedyently offended, in the denyall of the same heartofore, to forgyve myn offences therin, and to take me to his most gratyous mercye.

Fyrste, I confesse and knoledge the Kynges Majesty to be my Soveraigne Lord and Kyng, in thEmperialle Crowne of this realme of England; and doe submyte my selfe to His Highenes, and to all and synguler lawes and statutes of this realme, as becomethe a true and faithefull subjecte to do; which I shall also obaye, keepe, observe, advance, and mayntayne, according to my bounden dutye, with all my power, force, and qualletyes, that God hathe indued me, during my lyfe.

Item, I doe recognise, accepte, take, repute, and knoledge the Kynges Highenes to be Supreme Head in Earthe, under Christe, of the Churche of Englande; and doe utterly refuse the Bushope of Romes pretended authorety, poure, and jurishedictyone within this realme, hertofore usurped; according to the lawes and statutes made in that behalfe, and of all the Kynges true subjectes hombly receaved, admytted, obayed, kepte and observed; and also doe utterlye renownce and forsacke all manore of remedy, intereste, and advantage, which I may, by any meanes, clayme by the Bushop of Romes lawes, processes, jurisdictyon, or sentence, at this presente tyme, or in any wyse hearafter, by any maner tytle, collore, meane, or case, that is, shall, or cane be devysed for that purpos.

Marye.

Item I doe freely, frankely, and for the discharg of my duty towardes God, the Kynges Highenes, and his lawes, without other respecte, recognise and knolledge, that the maryage, hertofore had betwene His Majestye, and my mother, the late Princes Dowager, was, by Godes lawe, and manes lawe, incestyous and unlawfull.

Marye.

XLVI. Sadleyr *to* Lord Crumwell.[1]

Myn humble duetie premised unto Your good Lordship. It may please the same to be advertesed, that, uppon tharryvall here of your servaunte, M[r] Rowse, with your letters, having first perused suche as it pleased your Lordship to dyrecte unto me, I dyd after delyver thother unto the Kynges

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

Majestie,

Majestie, who did not onelie rede them over thoroughlie, but also, assone as His Grace had over redde them, delyvered them unto me, and bad me kepe them, till His Grace had supped; being then redy to go to supper. And in his going to the Quenes chamber to supper, I wayted on His Majestie, and, by the way, shewed him that your Lordeship had wrytten to me, that the Father of Syon was departed; and that because your Lordeship wolde right gladly have suche a one to supplye his place, as both for honestie, lerning, discression, and good conversacion should be mete for that rowme, you wolde your self, if it so stode with His Graces pleasure, repayre thither for thelection of an other. Whereunto His Grace answered, that it were well don ye did so. "Howbeit," quod he, "the Charterhouse in "London is not ordered, as I wold have had it. I commaunded," quod he, "my Lorde Prevy Seale, a grete whyle a go, to put the monkes out of the "House, and now he wrote to you," quod he, "that they be reconsiled; but "seeing that they have ben so long obstynate, I wyll not now," quod he, "admytte their obedyence; and so wryte to my Lorde Prevy Seale." This His Grace commaunded me to wryte unto your Lordeship (as I do), which, as you shall have oportunyte, ye may tempre with His Grace, as by your wysedom shalbe thought convenyent.

I shewed His Highnes, also, that your Lordeship had commytted to the Flete Rafe Shelton; and how he could not denye the setting up of the ladder, ne that he had saied heretofore, that he had kylled dere; and that your Lordeship thought, that there wolde be other thinges proved ayenst him, very dishonest. His Grace answered to that, that your Lordeship had don well in commytting him to the Flete; and saied he doubted not, but ye wold trye him suffycyently, or ye lefte him. By this communicacyon fynisshed, His Grace was in the Quenes Chamber, redy to washe, and syt downe to supper.

After souper, His Grace retourned into his chamber, and ymedyately called me unto him; sayeng, that he had dygested and revolved in his brest the contentes of your letters, and perceyving how the plage had reigned in Westminster, and in the Abbey self, His Grace sayed, that he stode in a suspence, whether it were best to put of the tyme of the Coronacyon [1], for a season. "Wherefore," quod he, "it were good, that all my Counsaile "were assembled here, that we might consulte, and determyn uppon every "thing, touching the same accordinglye. And so," quod he, "wryte to

[1] Henry VIII. married Jane Seymour on the 20th of May 1536, and her Coronation must have been that here contemplated.

"my

" my Lorde Pryvey Seale, and sende him worde that my Lorde Admyrall[1] " is here, Mr Comptroller[2], and the Bisshop of Hereford[3] be here, and pray " him, also," quod he, " to com hither indelayedlie; and then," quod he, " we shall sone be at a poynte. And," quod he, " in case my Lorde " Chauncelour be nere London, and all that be there of the Prevye Coun- " saile, pray my Lorde Prevy Seale to bryng them with him." Thus His Grace commaunded me to wryte unto your Lordship, assuring the same, that, as I perceyve, His Grace wold gladly have you here; whereuppon I depeched this berer, with the more spede. Nevertheles, when His Majestie bad me sende for you, I sayed that it wolde be to morow after none, or ye could have worde of the same, and then it wold be to late for your Lordeship to set fourth hitherward that day, " and the next day, Sir," quod I, " is Mighelmas daye." " What then," quod his Grace, " Mighelmas day is " not so high a day." So that I perceyve His Highnes woll loke for you on Mighelmas day, at night, or the next mornyng after, at the ferthest; the soner the better. It may please your Lordeship to bryng with you suche, as be there, of the Prevy Counsaile, and my Lorde Chauncelour, also, if he be nere London, for so is the Kinges pleasure. To all the rest of the contentes of your letters, the Kinges Highnes sayeth, he will make you answer himself, at your commyng.

I have sent your Lordeship all the letters stamped; nevertheles ye may now differre the sending of them fourth, till your Lordeship shall knowe ferther of the Kynges pleasure. And thus the Holie Trynyte send your Lordeship long lif and good helth, with moch honour. At Wyndesour, the 27 day of September, at 12 a clocke of the night, which is our accustomed hower in the Courte to go to bed; with the rude and hastye hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde
servaunte, and daylie Bedisman,
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and his singuler good Lorde, my Lord Crumwell, Keper of the Kynges Prevye Seale.

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[1] Sir William Fitzwilliam, who succeeded on the death of the Duke of Richmond.
[2] Sir Wm. Poulet. [3] Edward Fox.

XLVII. The Earl of Shrewsbury, &c. *to* The Commons of Lincolnshire. [1]

George Erle of Shrewisbury, Thomas Erle of Rutlande, George Erle of Huntingdon, to the Commons of Lincolne shire, nowe rebelliously assembled [2], sende speciall commaundement; That you, and every of you, as many as take yourselfis to be the Kingis true subjectis, upon the hering of this pro-

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[1] From a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House.

[2] The Insurrection, which was denominated by the rebels the "Pilgrimage of Grace," broke out at Louth in Lincolnshire, on Monday the 2d of October 1536; on which day the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their Visitation at that place. The fury of the populace was directed against the proceedings of this Commission, by Dr. Matthew Makerel, the Prior of Barlings or Oxney, in the same county, and they were led by a person under the appellation of Captain Cobler, who is said by Lord Herbert, and other historians, to have been the Prior himself; but it may be collected from a contemporary paper, that the name of this leader was Melton. The contagion soon spread from Lincolnshire into Yorkshire; where Robert Aske took the command of the insurgents, and proceeding from Howden and Beverley to Pontefract, he there established his head quarters. The Rebellion excited great consternation in the Court. The Duke of Suffolk, and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon were despatched into Lincolnshire, with all the force which could be collected; and Thomas Myller, Lancaster Herald, was sent thither with a proclamation, calculated to appease the people; which had its intended effect, for it was promulgated at Louth on the 12th of October, and the next day the insurgents dispersed. The rising in Yorkshire was not so easily quelled. Lord Shrewsbury, in the first instance, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, Sir Antony Browne, and Sir Antony Kingston, were sent to that county with a strong military force. Lancaster Herald proceeded with his proclamation to Pontefract, where he was obliged, on the 20th of October, to submit himself to Aske, sitting in state, with the Archbishop of York on one hand, and Lord Darcy on the other, (for which submission he was capitally convicted of high treason, and executed,) and he was dismissed with a safe conduct from Aske, which was to be in force only while he wore his heraldic coat, emblazoned with the royal arms. Lord Darcy, who had, at first, been in correspondence with the commanders of the King's troops, soon joined the rebels; who had the countenance of the heads of several religious houses, and the aid of various persons of considerable property and influence. The King seems to have been more willing to rely on his pen, than his sword. He wrote answers to the complaints of the traitors, offered them terms, promised them pardon, and never ventured to come to a general engagement with them. But it was not till the 29th of October, that they were prevailed upon to disperse. Many of those, who were then pardoned, soon committed new acts of treason, particularly Aske, Lord Darcy, and Lord Husee, who were condemned and executed for that offence, in the summer of 1537.

The papers relative to this Insurrection, which have been preserved, particularly among Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, and the Miscellaneous Papers in the same place, are very numerous; insomuch that it is by no means easy to make a satisfactory selection from them. The following pages contain those documents only, which give the best general view of the causes and objects of the insurrection, and of the aspect and mode in which it was viewed and treated by the King, and his Ministers; without entering into the details of the measures, taken on the one side, or on the other.

clamation,

clamation, doo departe home to your houses, without any lenger taring or abode, upon payne to lose lif, landes, and goodes; and they that woll not, at your uttirmost perillis. And, by the grace of God, els we shall shortely despatche you, and

God save the King, our
Gracis Soverain Lorde.

XLVIII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Rebels in Lincolnshire.

Answer to the Petitions of the Traitours and Rebelles in Lincolnshire.[1]

First, We begyn and make answer to the 4th and 6th articles, because upon them dependeth moche of the rest. Conserning chosing of Counsaillours, I never have redde, harde, nor knowen that Prynces Counsailours and Prelates shoulde be apoynted by rude and ignorant common people; nor that they were persons mete, or of habilite, to disserne and chose mete and sufficient Counsaillours for a Prynce. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beestelie of the hole realme, and of leest experience, to fynde faulte with your Prynce, for thelecting of his Counsaillours and Prelates; and to take uppon you, contrary to Goddes law, and mannes law, to rule your Prynce, whom ye are bounde by all lawes to obey, and serve, with both your lyves, landes, and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstande: the contrary whereof you, like traytours and rebelles, have attempted, and not like trew subjectes, as ye name yourselffes!

As to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, We woll that ye, and all our subjectes, should well knowe, that this is graunted Us by all the Nobles, Spirituall and Temperall, of this our realme, and by all the Commons of the same, by Act of Parliament; and not set fourth by any counsaillour or counsaillours, uppon their mere will and fantasie, as ye full falselye wold persuade our realme to beleve. And where ye alledge, that the servyce of God is moche therby dymynisshed, the trewth thereof is

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[1] This Paper is alluded to by Lord Herbert, p. 480. It is printed from the Minute, corrected by Lord Crumwell, which remains among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{6}$. The articles of the Lincolnshire petition appear, from this answer, to have been substantially the same, which were adopted in Yorkshire (see p. 467.); but the order of them was somewhat changed.

contrary;

contrary; for there be non houses suppressed, where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abhomynation of lyving was used: and that doth well appere by their own confessions, subscribed with their owne handes, in the tyme of our visitations. And yet were suffered a great many of them, more then We by thActe neded, to stande; wherin, if they amend not their lyving, We feare We have more to answer for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for their hospitalite, for the relief of poure people, We wonder ye be not asshamed to afferme, that they have ben a grete relief to our people, when a great many, or the most parte, hathe not past 4 or 5 religious persons in them, and dyvers but one, which spent the substaunce of the goodes of their house, in nurysshing of vyce, and abhomynable lyving. Nowe, what unkyndenes and unnaturalite may We impute to you, and all our subjectes, that be of that mynde, that had lever suche an unthriftie sorte of vicious persons should enjoye such possessions, profytes, and emolumentes, as growe of the saide houses, to the mayntenaunce of their unthriftie lif; then We, your naturall Prynce, Sovereigne Lorde, and Kyng, which doth and hathe spent more in your defences, of his own, the 6 tymes they be wourth!

As touching thActe of Uses[1], We mervaile what madnes is in your brayn, or uppon what grounde ye wold take auctoryte uppon you, to cause Us to breke those lawes and statutes, which, by all the Nobles, Knightes, and Gentilmen of this realme, whom the same chiefely toucheth, hath ben graunted and assented to; seeng in no maner of thing it toucheth you, the basse comens of our realme! Also the groundes of those Uses were false, and never admytted by any law, but usurped uppon the Prynce, contrary to all equyte and justice, as it hathe ben openly both disputed and declared, by all the well lerned men of England in Westminster Hall; wherby ye may well perceyve, how madde and unreasonable your demaundes be, both in that, and the rest, and how unmete it is for Us, and dishonourable, to graunte or assente unto, and lesse mete and decent for you, in suche rebellyous sorte, to demaunde the same of your Prynce.

As touching the 15th, which ye demande of Us to be released, thinke ye that We be so faynt herted, that, perforce, ye of one shire (were ye a gret many moo) could compell Us with your insurrections, and suche rebellyous demeanour, to remytte the same? or thinke ye that any man will or may take you to be trew subjectes, that first maketh a show of a loving graunte, and then, perforce, wold compell your Sovereign Lord and King to

[1] Stat. 27 Henry VIII. cap. 10.

release

release the same; the tyme of payment whereof is not yet com? ye, and seeng the same will not countervaile the 10th penye of the charges, whiche We do, and daylie must, susteyn, for your tuycyon and saufegarde? Make ye sure, by your occasions of this your ingratitudes, unnaturalnes, and unkyndenes to Us, now admynistered, ye gyve Us cause, which hathe alwayes ben asmoche dedycate to your welthes, as ever was Kyng, not so moche to set our studie for the setting forward of the same, seeng how unkyndely and untrewly ye deale nowe with Us, without any cause or occasion. And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalment in you, to consider your dueties of allegiaunce to your Kyng and Sovereigne; the rest of our realme, We doubt not, hathe: and We, and they, shall so loke on this cause, that We trust shalbe to your confusion, if, according to our former letters, ye submitte not your selffes.

As touching the First Fruytes, We late you wete, it is a thing graunted us by Acte of Parliament[1] also, for the supportation of parte of the grete and excessyve charges, which We supporte and bere, for the mayntenaunce of your welthes, and others our subjectes. And We have knowen, also, that ye, our comons, have moche complayned, in tymes passed, that the most of the goodes, landes, and possessions of the realme were in the spirituall mennes handes; and yet now, bering Us in hande that ye be as loving subjectes to Us, as may be, ye can not fynde in your hertes, that your Prynce and Sovereign Lorde should have any parte thereof. And yet it is nothing prejudiciall unto you, our comens; but do rebell and unlawfully ryse ayenst your Prynce, contrary to your duetie of allegiaunce, and Goddes commaundement. Wherfore, Sirs, remember your folyes and traytorous demeanours, and shame not your natif countrey of Englonde, nor offende no more, so grevouslye, your undoubted Kyng, and naturall Prynce, which alwaies hathe shewed him self most lovyng unto you; and remember your duetie of allegiaunce, and that ye are bounde to obey Us, your Kyng, both by Goddes commandement, and law of nature. Wherfore We charge you, eftesones, upon the forsaide bondes and paynes, that ye withdraw your selffes to your owne houses, every man; and no more to assemble, contrary to our lawes, and your allegiaunces; and to cause the provokers of you to this myschief, to be delyvered to our Lieutenauntes handes, or oures, and you your selffes to submytte you to such condigne ponisshement, as We, and our Nobles, shall thinke you wourthie. For doubt ye not elles, that We, and our Nobles, can nor woll suffer this injurye at your hande, unrevenged, if ye gyve not place

[1] Stat. 26 Henry VIII. cap. 3.

to Us of Soveraignetie, and shewe your selffes as bounden and obedyent subjectes, and no more to entermeddle your selffes, from hensfourth, with the weightie affaires of the realme; the dyrection whereof only apperteyneth to Us, your Kyng, and such noble men and counsaillours, as he list to elect and chuse to have the ordering of the same. And thus We pray unto Almightie God to gyve you grace to do your dueties, and to use your selffes towardes Us, like trew and faithfull subjectes, so as We may have cause to order you thereafter; and rather obbedyentlye to consent amongst you, to delyver into thandes of our Lieutenaunt 100 persons, to be ordered according to their demerytes, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstynacy and wilfulness to put your selfes, lyves, wyves, children, landes, goodes, and cattalles, besydes the indignacyon of God, in the utter adventure of totall destruction, and utter ruyn by force and violence of the sworde.

XLIX. Robert Aske's Address.[1]

Lordes, Knyghtes, Maisters, Kynnesmen, and Frendes. We perceyve that you be infurmyd, that thys assemble or pylgrymage, that we, by the favour and mercy of Almyghty God, do entend to procede in hys cause: the Kynge, oure Soveragne Lord, hathe had many imposicyons of us: we dowte not, but ye do ryzte well knowe, that, to oure power, we have ben all weys redy in paymentes and servyces to Hys Hyghnes, as eny of hys subgettes; and, therfore, to asserteyne you of the cause of thys oure assemble and pylgrymage, is thys. For as muche that shuche symple and evyll dysposyd persones, beynge of the Kynges Cownsell, hathe nott onely ensensyd Hys Grace with many and sundry newe invencyons, whyche be contrary to the faythe of God, and honour to the Kynges Mayeste, and the comyn welthe of thys realme, and thereby entendythe to destroye the Churche of Englond, and the mynysters of the same, as ye do well knowe, aswell as we; but also the seyd Counsell hathe spoylyd and robbid, and farthyr entendynge utterly to spoyle and robbe, the hole body of thys realme; and that as well you, as us, yffe God, of hys infynyte mercye, had not causyd shuche, as hathe taken, or hereafter shall tacke, thys pylgrymage uppon theym, to procede in the same, and whethyr all thys aforeseyde be trew, or not, we

[1] Among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9.}{6}$

put

put it to youre concynes; and yff you thyncke it be trewe, and do fyght agaynst us, that entendythe the comyn welthe of thys realme, and no thynge elles, we truste, be the grace of God, ye shall have smale spede; for thys pylgrymage, we have taken, hyt is for the preservacyon of Crystes Churche, of thys realme of England, the Kynge oure Soverayne Lord, the Nobylyte and Comyns of the same; and to the entent to macke petycion to the Kynges Highnes for the reformacyon of that whyche is amysse, within thys hys realme, and for the punnyshement of the herytykes and subverteres of the lawes; and we, nother for money, malys, dysplesure to noo persons, but shuche as be not worthy to remayne nyghe abowte the Kynge oure Soverayne Lordes persone. And furthur you knowe, yff you shall obteyne, as we truste in God you shall nott, ye put bothe us, and you, and youre heires, and oures, in bondage for ever; and further, ye are sure of entensyon of Crystes curse, and we clere and oute of the same. And yff we overcum you, then you shalbe in oure wylles. Wherfore, for a conclusyon, yff you wyll not cum with us, for reformacyon of the premyssis, we certyfy you, by thys oure wrytynge, that we wyll, that we wyll fyght and dye agaynst bothe you, and all those, that shalbe abowte towardes to stope us in the seyd pylgremage; and God shalbe juge, whych shall have hys grace and mercy theryn, and then you shalbe jugyd, hereafter, to be shedderes of crystyn blode, and destroers of your evyne crystyn. Frome Robert Aske, chefe Capytayne off the conventyall assemble, or pylgremage, for the same Barony, and Comynalty of the same.

Per me, Robertum Asken, in the name of all
the Baronage, and Commynalty of the same.

The Artycles.

Furste, for the Suppression of Relygyouse Howses.
The 2 for the Acte of Uses.
The 3 for the Furste Frutes.
The 4 for the payment of money of the Temporalte.
The 5 ys for the base Counsell abowte the Kynge.
The 6 ys for the new Byshopes.

L. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASITH Your Lordship. Sithens the writing of my last letters, arryved here a post from the Lord Darcy, declaring a greate parte of Yorkshire to be uppe, and the hole cuntrey to favour their opinions; being the very same, that were reaported in Lyncolnsher by the rebelles there. He writeth that they woll, as it is told him, visitt him shortely at Pomfrett, and that they woll, also, to York; the comminaltie wherof, he saieth, he sumwhat mystrusteth. The letter conteyneth no certaintie in nomber, nor any thing elles, but suche generall wordes, as thoughe all the world went uppon wheles. This matier hangeth yet like a fever, oon daye good, an other bad. The Kinges Highnes wil, in all hast possible, sende furth the letters to my Lord Stewarde; for soo it is thought necessary, in omnem eventum. The letters were writen by the Lord Darcy, the 13th of this moneth; and herof I thought good, also, tadvertise your Lordship; but of the matier of Lincolnsher ther is no doubt, as by the letters, wherof befor I wrote, it appereth. Thus the Blessed Trynitie preserve your Lordship. From Wyndesour, the 15th of October.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,
(*Signed*) THOMAS WRIOTH̃.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable,
my Lorde Prevy Seale.
In hast, post,
for thy lief.

LI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE REBELS IN LINCOLNSHIRE.[3]

WHEREAS our right trusty, and right welbiloved Cousin and Counsailour, thErle of Shrewisbury, Lorde Stewarde of our Houshold, lately sent unto youe, with a certain proclamation, oon of our Haroldes at Armes; who, at his returne unto him again, declared that, uppon the reading therof, youe

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1 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

2 Wriothesley was, at this time, only a Clerk of the Signet, though he appears to have enjoyed the King's confidence, and officiated as his Secretary.

3 This Minute of the King's Proclamation is in the handwriting of Wriothesley. It is among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{6}$.

appered

appered most sorye and hevye in hartes, that youe have attempted this moost traitorous and heynous entreprise; and, lamenting your offences, semed to detest and curse all those personnes, that, with their most false and untrue reaportes and suggestions, brought you in to this miserable state and condition, caused you to rebell against Us, your Prince and natural liege Lord, that hath reigned over you thise 28 yeres, and with our greate labour, study, chardge, and travail, preserved you from the daunger of all straungers and forayn enemyes, whiche diverse wayes have sought your destructions; and by the same their most false and traitorous tales and devises, caused you to put all your lyves in daunger, to adventure the lyves and lyvinges of your poore wyves, and yong childern, whom God, and very nature, wold enforce you to loke unto; most humbly therupon beseching Us to be good and gracious Lorde unto youe, to have pitie and compassion uppon youe, and to loke with the eye of mercy towardes youe: albeit your greate and most detestable offences be suche, as if you doo, in dede, as hartely waye them, as reaporte is made from you, by our said Harold, that you doo, you may well perceyve deserveth, both at the hande of God and man, most extreme and cruel punyshment, for the offence present, and for the feare and terrour of all others heraftre, which, for any cause, wold traitorously rebell against your King, and Souveraign Lord, specially soo gracious as We have been ever to you; which, for any matier of money, wold put your lyves in daunger of the sworde, leave your wyves and poore innocent childern, to whom by Goddes lawes, alsoo, youe be bounde, to the sworde and fiere, for your offences, to be utterly destroyed; and which, for any maner of cause, wold dishonour, and, asmuch as in youe is, shame your natural cuntrey; soo that the like of your attemptates, befor expressed, could not have been attempted, commytted, or doon in any christened region, but this only; but all extremytie of punyshement against thoffendours, their wyves and children, wold, with sworde and fier, have ensued: yet, considering that youe be all our natural subgiettes borne; considering youe have, by falshod and untruth, been trayned and brought in to this rebellion; considering youe have made most humble sutes unto Us, to be gracious Lorde unto you; considering the greate effusion of christien bloode, that by the extreme persecution of youe, for this most traitorous offence, whiche, neverthelesse, We may and ought, by the order of justice, in this cace to administer unto youe, shuld ensue and folowe, by the utter destruction of all you, your wyves, and childern; and considering the great daunger, that by the effectuel execution of the same apon youe, shuld ensue to your soules, who have given this occasion; soo that, unles the most infinite mercy

of

of God, both bodyes and soules shuld perishe togither, what soever your desertes be: We have forced Ourself to tempre justice with mercy; and with as mercifull an eye to loke uppon youe, as ever did Prince uppon such personnes, his honour considered, in suche a cace as this is. Wherfor, having nothing in this world somoche to harte, as to avoyde this daunger, and peril of soules, this effusion of christien blodde, the punishment for your offences, of your miserable and wretched wyeves and childern, whiche crye out behinde youe, and most pitefully lament their most wretched and myserable states and conditions, happened by this traitorous attemptate and enterprise against God, against Us, your King, and natural Souveraign Lord, and against yourselfes chiefly, if justice shuld com styll against you for the same; We have, by the mercifull contemplation of the premysses, whiche our moost noble and princely harte cannot chuse but desire to avoyde, if We be not to much constrayned to the contrary by your contynuance in this most detestable and traitorous sorte, determyned and resolved, and the same thought good to signifie unto youe by thise presentes, that in cace, uppon the sight and knowleage herof, you, and every of youe, that have been in company togither in this insurrection, for a token of harty repentance, and for that our honour, touched by this your assemblee and insurrection, may be by youe again be redubbed, to the knowleage of the world, will, in peasable sorte, leave all your harneys, and all other your wepons, in the market place of that our Citie of Lyncoln, to be there receyved by suche personnes as our Counsail shall sende unto youe to receyve them; and therupon to departe, every man peasably to his house and dwelling place, and there, in Goddes peax and ours, applie your occupations and labours, We shall take more mercy, pytye, and compassion of you, and of your pore wyves, and innocent childern, then your desertes hathe merytyd or deservyd; and suche as never Prince toke of his subgiettes, in suche a cace; and extende our princely pitie soo farre towardes the most parte of youe, that all the world shall see our mercy shyne, fer above that We be bounden unto. And if you woll not take this most gracious and mercifull clemency, at this present tyme, but contynue oon hole daye lenger, after tne receipt herof, We shall execute all extremytie against you, your wyves, and childern, without mercy; to the most terrible and fearfull exemple of all others, whilles the worlde shall endure herafter.

LII. Wriothesley *to* Crumwell.[1]

Pleasith Your Lordshippe. This mornyng arryved here two letters, sent unto you from Maister Comptroller[2], whiche I sende unto you herwith, being the same already answered by the Counsail here; in effect, that they shal desist from levying of the 2000 men appointed, and if they had assembled any, to content them of the money, yesternight sent from hens unto them, whiche was a 1000 merkes. There arryved, also, letters from my Lorde of Suffolk, declaring all to be well there[3], and that the towne of Louth is com in[4], to the nombre of 200, and be not only newly sworn, but have also presented to my Lord Lieutenant[5] 15 personnes, the names wherof I sende unto your Lordship, herwith, whiche were the greate doers of this matier amonges them, which be in warde; Holy Doctour Makerel[6], Capitain Cobler, Manby, and the rest of all the said nombre. They write, also, that the rebelles, that is to say two hundreth of them, be entred by appointement in to the towne of Hull; wherby it apperith they will fall to talking, and if the rest take that waye, it will not be long, or oon payr of light legges wilbe worth 5 payre of handes to them, soo that I trust God wil shortly finishe that matier. My Lord of Norfolk wil, in personne, be this night with my Lord Stewarde, whose trayne commeth aftre, with my Lord of Surrey. And special commaundement was yesterdaye sent unto him, to see the passages at Notingham and Newark surely fortified, soo that the rebelles maye be certainly kept on that side, and soo enforced shortly to disperkle, or to eate their fyngers. My Lord of Norfolk hath but 2000 men with him, for he thought them ynowe; and I thinke my Lord Marques[7] hath no more; soo that with the Glocestre shire men[8], and all, they shalbe but 5000 men. There is, also, a letter writen to Mr Hatteclif to wayte

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

[2] Sir William Poulet.

[3] The Duke of Suffolk was at this time at Newark.

[4] The dispersion of the Rebels at Louth occurred on the 13th of October; the news of that important fact reached the King, at Windsor, on Sunday the 15th.

[5] The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward, was constituted the King's Lieutenant, North of Trent.

[6] The Prior of Barlings. See note, p. 462.

[7] The Marquis of Exeter.

[8] These appear, by Wriothesley's letter of the 17th, to have been 1000 men, under Sir Antony Kingston.

uppon

uppon my Lord of Suffolk [1], in Maister Gostwykes [2] stede. There cam, also, a letter to your Lordship, with those from my Lord of Suffolk, from Maister Richarde [3], conteyning only the newes befor expressed, whiche the King hath, and therfor I cannot sende it, tyl I wryte again.

Whenne this was writen, I had accesse to the Kinges Majestie, and declared unto him theffecte of your Lordshippes letters, in those poyntes mete to be to him remembred. His Grace toke the towardnes of preparation very wel, and hartely thanketh youe for your payn and diligence; but I perceyved by him, His Grace wold gladly knowe the certaintie of that you have doon, for he said sundry tymes, "I wold I knewe how moche he hath doon, that I might be satisfied with the specialtie". And whenne I had taken my leave, called me again, and willed me to require you to tast the fatt prestes theraboutes; namyng Doctour Wolman [4], Doctour Bell [5], Doctour Knight [6], "and others," quod he, "aboute Poules, or elles where". His Grace told me that Doctour Chambre [7] had, of his oune mocion, without desire, presented unto him 200 merkes, and Doctour Lupton [8] £100; whiche His Highnes also requireth youe to laye to them for a president; and further to declare, that being of suche sorte, as they cannot helpe, in personnes, they must shewe their good willes, if they have any, otherwise; and soo of that sorte, to get all that you canne.

I cannot sende your Lordship the bill of names befor mencyoned, for even as I beganne to copie it, it was sent for, but you shal have it with the next post.

The Lordes thanke your Lordship for your wyne.

As yet non ordre is taken for munitions to be sent to my Lord of Suffolk, but it is appointed they shall, aftre dyner, consulte with the King uppon that matier; and as for money for my Lord Merques, they saye he is furnished with parte of the £1200; but yesterday they said otherwise; and I thinke, by the letters, he hath receyved no peny, more thenne was defrayed at Ampthill, for the returne of his men. Thus I beseche

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[1] As Treasurer at War.

[2] Gostwick was appointed to the same situation in the Yorkshire Army, under the Lord Steward.

[3] Crumwell's nephew, Richard Williams, assumed his uncle's name of Crumwell, and became, in 1540, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

[4] Richard Wolman, Dean of Wells.

[5] John Bell, Bishop of Worcester.

[6] Wm. Knighte, formerly Secretary of State, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

[7] John Chamber, Dean of St. Stephens.

[8] Roger Lupton, Canon of Windsor, and Provost of Eton.

Our

Our Lord to preserve your Lordship in health. From Wyndesour, this Sondaye. My Lord of Suffolk had, yesterday, letters of thankes and commendation, &c[a].

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTH̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To his Right Honorable and
my singuler good Lorde,
my Lorde Prevy Seale.
In hast, hast,
hast.

LIII. INSTRUCTIONS, gyven by the Kinges Highnes to his trusty and welbiloved servaunt, , oon of his Officers at Armes, whom His Majestie sendeth in to the North parties of this His Graces realme.[1]

FURST, wheras the Kinges Majestie hath ben advertised from my Lorde of Norfolk, and others, whom His Grace sent agenst the rebelles, lately assembled in his Countie of Yorke, that the said rebelles be holy disparkeled, and retyred again to their houses and dwellyng places; to thentent His Highnes may more certainely knowe, howe, and in what sort, the saide rebelles doo nowe, uppon this retyrement, use themselfes; that is to say, whether they doo applye them selfes quietely to their accoustumed exercitations and busynes, repenting, in apparaunce, their offenses for this trayterouse attemptate; or whether they do yet, like men in dispair, contynue in plumpes, devysyng upon their factions, semyng rather to retayne som part of their furye and madnes, then to have cast the same holy awaye, and so to knowlege and confesse their said offences: His Grace, having good confidence in the fidelite, truthe, wisedom, and experience of his said servaunt, hath appoynted hym, as oon that His Majeste trusteth wil, not only substancially and discretely, but also diligently, execute His Graces pleasure and commaundement, to addresse hymself, with diligence, to his town of
and to suche other, as be conteyned in a scedule delyvred unto hym herwith; taking with hym a trompet, and a certain proclamation, under His Highnesses Grete Seale, devised by His Majestie, and his Moost Honorable Counseil, and aswell there, openly in the market, and other most frequent places, as pryvately in conferences, in all townes and villages theraboutes,

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[1] From the original Minute in the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Papers, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{6}$. The Herald selected was Thomas Myller, Lancaster.

and in his journey thitherwardes, and homewardes, to demeane and use hym self, as shalbe herafter declared.

First, the said shall, at his first arrival at , and suche other townes and places, as be conteyned in the same scedule delyvered unto hym, and suche other places, also, as he shal thinke convenyent to proclame and publishe the said proclamation in, specially note and consyder the demeanours of the people; that is to saye, whether they seme to be setteled again in a convenyent quiete, or remayn in such furye and madnes, as though they were, by their offenses, brought in to a dispair, and so contynue in their willfull and violent sorte and fashion. And whan he hath well viewed and consydered, after this sorte, the inclination of the said people, he shall then communicate the cause of his accesse to the maire, baillif, constables, and other the hedd and principal officiers within every suche towne; and so gentlely, and with good wordes, in His Graces name, requyre their assistence: whiche being ones graunted unto hym, as of likelyhod he shal have no denyall therof, usyng hymself discretely, as His Grace doubted not but he will, in cace he perceyve he may be permitted to make his proclamation, he shal then, with as good diligence as the tyme will permitte and suffer, in his Cote of Armes, beryng the said proclamation in his hand, repaire to the moste open and frequent places of every of the said townes; and there, in the company and presence of the said hed and principall officers, declare, as of hym self, and expresse unto them, that forasmuche as there hath ben a certen insurrection lately attempted in those parties, by the meane and occasion of diverse sediciouse persones, whiche have most falsely sett furth diverse thinges amonges them, that were never thought on by the Kinges Majeste, or any of his Counseil; His Highnes, having piete and compassion of the multitude, whiche have ben therin craftely deluded and deceyved, hath sent hym, oon of His Graces Officiers of Armes, with a certain proclamation, by His Majeste and his most honorable and prudent Counseil devised, to declare and signifie unto them the certayn and parfite truth therof; to thentent they may the better perceyve and knowe, howe they have ben abused, and therupon the rather deteste the auctours and setters furth of the same amonges them, and soo conforme them selfes, agayn, to that due order of obedience, that they be bounde unto by Goddes lawe, and withoute the whiche they shuld not be hable to lyve and contynue together, but runne willfully to their owne destruction. And for the more particular declaration, that the causes by them pretended of this insurrection be false, fayned, and moost trayterously set furth, he shall furst lamente and sorowe, that the people, having so graciouse

graciouse a Prince, and Souverayne Lorde, as the Kinges Highnes is, with whom, by the continuance of his regne over them thies 28 yeres, they ought to be so well accoynted, and whom they ought so moche to love and honour, for that he hath, in all that tyme, preserved them in moost parfite peax, tranquillite, and quiete, and ever tendred them, in all thinges, rather like his natural childern, then like his subjectes, wold nowe, by lightnes of credit, and hastynes of beleve, upon suche lyes and false tales, attempte suche a rebellion. For howe unkyndly may His Majeste take their ingratitude therin, whan he shal have bifore his eyes, his inestymable love towardes them, and then see their unkyndnes, and unnatural proceding, agayn, to be suche towardes hym, as they wold be so redy to attempt that agenst His Grace, that no oon of them wold attempt agenst his neighbour! Was there any oon of them, that, upon a false rapport declared agenst his neighbour, wold have put harneys on his back, and withoute further knowlege or examynation, determyned to have put hym in perill of destruction? Then howe ferre varye they from the partes of good subjectes, that, against their Prince, and most graciouse Souverayn Lorde, wolde, uppon heare say, entreprise that mater, that might disturbe his hole common welth, and putt so many mennes liffes in advanture? Surely it was a strange matier to His most noble Majeste, to heare of a rebellion attempted for maters of weddinges, christeninges, churches, eating white bredde, and certayn other meates, marking of bestes, bryngyng in of money to be touched at the Tower, and suche other thinges[1]; when neyther His Highnes, nor any of his Counseill, had, at any tyme in his most noble liffe, thought of any suche mater. Alack, what did lightnes of credit here, that wold not permitte them furst to see sum of those thinges don in dede, bifore they shuld have entred suche an extremite? or why shuld they not have commen first to His Majeste, like humble suters and peticioners, whan suche false lyes wer noysed amonges them, and have, by his most gracious and noble mouth, knowen the truthe and certaynte, wherby they should son have perceyved, the most detestable falsehod of them, that entended to bring them to utter ruyne and destruction, by the styrryng of them to suche a grevouse offense? And as for the Subsidie, whiche they also made a cause of their insurrection, it toucheth not the 20th personne that was moved and enduced to this rebellion. For there was no man charged therewith, but he that was worth £20 and above; and he that was worth £20, and would rather rebell agenst his Prince and countrey, then paye 10*s.* of the same, to be employed for

[1] See note to page 482.

the advancement of the hole common welth, is not to be taken for a good subject; but he, that wold put many mennes liffes in advanture, for any worldely good, is rather not to be taken and reputed for a christen man. Doth the Kinges Majeste demaunde any peny of his subjectes, but suche contributions, as have been lovingly graunted unto His Grace by Acte of Parliament; in the whiche was, also, present a greate nomber of the Knightes and honeste Burgeses of the same countrey? or is ther any man, that hath not, in this naughty and detestable insurrection, spent, or lost, thries so moche, as all the payementes due unto the Kinges Majeste doo amounte unto? Alack, what extreme folye then was this! to forget all thies thinges, and to advanture bodye and soul, lief, landes, and goodes, wiff, and childern, upon a bare and false lye, sett furth by false sediciouse and traytorouse persones; entending and desyring onely a general spoyle, and a certain destruction of all honest people, of honest wiffes, and innocent childern! Alack, that christen men shuld be so bareyn of reason and grace, as they shuld neyther remember God, bifore they shuld entre suche a mater, whiche, for no maner of cause, permitteth any man to agree or consent to any sedicion, but utterly inhibiteth and forbideth all violence to subjectes, howesoever they shuld be used, what soever hath ben falsely said and alleged to them, to the contrary! Alack, that christen men, whiche be not onely, by Goddes lawe, bounde to obey their Prince, but likewise to provide for the nutryment and sustentation of their wiffes and childern, shuld, upon the declaration of a lye, and the noysing of a false tale amonges them, seme to contempne their Prince, and Souverayn Lorde, and to forget wiffes, childern, and all togeder; or rather to put them in daunger of fyre and sworde, for thaccomplishement of a certain madde and furiouse attemptate! Alack, that they shuld not consydere, again, that they be but a handefull, towardes the puyssaunce of His Majeste; and that they could, in this insurrection, worke nothing, fynally, but their own undoing! Have they not alredy devasted ther own countrey, in suche sorte consumed the victailles of the same, and in suche wise hyndered the culture and tyllage of the grounde, that onles His most graciouse and excellent Majeste, of his mere pitie, make som provision for them, they shalbe constrayned, the next yere, to eate their owne fyngers? Truely it is grete ruthe and pitie, that thies thinges have not ben better consydered, for then it shuld not have so chaunced. And as for the Tenth, Furst Frutes, and the Suppression of Abbeyes, like as it apparteyneth nothing at all to the communalte, so there is no true herted subject, but wold rather have that revenue bestowed upon his Prince, which doth agayn, with the same, and a greate deale more of his

his owne, preserve hym, and the hole realme, in quiet, then consent or agree that it shuld remayne with them, that bestowe it onely in ydelnes, and the mayntenaunce of synne. And the more the Prynce hath of his own, the lesse nede shal he have to demaunde any mo aydes or payementes of his good subjectes, and the more hable shall he be to preserve them all in peax and tranquillite, from the danger of all foreyn ennemyes. And as concernyng any other poyntes of religion, or observaunce, His Majeste hath don nothing, but the hole clergye of that Province of Yorke, as well as the Province of Cantorbery, hath determyned the same to be conformable to Goddes Holy Worde and Testament. And howe can the simple people, then, saye the contrary? or what madnes and presumption is it for them, to take the knowlege of Goddes lawe upon them, wherof they be, of their owne knowlege, ignorant, and not to beleve them, that have knowlege therof, as of duetie they ought to doo? Wherfor the saide shal exhorte and advise them, with swete and gentil wordes, to consydere the premisses; and wheras they can not call agayn that whiche is past, to redubbe and amende their faulte therin by an humble submission, and the contynuaunce of a due obedience: declaring unto them, howe muche His Majeste desyreth their preservation; whiche, having in arredynes a mayn armye of 50000 men, besides that force, that was addressed with the Lordes of his Counseil against them, resolved, immediately upon their retyre, rather to staye the same, then to procede to the due punyshement of them; consydering, most mercyfully, they were his naturall subjectes, and that though they had nowe, by the crafty meanes of som traytours, offended, they myght yet repente, and shewe suche humilite in submission, that he myght herafter moche rejoyse of their preservation, and of the steye of his princely corage in that behalf.

Whiche thinges being thus declared, the said shal then reade the same proclamation so distinctely and openly, as the multitude may understande the same. And whan he hath soo doon, he shal nayle, or otherwise firmely fixe, a copie of the said proclamation, wherof he shal have a dosen with hym, upon the market crosse, or som other place, that is open, and most commonly haunted; and cause secretely good espiall to be made, whether any man shall pull down the same, during his abode in the towne; that in cas it shuld be pulled downe, he may knowe the persone or persones that did the same, and semblably his or their demeanour and wordes in the doing of it.

And fynally, the Kinges Majestes pleasure is, that the said shall, in all his journey, diligently, secretely, and substancially enserche,

enserche, what monkes, chanons, nunnes, or other religiouse persones, of any religiouse houses, within the lymytation of the Acte of Suppression, having ben discharged by His Graces Commissioners, be agayn restored, by any of the rebelles, to the possessions of their said houses; howe they use them selfes in the same; and of what inclination the people is for their contynuance: and of every of the same, and all other the premisses, from tyme to tyme, and place to place, tadvertise His Majeste with all possible diligence.

LIV. Wriothesley *to* Crumwell.[1]

Pleasith Your Lordship to be advertised, that immediatly uppon the receipt of your letters, sent by this berer, I presented to the Kinges Highnes those that were directed to His Grace, which he incontynently commaunded me to rede. And aftre I had red the same, requiring knowleage of His Graces pleasure, he commaunded me, for answer, to signify unto your Lordship, that most thankfully His Grace doth accept your service doon unto him therin; and as touching the repayment, will see youe discharged, assone as money shall com in for the same. Nevertheles, His Highnes said the daye was very shorte. As for the bestowing of it, bicause, even with your said letters, advertisement cam, that as the matier of Lincolnshire is appeased, soo in Yorkeshir, for truth, there is nowe no lesse busines and insurrection, thenne befor was there; all the comminaltie of the cuntrey being assembled togithers, but the gentlemen, with my Lord Darcy, and the Bisshop of York, at Poumfret Castle, out of their daungers; the Citie of York, also, using themselfes right truly to His Highnes, whither His Grace hath appointed Sir Arthur Darcy, with a good nomber of those gentlemen, to goo, for the bettre anymating of his subgiettes within the same. His pleasure is, that, with all possible diligence, you shall sende all the money youe have gotten in to your handes, by John Freman, to Maister Gostyk, being appointed Treasorer with my Lord Stewarde; who, as the Kinges Highnes is advertised, doth this daye merche, with all his force, against those traitours in Yorkshir. His Grace told me, to be writen unto youe, that he wold sell all the plate he hath, but he will subdue thise traitours, in suche sorte, that all others shalbe ware by their exemple. And, therfor, His

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

Highnes

Highnes requireth youe to doo all that ever your Lordship canne, to borowe yet asmoche more money, as you canne devise to get in to your handes, to thintent he maye be, for this matier, thoroughly furnished. My Lordes of Rutlande and Huntingdon doo, also, with all their forces, goo with my Lord Stewarde, and my Lordes of Norfolk, and the Merques of Excestre; and Anthony Kingston, with 1000 Gloucestre shire men, shal goo aftre, if nede shall require. Touching the contentation of those retyred in to Kent, Essex, and Sussex, by my next letters I shall advertise your Lordship; for, at the writing herof, the Lordes were not with the King, and I thought mete, with al possible spede, to dispeche this berer. Thus I besech Our Lorde to preserve your Lordship. I perceyve His Grace wold be gladde to have youe here, and your busines were ones doon. From Wyndesour, this present Tuesdaye.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) THOMAS WRYOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lorde, my Lord Pryvie Seale.
In hast, hast.

LV. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL. [1]

MY dieuty most humbly remembred to Your Lordship. I sende unto the same, herwith, the Kinges Highnes answer made to the Counsail, touching the contentation of suche personnes, as were first stayed at London, and had, aftre, commaundement to retyre; wherby it shall appere, that your Lordshippe must be both husbande and houswief, and soo care for all togither. This hathe been a very busye daye here; for advertisement is com from York, that the rebelles theraboutes have determyned to take and spoyle the Citie; thinhabitantes wherof prepare honestly, as in myn other letters I wrote to your Lordship, for the defence of the same: and the Kinges Highnes hath not only writen to the Lorde Darcy, to sende Sir Arthur to them with 1000 men, whiche he hath ready, as His Grace is enformed, at Pomfrett, but also to all the gentlemen dwelling abowte York, with all their forces, to repair thither, and there to remayn, for the defence of it, tyl the cummyng of my Lord Stewarde; whiche, as I wrote befor, doth, as His Grace is advertised, advaunce this daye towardes them. His Grace hath, also, by letters sent this daye to my said Lorde Stewarde, both

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

newly

newly instructed him, and signified the news from York, with instante desire to him to make spede thither. His newe instruction is conformable to the letters sent on Sondaye; saving the Kinges Highnes taketh this rebellion of Yorkshir so moche to harte, that thoughe it shuld fortune to be appeased, befor my Lord Steward shuld, in maner, set furth; yet His Highnes hath resolved, that he shall reasorte to the very places, where the said insurrection beganne, and aswell punyshe the begynners, as those that gave any ayde, counsail, or special favour to the rebelles, thoughe they never styrred. Al the gentlemen of Lincolnshire, whose names I sent unto your Lordship in a scedule, be com in, according to their appointement; offering to lyve and dye against thothers, and the Shiref hathe taken oon of the most arrant traitours, and presented him to my Lord of Suffolk; the goodes of whom, the Kinges Highnes, at the contemplation of my said Lorde of Suffolk, and his company of the Counsail there, making sute by their letters for the same, hath given to Sir William Pikering; being in valewe worthe 40 or 50*£*. And by my Lord of Suffolkes letters it appereth, that he is nowe aboute Lincoln; and there he hathe, nowe, newe commaundement to execute the tenour of the former letters, sent on Sonday night, without any notable alteration.

Whenne I had writen this letter, hitherto, and had my Lord of Suffolkes letters ready to be sent furth, arryved here a newe post; uppon the knowleage wherof, I went uppe to the Kinges chambre, to lerne the newes, and to knowe, whither any addition shuld, uppon the same, be made in my said Lord of Suffolkes letters. And there the Kinges Highnes told me, that the letters arryved by the said post, newly com, conteyned matier moche variable from thother; the particularitie he declared not, but said, in general wordes, they wrote, nowe, of mervelous nombres of men; and therupon willed me, in any wise, to dispeche a post unto you, and to desire Your Lordship, on his behaulf, to be here with His Grace tomorowe, assone as you could; soo that I perceyved he wold have youe here, at the ferthest, by 8 or 9 of the clocke. His Grace requireth youe, also, to bring with youe the letters, sent unto your Lordship last, from Maister Gostyk, whiche I sent to youe this daye, writing uppon them "in hast, hast, post". I doubt not, but they be com to your Lordships handes. Thus I beseche Our Lorde to preserve your Lordship. From Wyndesour, this Tuesdaye night, at 10 of the clock.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) Tho: Wryothesley.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, my Lord Privy Seale.

LVI. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTRE moost humble remembrance of my dieuty to Your Lordship. Having, this mornyng, receyved your letters, sent unto me by Thomas Avery, with those last sent unto youe from Maister Gostyk, immediatly I went to the Kinges chambre: and bicause His Grace was not ready, sent in the very letters unto him, abiding his answer; which His Majestie redde thoroughly, and thenne remytted them again unto me; commaunding me, not only for your greate travaylles, to signifie, that His Grace giveth unto you most harty thankes, but also that your considerations for your demore at home, this hole daye, be soo necessary, that His Highnes is well contented, and thinketh it very necessary youe shuld soo doo; specially for the getting in of asmuch moneye as could be gotten, and the sending furth of the same, according to His Graces appointement taken yesterdaye; requiring you, nevertheles, to be here with His Grace to morowe, in the mornyng. And I assure your Lordship I see not here any suche cause, as shuld make this greate hobleshof. For touching the nombres of men, wherof befor I wrote incertainly, bicause I had not thenne seen the letters therof, it touched nothing the rebelles, but only the nombre of the Kinges true subgiettes, being with my Lord of Suffolk, and my Lord Steward; and, in dede, the same were to be merveled at, for my Lord of Suffolk signified, that in his bande were but 3000 men, and in my Lord Stewardes hole bande but 6000, which neyther agreeth with the rumours of the same, ne yet with the Kinges chardgies defrayed upon them. And this was the greate matier, that shuld soo hastely have called you hither. For besides this, they write of no daunger; for yesterdaye, my Lord Admyrall[2], Mr Russel, Mr Brian, and Maister Crumwell[3] were all in Lincoln, my Lordes of Suffolk, with the rest, cummyng quietly aftre; and it is to be thought, that whenne they of Yorkeshire shall here, that all is wel and quiet, they wil sone be at a pointe. For he, that cam yesterdaye from York, saieth, that the comminaltie there knoweth nothing of the appeasing of thother parte; ne he himself harde of it, tyl he cam almost at Lyncoln; whiche poynte is not soo well handeled, in my poore opinion, as were requisite. I sende your Lordship herwith a

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam.

[3] Richard Crumwell. See p. 472.

certain copie[1], conteyning suche false and untre surmyses, as have been reaported in Yorkshir, and soo, consequently, the causes of that rebellion.

Aftre the writing herof, arryved here John Wingfeld, with letters from my Lord of Suffolk, the Bisshop of York, the Lorde Darcy, and others, declaring this matier of Yorkshir to be mervelous; all the Shire in maner uppe, as they write, and messages from them of Lincolnshire to thother; soo that the sequel is moche feared. Wheruppon the Kinges Majestie called me, alone, to him, and commaunded me, with all possible spede, to advertise your Lordship, that he doth most instantly desire youe, with all spede possible, to dispech, at the lest, to Master Gostyk 20000 merkes; which, for my Lorde Stewarde, my Lord of Norfolk, and the rest that goeth with them, wil serve but for oon monethes wages. And His Grace, also, desireth youe to dispeche a convenient some to my Lorde of Suffolk; he is but 3200 men, and nowe Maister Browne goeth to him with 2000 horses; and with that, to write unto them, that they shall receyve more money shortly aftre. His Highnes desireth youe nowe, to assaye what maye be borowed in his name, and, with all men, to shifte to all your possible power; soo that he might, besides thise somes, have a convenient furniture, what soever shal happen. And rather thenne to wante, His Graces pleasure is, youe shall goo to the Juelhous in the Tower, and there take asmoche plate, as you shall thinke His Grace shall not necessarily occupie, and put it strayte to coyning. His Majestie apperethe to feare moche this matier, specially if he shuld

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[1] The inclosure seems to have been the following, which is found in a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House.

"The reporte made in the Northe Countrey.

"Furst ys, that every man shall bring in all the golde that they have; and that it "shalhave the towche of the Towre.

"Also, that there shalbe no churche within fyve myles, and that all the rest shalbe putt "downe; and all the chalices, all other juelles, shalbe taken, and chalices of tynne, to sing "with.

"Further, that every man shalbe sworne what soubstaunce that he ys of; and if it be "proved that he ys more worthe, then shall all hys goodes be taken, and that he shall have "somoche of it, as he said he was worthe.

"Also, that noo man shall ete in hys house white bred, pigge, goose, nor capon, but that "he shold paye a certaine to the Kynges Grace.

"Also, that shalbe noo wedding, buryeng, nor cristenyng, but they shall paye a noble for "every oone of these to the Kinges Grace.

"Also, that there shall noo clothe be made, but it shalbe brought to a place assigned, "and it shalbe sealed with 2 seales, and hys name sett upon the clothe; and if it soo be "that the clothe doo goo in, or shrynke, then shall the goodes of all those be forfett into "the Kinges handes.

"And all these be soo slaunderously reaported through out all the countrey, that every "man thinkethe, that they shalbe utterly undoon for ever."

want

want moneye; for, in the Lorde Darcy, His Grace told me, he had no greate trust[1]. And His Grace wold have this matier for money wel folowed, for there resteth with youe all our hope. As knowethe Our Lorde, who preserve your Lordship, who may nowe protracte your cummyng hither, as I see not, but necessitie wil enforce you. From Wyndesour, in moche hast, this Wensday mornyng.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,
(*Signed*) THO. WRYOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, my Lord Prevye Seale.
In hast, hast,
for thy lief.

LVII. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

IT shall please Your Lordship to be advertised, that, immediatly uppon the receipt of your letters, answering to myn writen this daye, I went to the Kinges Highnes, and declared, at good lenght, the contentes of the same, with the greate labours and travailes youe have taken, in the getting of this some of £10000 togithers. His answer wherunto was, that, considering there is non other remedy, at this tyme, to get in, presently, any greater somme, his pleasure is, that you shall sende £3000 therof to Thomas Hatteclif, Treasorer with my Lord of Suffolk, and £7000 to Maister Gostyk, writing several letters to them, that they shall, with all possible spede, receyve more. His Grace remembred me, that he gave me in commaundement to write unto your Lordship, to borowe in His Graces name; wherupon I toke good occasion to declare the difficultie, that you have had for this already; and specially I shewed His Grace, you wold not medle with his plate, tyl your cummyng hither tomorowe; wherwith he is contented. There is here a greate matier made of that, whiche wold, in my poore opinion, be redubbed with lesse preparation; and, this daye, have we writen letters to my Lordes of Norfolk, of Excestre, and to Sir Anthony Browne, with al spede possible, to advaunce forwarde; likewise to my Lord Steward; to my Lord of Suffolk, for his contynuance in Lyncoln, and theraboutes, with his bande; to my Lord Darcy, and to the Bishop of York, to sende to the rebelles to declare, that the reaportes made unto them, conteyned in the bill I dyd send your

[1] The sequel shewed, how well the King was warranted in this distrust.
[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

Lordshippe this daye, be false, fayned, and soo untrue, that they were never thought on; and to Tristram Tashe, to paye al suche money, as he hath in his handes, to Maister Gostyk; and a letter to Mr Gostyk to call for it; with long circumstances, as thoughe the matier were of greater daunger, thenne it is; as your Lordshippe shall further perceyve, at your cummyng. And thus I beseche Our Lord to preserve your Lordship in health. From Wyndesour, this Wensdaye, at 8 of the clock at night.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRYOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, my Lord Privye Seale.
In hast, hast, post, for thy lief.
At the Rolles.

LVIII. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MY dieuty remembred. Though even nowe I wrote unto Your Lordship, yet I am commaunded, again, to desire you to make all the spede you canne possible, to sende furth the money; and the Kinges Highnes, in any wise, desireth your Lordship to make the dispeche therof this night, both to my Lord Stewarde, and my Lord of Suffolk, that they may goo togither. It is now doubtfull, whither Sir Anthony Browne shall goo to my Lorde of Suffolk, or goo with my Lord of Norfolk. As the cace requireth, soo shall it be ordered. Thus Our Lord preserve your Lordship. This Wensdaye.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my Lord Pryvie Seale, at the Roulles.
hast, hast, post, for thy lief.

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

LIX. Lancaster Herald's Report.[1]

The maner, facion, and ordorynge of me, Lancaster Harralde at Armys, to our Soverayng Lord the Kyng, sent from Scroby, the 21 day of October, by the Ryght Honorable Lord, thErle of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the Kynges most honorable Howsold, and Leveteynand Generall from the Trent Northward, and the Ryght Honourable Herles of Rutlande, and Hundyngton, of the Kynges most honrable Counsell, to Pomfrett, with a proclamacion to be redde amonkest the traytorus and rebellyus persons, assembled at Poumfret, contrary to the Kynges lawys. And when I dyd aproche nere the towne of Pomfrett, I overtoke serten companys of the sayd rebbellyus, beynge comon peple of the husbandre, wiche saluted me jentely, and gave great honnor to the Kynges Cott of Armys, whych I ware. And I demandyd of them, why the wher in hernes, and assembled of suche sort; and they answaryd me, that yt was for the comon welthe; and sayd, yf they dyd nott so, the comontte, and the cherche, shold be dystroyde. And I demandyd of them, how. And they sayd, thatt no man shold bery, nor crysten, nor wedd, nor have theyr beste unmarked, bott that the Kynge wold have a serten some of money for every suche thyng, and the beaste un markyd to his howne husse, wiche had never bene sene. And I answaryd them, and told them, how good and gracious Lord the Kyng had bene to them; and how longe he hadde kept them in great welthe, tranquelyte, and pease; and also that His Grace, nor none of his Counsell, never intendyd, nor thowght, no suche thynges and artecles, as they found them grevyd with. And with suche perswacions, as I found and sayd to them, rydyng into the towne, I had gatte grant of 3 or 400 of the comonte to goo gladly home to theyr howses, and to axe the Kynges mersy; and sayd, they wher whery of that lyffe they wher in. And resortyt, first, to the markett crosse, wher I shold have made the proclamacion. And Roberd Haske, capetayn of the hoste, beynge in the castell, herd tell, that I was comen, and sentt for me to come to hym; and so I dyd; and as I entoryd in to the first ward, theyr I found many in hernes, of verry crewell fellowes, and a porter, with a whyt staffe in his hand, and at the 2 other ward gattes, ever of them, a porter, with his staffe, accompanyd with hernyst men; and so I was browght into the hall, wiche I found full of peple. And I was comandyd to tary to

[1] The original, wholly in the Herald's writing, is among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle A 9.

suche

suche tyme, as the sayd traytorus captenes pleasor was known; and in that space, I stowd up at the hygh table in the hall, and theyr showed to the peple the cawse of my comynge, and the affecte of the proclamacion; and in doynge the same, the sayd Haske sentt for me in to his chamber; and theyr kepynge his porte and countenance, as thowgh he hade bene a greatt prynce, with great regor, and lyke a tyrant; who was accompanyd with thArchebeshop of Yourke, the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Counstable, Mr Magnus, Ser Crystofer Danby, and dyvers other. And, as my dewte was, I saluted the Archebyshop of Yorke, and my Lord Darcy, showynge to them the cawse I came thether for. And then the sayd Robert Aske, with a crewell and a inestemable prowde countenance, streched hym self, and toke the herynge of my tale; whiche I oponyd to hym at large, in as moche honor to our Soveraynge Lord, the Kyng, as my reason wold serve me; wiche the sayd capetayne Aske gave no reverance to, and superstyciusly demandyd the seyght of my proclamacion. And then I toke yt owt of my purse, and delyvered yt to hym, and then he redd yt oponly, with out reverence to anny person; and sayd, yt shold nott ned to calle no counsell, for the answar of the same, for he wold, of his howne whyt, geve me thanswar, wiche was thys; — he, standynge in the heghest place of the chamber, takeyng the hygh astatte apone hym, sayd: "Herrald, as a mes-"synger you ar wellcome to me, and all my company, intendynge as I doo. "And as for this proclamacion, sent frome the Lordes, from whens you com, "shall nott be redde at the market crosse, nor in no place amongest my "peple, wiche be all onder my gydyng; nor for feare of losse of landes, "lyffe, and goodes, not for the power wiche ys agenste us, dothe not enter "in to owr herttes with feare, bott ar all of on accorde, with the poynttes "of our artecles, clerly intendynge to se a reyformacion, or ells to dye yn "thoys cawses." And then I demandyd of hym, what his artecles was. And he sayd, on was, that he, and his company, wold goo to London, of pylgramage to the Kynges Hyghnes, and theyr to have all vyle blode of his counsell pott from hym, and all noble blode sett up agayne; and also the Faythe of Cryste, and hys lawes, to be kepte, and full restytecion of Crystes Cherche, of all wronges done unto yt, and also the comonte to be ewsyd as they shold be: and bad me truste to this, for yt shold be done, or he wolde dye for yt. And then I requeryd hym, that he wold geve me this, in wrytynge, for my capacite wold nott serve to bere yt away; and he sayd "with a good wyll"; and callyd for hys othe, wiche he gave to his peple, and sayd thartecles was comprehendyd within the sayd othe, and delyvered yt in wrytynge to me, and cawsyd me to rede yt my selfe; and he

he sayd, to that he wold setto his hand, and dye in the quarell, and his peple with hym. And then I prayd hym to putt his hand to the sayd byll, and so he dyd, with a prowd voyce sayd: "This ys myn acte, who "so ever say to the contrary". And also he sayd, he ment no herme to the Kynges persone, botto se reyformacion. And I fell downe of my kne be fore hym, showyng hym, how I was a messynger, and chargyd by the Kynges Counsell to rede the proclamacion, wiche I browght, for my dys-charge: and he clerly answard me, that of my lyffe I shold nott; for he wold have nothynge putt in his peples heydes, that shold sownd contrary to his intente; and sayd at all tymes I shold have his save condythe, to come and goo, in message, wheryng the Kynges Cotte of Armes, or elles nott; and also sayd, yff my Lord of Shrewsbery, or anny other of the Lordes of the Kynges army, wold come and speke with hym, they shold have of hym theyr save condytes, to come saffe and goo saffe; and also sayd: "Herrald, recomend me to the Lordes, fro whens you come, and "say to them, yt wher mett, that they wher with me, for yt ys for all "theyr welthes that I doo". And then he comandyd the Lord Darcy to gyve me 2 crownes of 5^{s} to ryward, whether I wold or no; and then toke me by the arme, and brought me furthe of the castell, and theyre made a proclamacion, that I shold goo save, and come save, wheryng the Kynges Cote, in payne of deathe; and so toke his leve of me, and retornyd into the castell, in hyghe honnor of the peple, as a traytour may. And I myssyd my horse, and I callyd to hym a geyne, for to have my horse, and then he made a proclamacion that who so held my horse, and browght hym nott a gayne, ymedeattly, bad kyll hym, with out mersy. And then bothe my horse was delyvered to me, and then he comandyd that 20 or 40 men shold brynge me owt of the towne, wher I shold se the least of his peple, nor that I shold nott speke with them. For sewrly I thynke, yf I myght a redde the proclamacion, and good wordes unto the peple, that all the plowgh comounte wold agone home to theire howses ymedyattly, for they say they be whery of that lyffe they leyd, and yf they say to the contrary to the capetaynes wyll, he shall dye ymediattly. And this all to be trew, I, the sayd Lancaster, hathe wrytton this with my hande, and trew reyport, as myn othe ys.

LANCASTER HERRALD.[1]

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[1] A Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House contains the charges made, in 1537, against this Herald; the most important of which relate to this transaction:

"Artycles agenst Thomas Myller, otherwyse called Lancaster Herauld of Armys.

"In primis, that the seid Lancaster, a bought the 20 day of October, the 28th yere of "the regne of Kyng Henry the VIII.th, our most drad Soveragne Lord, ded comfort and "encorage

LX. Wriothesley *to* Lord Crumwell.[1]

Pleasith Your Lordshippe to be advertised, that sithens your departure hens, here arryved no letters, saving private letters from my Lord of Norfolk to the Counsail; wherin he declarethe, that of the 2000*£* sent by Maister Leighe, and Maister Leighton, there remayneth to be conveyed with him but 1200*£*; and, further, that he canne from thens conveye no munitions to my Lord of Suffolk, nor that he hath hard any thing of the tenne peaces of ordenaunce, that were appointed to be conveyed with Mr Browne; in so muche that he hath no such ordenaunce with hym, and yet non ordre is taken here, howe my Lord of Suffolk shalbe furnished; who is clerely (as I remembre he wrote) bare, and without any ordenaunce or munitions, having sent all, that he had, to my Lord Stewarde. And I thinke there might be sent unto him, from thens, both bowes, arowes, stringes, javelins, and ordenaunce, 5 or 6 small peces, or ever we shall have tyme here to determyn the maner of conveyance, they be ones disfurnished, in the meane tyme, and the Kinges pleasure is determyned, they shuld be furnished; and of slaknes herin, may cumme hurte, if any chaunce shuld happen, in the

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" encorage the treators and rebellious of the Northe, at Pomfrite, within the countie of York; and, " than and there, knellid downe on his knees, beffore Robert Aske, and the other treators, with " the Kynges most honorable Cote of Armys on his bak; whyche comforted, coraged, and " made them in suche pryde and arragoncye, to see the Kynges Cote of Armys so humble used " beffore them, that they stode the more styflyer and lenger in ther detestable and cursed " wyllies and pretenses, thinkyng that the Kyng had not ben able to have meet with them; " whyche was, by his fals demeanor towardes them, agenst his othe, truthe, and allegyance.

" Item, that the seid Lancaster, to thintent to put them more in pryde and boldnes, and " that they shuld think that the Kyng was sore wekened and enfeybled, abought the 26 day " of the same moneth, the yere above said, ded promyse to the seid treators and rebellious, " that they shuld have delyvered to them the Lord of the Pryvye Seall, and all other ther " demandes; in lyke case agenst his allegeance.

" Item, that the said Lancaster came to Dancaster; and, than and there, falsly and " tretoriusly, as muche as he myght, descomforted and put in feyre all the comens of the " Kynges armye; sayng to them that the Northen men were a mervelus great nomber, the " best harnyssed and horsed in the world, and kept the best ordre of batell; and that tene " thowsande of them had horses, worthe 20 angels sterlynges a peece; wych was inough, if " the grace of God had not ben, to have caused them to have flyen for dred; whyche is " agenst the Kynges Majestie, his Crowne and dignitie, agenst his truthe and allegeance.

" Item, that the seid Lancaster ded shewe to the seid rebellious and treators all secretz " and conselles, that he knewe, of our Soveragne Lordes the Kyng, agenst his allegeance.

" Item, that the fals and detestable lyes and rumors, that were apon the Lord of the " Pryvye Seall, or the most parte therof, had never ben, but through the fals flatery and lyes " of the seid Lancaster, agenst his truthe and othe."

1 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

meane

meane season. And besides, to write plainly to Your Lordship, my Lord of Norfolk wold not moche haste the conveyance of them, if he had them there with him, as I gather of his letters; for thus he writeth: "I mervayl "what suche a nombre of men, as goeth with Sir Anthony Browne, shuld "doo at Lincoln, except men wold have them more for there glory, thenne "for nede, onles they shal goo to my Lord Stewarde". I harde the letter but ones redde; but I thinke I vary not moche from the wordes rehersed, ne from the sentence of the rest. Hatteclif, also, as by my Lord of Norfolkes letters it appereth, knoweth not that he shuld be Treasorer with my Lord of Suffolk; for having receyved letters from John Freman, declaring that he had 3000*£* to be delyvered unto him, to be employed with my Lord of Suffolk, he desireth to knowe the Kinges pleasure, what he shall doo. I mervayl, if it were soo certainly appointed, that he shuld be Treasorer there, as I hard it spoken, whenne the King commaunded me to write unto your Lordeship, for the devision of the money, that he had yet no particuler knowleage therof. Nowe your Lordship knoweth the state of thise matiers, your private letters, and direction, may doo more for thexpedition of them, thenne percace will be doon here, tyl tomorowe mornyng; and I beseche your Lordship to pardon my boldenes, in the uttering of my fantazye in the same.

The principall cause of the writing of thise letters, was to advertise your Lordship, that the Kinges pleasure is, you shall, with all convenient diligence, sende out 100 bokes, to be devided by severall messangers betwen my Lordes of Suffolk, Norfolk, Stewarde, and others, to be sent abrode in to the cuntreys aboute them. Your Lordshipp shall also undrestande, that all the said 1200*£* is goon with my Lord of Norfolk; soo that my Lord Merques, being behinde, hathe no oon penye to conveye himself, and his trayne with al, towardes my Lord Stewarde. I thinke your Lordship shuld not only doo the King highe service to sende him, for his helpe, 4 or 500*£* with spede, but wynne his harte therwith for ever; for nowe they saye here, the Kinges ordre was, that my Lord of Norfolk shuld have had thone thousand pounde, and my Lord Merques thother. Thus beseching your Lordshippe to pardon the rudenes of this letter, being writen in moche hast, whenne my wittes were charged with all thother answeres to my Lordes of Suffolk, Norfolk, &c. and no worde writen of the same. From Wyndesour, the 21th of October.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

THO: WRYOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Privy Seale.

In hast, hast, post, at oon of the clock.

LXI. WRIOTHESLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASITH Your Lordship. Master Coferer, returnyng from Ampthill, brought hither, to have been delyvered unto you, a declaration of suche money, as he and his colleges, have defrayed at Ampthill; and perceyving, by me, that your return was not certain, required me to sende the same unto youe; by the whiche youe shall perceyve, that my Lord of Norfolk hath receyved, in all, above 5000*£*, whiche I trowe wold stoppe a greate gappe; and my Lord Marques, over and above all his conducte money, and other chargies to Ampthill, hath receyved a prest towardes his conveyance from thens to my Lord Stewarde, of 500*£*; and the Glocestreshire men be also metely well afore; as, by the some set uppon them, it doth appere.

Aftre the writing herof, arryved here your Lordshippes letters, writen this mornyng unto me; uppon the receipt wherof, I went immediatly to the Kinges Highnes, and first declared unto him the hole contentes of the same, and aftre redde the selfes letters unto him.

And first, for your procedinges, His Grace toke them in most thankfull parte, and willed me to signifie, that he doth give unto youe most harty thankes for the same, and liketh both thordre therof, and the thinges self, excedingly wel.

Seconde, His Grace, likewise, thanketh youe for your remembrance touching the prestes: I perceyve wel he wold not have them forgotten.

Thurdely, for my Lorde of Wiltshire[2], he is very gladde you remembred him, and also, that youe wrote for soo good a some; for His Grace, being very mery, said, there was a servaunt of King Edwardes, his graund father, whiche made ones a sute unto him, for 1000 okes, that he might only obteyn 20; and soo he trusted your request to my Lord of Wiltisher shuld purchase 500*£*, or suche a matier, by the reason it was soo greate; whiche, being lesse, wold elles percace have wrought nothing with him.

Touching the conveyance uppe of the traitours, His Grace doth not myslike your devise therin; nevertheles he told me, to be signified unto you, that they shuld be, there, first duely examyned, and soo commaunded me to sende unto you a copie of His Graces articles, which befor I had ready for that purpose; sayeng that he doubteth not, but, whenne they shuld be examyned, according to the purporte of the same, there shuld

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

[2] Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

appere

appere a smoke amonges the gentlemen; and therupon His Grace wold determyn, who shuld be brought uppe, and who shuld tary there. Nowe I might have said, that thise notable traitours might have been aswell examyned here, as there, and the people, by the cummyng upp of them in the mean tyme, satisfied, and put in terrour; but I wold not wade to farre, but left the finishing therof, tyl your Lordshippes cummyng. I desired His Grace to let me have the copies of the gentlemennes names[1], and of the names of the traitours[2], that I might sende dubles therof to youe, whiche immediatly he did himself fetche unto me.

As concernyng your wyne, His Grace thanketh, but me thought he liketh his oune bettre; for His Grace told me he liked the Gascoyn bettre thenne the Frenche, "but neither", quod he, "is to be over moche "praysed".

I perceyve, also, His Highnes wold have that traitour in the motley cote well examyned, for he toke that parte, also, very well; yet we have no further newes. And therfor I besech Our Lorde preserve your Lordship in health. From Wyndesour, this Monday, at 12 of the clock.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and
my singuler good Lorde,
my Lord Privy Seale.
In hast, hast, post,
for thy lief.

LXII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK, AND OTHERS.[3]

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, right trusty and welbiloved, and trusty and right welbiloved, We grete youe wel. And have receyved your letters of the 22th of this present, writen at 12 of the clock at night, conteyning your discreate and substancial procedinges in the conducing of the charge, there commytted unto youe, to our desired ende and purpose,

[1] It is entitled: "These be the Gentlemen's names of the Countie of Lincoln, sworn according "to the Kings Commission, the 19 & 20 day of October."

[2] At the head of this list is Matthew, Abbot of Barlings.

[3] Printed from a Minute in the handwriting of Wriothesley, corrected by the King himself, indorsed with the date 24 Oct., which corresponds with Tuesday, mentioned in the body of the letter. It is among the Miscellaneous Bundles in the Chapter House, A 6/1.

with the two scedules of the names; thone of such personnes as be newly sworne, thother of suche notable traitours as have been presented unto youe by the towneship of Hornecastle, and other places theraboutes. For your diligent endeavours wherin, We give unto youe our right harty thankes; trusting youe will, with suche dexterite, travayl for the spedy finishing of the same, as the harneys and wepons maye be also shortly brought in to you; whiche, next the ordering of the passages, for your good direction, also, wherin We doo right hartely thanke youe, is a special poynte, and a thing, the finishing whereof We have moch to harte. You shal also undrestande, that this present Tuesday, in the mornyng, We have receyved letters, aswel from our Cousin of Shrewisbury, as others from our Cousin of Norfolk; the furst, declaring our said Cousin of Shrewisbury, with his forces, to lye within oon myle of our towne of Dancastre, and to have alreadye sent 1100 of his men, with 6 peces of ordenaunce, to Dancastre and Rasshington Bridge, to kepe the passages there; soo that the rebelles shal entre no further, but to their paynes: the second, writen from our said Cousin of Norfolk, declaring himself to abide at Newarke, and that his forces cowld not com un to him, untyl this present Tuesdaye; and that our Cousin of Excestre could not, with his forces, be at Newark tyl tomorowe. Wherupon, remembring aswel that Dancastre is 30 myles from Newark, whiche, with the bandes of our said Cousin of Norfolk, canne not be passed in any short tyme, as that, in cace it shuld fortune our said Cousin of Shrewisbury, eyther being pressed therunto by the rebelles, or elles thinking himself to have some greate advauntage, to give the onsett of them, and in suche an adventure to have the worse (whiche God defende); it shuld be very necessary for Us, in suche cace, to see the passages in those parties soo kept, that the said rebelles might be constrayned to remayn on thother side of the water; and soo, finally, of necessitie, for want of vitail, and suche successe as they wold desire, to disperkle, and retyre themselfes again to their houses: We have thought convenient to signifie unto you, that our mynde and pleasure is, in cace you shal receyve advertisement from our said Cousin of Norfolk, uppon any suche chaunce, whiche God defende, that it shuld be necessary for US [1], for the sure stopping of the passages, to kepe the rebelles on that side Trent, to have your ayde and assistence, you shall thenne leave SUCHE WON RULER AS YOW SHALL THYNKE METT [1], with suche nomber of men, as your wisedom shall thinke ALLSO CONVENYENT [1], to remayn at Lincoln, AND THERABOTES [1]; and your self, BEYNG THEN JOYNT

[1] The passages in small capitals are inserted by the King.

IN

IN COMMYSSION WITH THE SAYD DUK[1], with the rest of your forces, shall, for the purpose specified, repair unto SUCHE PLASYS, AS BYTWENE YOW SHALBE THOWGHT METT[1], and soo joyne togither, for thaccomplishment of our desire, in the sure keping of the said passages, AS MAY REDONDE TO THE SURE KEPYNG OFF THE SAME, AND OUR HONOUR ALLSO[1]. And to thintent you shall have special commission auctorising you thus to doo, We have herwith sent a commission, undre our Greate Seale, wherin We have joyned you, and our said Cousin of Norfolk, togithers, as our Lieutenauntes to serve Us, if suche perverse chaunce shuld happen, as We trust in God there shal not, as is befor mentioned.

LXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.[2]

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete youe wel. And have receyved your letters, writen unto Us from Welbeck, on Wensdaye last passed, at mydnight, with others enclosed in the same, addressed unto youe from our right trusty and right welbiloved Cousins, thErles of Shrewisbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, the same daye towardes night; and have considered the contentes of both, as depely as We canne waye thinges, writen in suche general and extreme termes, as geveth Us rather occasion to muse of the matiers therin soo generally comprehended, thenne suche notice of the specialties of the same, as, if any thing swarved from that cours, wherin our affayres there, as We trust, doo consist, We might devise that remedye for it, that to Us, and our Counsail, shuld be thought, by your advises, most convenient. And albeit We doo not only knowe your loyaltie, wisedom, and greate experience to be suche, as being nowe joyned, and in company with our good Cousin of Shrewisbury, in what state soever you fynde thinges, woll directe them in suche sorte as shalbe to our honour, your suretyes, and the discomfiture, finally, of our rebelles; but, also, doo considre therwith, that eyther you shall have provided for your saufgardes, befor the receipt herof, or elles remayn in suche cace, as shalbe more daungerous, thenne shalbe correspondent to our expectation and advertisementes, hertofor given to all parties; wherof, chiefly for your sakes, whom

[1] The passages in small capitals are inserted by the King.

[2] From a Minute written by Wriothesley, and corrected by Crumwell, in the Chapter House, Bundle A 6.

We

We specially love and trust, We wold be very sory: yet, considering the chaunces of warre to be soo incertain, that many tymes it turneth to an yvell happe and a notable misfortune, that is ment, and uppon greate lightly wooddes thought to be, for the best purpose; and being, by your said letters, put in remembrance of your politique devise, signified unto Us in your letters, writen from our towne of Cambridge, which matier, also, We did, by our answer again to the same, specially recommende unto youe; We have thought convenient, for our answer to your said letters, nowe sent from Welbeck, to signifie unto youe, that like as We cannot, being here absent from you, prescribe unto you soo certain an ordre for your procedinges, but that youe shall, percace, having the thinges treated of before youe, and in thexperience in your eye, perceyve necessary cause of alteration; soo We desire and pray youe, specially, and above all thinges, never to give stroke, if thise our letters maye cumme in tyme to your handes, as We doubt not but they shall, unles you shall, with due advisement, thinke yourself to have greate and notable advauntage for the same: but rather, in cace you shall thinke the rebelles over strong for you, or if you shall juge any of the company of our said Cousin of Shrewisbury to be yvell willing, if you shall thinke requisite, to retyre yourself to the passages of Nottingham and Newerk, and by good meanes to persuade our said Cousin of Shrewisbury to do the semblable; and there according to your devise, strongely to fortifie the same, tyl, with our Army Royal, whiche We doo put in aredynes, We shall repaire unto you; and soo, with Goddes helpe, be hable to bere downe the traitours befor Us; having ever more regarde to the defence of Us, and of your natural cuntrey, thenne to any dishonour, that might be spoken of suche retyrement; whiche, in thende, shall prove a greate deale more honorable, thenne with a litle hastye forwardnes, to jeoparde both our honour, and your lieffes. For We assure youe, We wold neyther adventure youe, our Cousin of Norfolk, our Cousin of Shrewisbury, ne our other Cousins there with youe, or our good and true subgiettes with the same, in suche perillous sorte, as there shuld be but a lightlywood of wilfull casting of any of you specially awaye, for all the lande and domynion that we have on that side Trent. And therfor, eftsones We require you, nowe youe be there togather, as We thinke, to waye thinges in suche wise, and with suche circumspection of all partes, that you may preserve your selfes, and our people, without adventuring any further, thenne manhod and courage, directed by wisedom, wold require; and thenne shall youe preserve ever our honour, and doo good service to your oune natural cuntrey. Nowe concernyng your promyses, to be made to the rebelles for the steye

of

of them, tyl your forces shalbe com, and joyned with thothers; albeit We certainly knowe, that youe wil pretermytt non occasion, wherin by pollicye, or otherwise, youe maye dammage our enemyes, yet We doubt not again, but in all your procedinges, you will have suche a temperance, as our honour, specially, shall remayn untouched, and yours rather encreaced, thenne by the certain graunte of that, you cannot certainly promyse, appere in the mouthes of the worst men, any thing defaced. And therfor, We remytt all other thinges to your good discreations, and shall besech the Giver of Victories to sende to youe, in every condition, as good successe, as We wold wishe to Our selfe, if We were there with youe; wherof We have no maner of doubt; our hope being reposed in His goodnes, that never fayled them, at lenght, that assuredly trust in Him.

Finally, wheras you desire Us, in cace any mischaunce shuld happen unto you, to be good Lord unto your childern; surely, good Cousin, albeit We trust certainly in God, that no suche thing shall fortune; yet We wold you shuld perfitely knowe, that if God shuld, by the ende of the cours of nature in you, take you out of this transitory lief befor Us, we shuld not fayle so to remember your childern, being your lyvely ymages, and in soche wise to loke of them with our Princely favour, for your assured trouthe and service, as others, by their exemple, shuld not be discoraged to folowe your steppes in that behaulf. Yeven under our Signet, at our Castell of Wyndesore, the 27 day of October, at mydnyght, the 28 yere of our regne.

LXIV. The Duke of Norfolk, and Others, *to* The Rebels.[1]

Alas, ye unhappye men! What francy, what folye, hath ledde and seduced you to make this most shamefull rebellion against our moost noble and rightuouse King and Soveraigne; who is more worthye, for his innumerable graces, and noble vertues, and gentle conditions, to be King, maistre, and governour, of all Christendom, than of so small a realme as Englonde? And if ye fynde fawte, that he hath had moche good of youe, then ye owght to considre and thinke the same to be well imployed; for he hath

[1] From a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House. As the Commission, appointing the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Shrewsbury, jointly, the King's Lieutenants, was not despatched from Windsor before the 24th of October, this Address could not have been earlier than the 27th.

not

not only spent the same, but also an infinite som of his owen treasure, to maynteigne and kepe youe in peax, against all enemyes. Fye for shame! Howe can ye, of those parties, fynde in your hartes to rebell against His Highnes, who hath soo often, in our cumpany, obteigned great victories against the enemyes of the realme? Fye for shame! How can ye thus doo, and over and besides your offences to your naturall Soveraigne Lorde, yeve us too, that have loved youe better than any parte of the realme, occasion to fight withe youe, that we have taken for our best frendes? We can saye no more; but trust ye, surelye, that unles ye doo, incontinent, drawe home, every man to his house, we woll yeve youe bataill; and though we shalbe sory soo to doo, yet we shall shewe youe the most harde curtesye, that ever was shewed to men, that have loved youe soo well as we have don. Alas! that ever it shold be sayde, that ye Northern men, that have so well served ther Prince, in our cumpanies, and in many other places, sholde nowe com to fight against us, and we, defending our Princes quarrell, against them! Finallie, it is nowe at your choyse, whether ye woll abide the dawnger of bataill against us, or els goo home to your houses, submitting youe to the Kinges mercy. If ye goo home, ye may be assured to have us most humble sewters to His Highnes for youe; and if ye doo not, then doo your worst to us, for soo we woll doo to youe. And yet ye have occasion to say, that we deale like honest charitable men with youe, to yeve youe this warnyng; more gentle then your desertes doth require.

(*Signed*) T. NORFOLK. G. SHROUESBURY. The Kynges Lieutenantes.
H. EXETER. THOMAS RUTLAND. G. HUNTTYNGDON.

LXV. THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, AND OTHERS, *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

MAY it please Your Majestie to be advertised, that the Lordes and Gentlemen, that went from us, yesterdaye, to the commons, at Pomfret, be retourned; and uppon the declaration there of your most gratious free pardon, have dispeached home, to their howses, all the said commons. And, Sir, bycause the berer hereof hath ben presente at all our conferences, and hath seen howe perplexed thaffaires here hathe ben yn, from tyme to tyme, we desyre Your Highnes to be content, that we molest Youe with no lenger

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. 4. No. 2.

letter.

letter. And at our commyng to You, wich, God willing, shalbe afore tomorowe seven nyght, we shall declare, as nere as we can, what we have don, sithens our commyng from Your Majestie; wich were to tedious to troble youe withe all. From Doncastre, this Saturdaye, at 6 of the clocke at nyght.

Your most humble Servantes,

(*Signed*)

T. Norfolk. G. Shrouesbury. Thomas Rutland. W. Fytzwyllm̃.
Fraunces Talbott. J. Russell. Antone Browne.
Roger Radclyffe.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.
From Dancastre, this Saturday,
at 11 of the clock at nyght.
hast, post, hast, hast,
hast.

LXVI. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and Others, *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your excellent Highnes to be advertised, that, according to thappoyntement taken by my Lorde of Norffolke and me, this morning, we have perfitte knowlege, by Your Gracis Herrouldis, Chester and Carelhill, that the army of your rebellis in Yorkeshire be disparpled at Pomfret; and every man goon over Fery Brygge, to their owne houses, saving thoes that duell on thissid; soo that this day we have dissolved your armye, here and sent your ordynaunce to Notingham, according to youre moste dred commaundement. As knowithe Our Lorde, who long preserve Your excellent Highnes in helthe. Frome the towne of Dancastre, the 29th of Octobre, at oon of the clock at aftir none.

Your moste humble and true subjectis,

(*Signed*) G. Shrouesbury. Thomas Rutland. G. Hunttyngdon.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kingis moste
noble Grace.

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. 5. No. 56.

LXVII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Duke of Norfolk and Sir W. Fitzwilliam.[1]

Instructions, gevin by the Kinges Hieghnes to his right trustie and right entierly beloved Cousine and Counsayllour, the Duke of Norfolk, and to his right trusty and welbiloved Counsayllour, Sir William Fytzwilliams, Knight, Lorde Admyrall of England; whom His Majestie sendeth, at this tyme, in to the Northe partes of this his realme, for the purposes ensuyng.

First, where as the rebelles, lately assembled in Yorkshir, and those partis, declared and signified unto the said Duke of Norfolk, and the Erle of Shrewesbury, being the Kinges Hieghnes Lieutenauntes against them, and to other noble men, being with them, in a certayne conference and communication, had betwene him and the principall capitaines of their company, at Dancaster, that their insurrection had growen and proceded uppon certaine causes and groundes, whiche they noted and called abuses, whereof they desired and intended refourmation; agreing, nevertheles, at that tyme, to withdrawe themselfes to their houses and dwelling places, with condition that the saide Duke of Norfolk wold signifie their greves to the Kinges Majestie, and also take with him, for the more sure declaration thereof, Sir Rauf Ellerker, and Robert Bowes; and promysing, in that cace, untill suche tyme as they shuld receyve their aunswer againe for His Hieghnes, in no wise to innovate or attempt any thing, but to lyve and contynue in peax and quiet, lyke good subgietes; whiche their desire was, by the said Duke and Erle, and others of His Graces Counsail, being thenne with them, graunted unto them: whereuppon, conformably thereunto, His Majestie, with his hole Counsail, hathe not onely hard the discours of their hole complainte, by the mouthe of the said Duke, but semblably the lyke, by the said Sir Rauf Ellerker and Robert Bowes, and thoroughely wayed and maturely considered the same, being reduced in to certayne general articles: His Hieghnes, resolving of his most inestimable goodnes and mercifull clemencye, rather to make unto the said rebells, considering they be yet his naturall subgietes, a graciouse aunswere, thenne extremely to prosecute, without further tasting of their inclinations towardes him, the condigne punnyshement of their moste heynous and detestable rebellion;

[1] From Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{6}$ in the Chapter House.

and

and thinking it expedient to have the said aunswere declared unto them by his said Counsailours, and specially by the mouthe of the said Duke of Norfolk, aswell for that His Majestie knoweth their approved loyaltie and trouthe towardes him, with the greate wisedome and pollicye, that eyther of them hathe, in conducing of suche matiers to good effect and purpose, as for that his said Cousine is thought a personage whiche is right acceptable, before many others, to the people of those partes; hathe determyned that the said Duke of Norfolk, and the said Lord Admyrall, shall signifie his said resolution to the saide rebelles; and, for that purpose, addresse them selfes, with all convenient diligence, to Dancaster, taking with them thise instructions, a saulfconducte under His Graces Greate Seale, a proclamation implieng a pardon, copies of the same, certayne bookes of His Hieghnes aunswere, and all suche other writinges, escriptes, and mynumentes, as be prepared for their dispeche; and there, towching the declaration of the same, to use and demeane themselfes, in suche maner and fourme, as shalbe hereafter specified and declared.

And first, the Kinges Hieghnes pleasure is, that whenne the said Duke of Norfolk, and the said Lord Admyrall, shalbe arryved at Dancaster aforesaid, being assured by secrete espiall of the state of the cuntrey, they shall immediatly send unto the Lord Darcy, and suche others, as they shal thinke mete; requyryng them, with a certayne nomber in their company, to be prescribed, not exceding the nomber of 300, or under, to repaire unto them to Dancaster, there to here and knowe the resolution of the Kinges Majestie, towching the matiers lately in communication betwene them; assuring the said Lord Darcy, and thothers that shall come with hym, uppon their honours, that they shall have free and saulf passage and repassage, without dammage, deteyndour, steye, or interuption; using suche dexterite in the setting furthe of the saide assuraunce, uppon their honours, as the said Lord Darcy, and thothers that shall com with hym, may make their accesse, uppon the faithe and confidence of the same. And if so be, that the said Duke, and the said Lord Admyrall, using all the dexterite, they can possible divise, to enduce and move the said Lord Darcy, and others, to trust to their promyse of honour, in maner and fourme expressed, the said Lord Darcy, and his complices, shall nevertheles refuse to commyt themselfes to the assuraunce thereof, and declare themselfes rather mynded to absteyne from any suche communycacyon, or the receyving of their aunswer, thenne, by that meane, to putt themselffes under the suretie of a woord, the said Duke, and the said Lord Admyrall, shall, in that cace, rather thenne they shuld againe departe without any further

intreatie, and soo leve all thinges incertaynely, whiche might engendre suche a dispaire in the hartes of the rebelles, as might be occasion of somme further inconvenience, declare unto the same Lord Darcy, and thothers cummyng with hym, that albeit the Kinges Majestie wold have been bettre content, they shuld have come to have harde his resolution, uppon thassuraunce of their honours, whiche had, also, in their personnes, been sufficient, thenne that they shulde have caused his Hieghnes, in his owne realme, to give them his saulfconducte, whereby those, that be commune enemyes to the hole realme, may take occasion to repute His Graces honour touched, the preservation whereof every good subgiet ought specially to regarde and tendre: yet, to thintent that, in cace the matier of their insurrection procede to any further extremyte, it shall appere to all His Majesties good subgietes, that, lyke a most benigne and mercifull Prince, His Grace hathe doon more for the preservation of them, being his subgietes, thenne eyther any their desertes towardes him require, or almoste his Princely harte, courage, and honour wold permyt and suffer; His Hieghnes hathe been content, for avoyding of all frivolous cavillacions, and the withdrawing of all feare from the said Lord Darcy, and suche other personnes as shall repaire to here His Graces said resolution, to graunt unto them his saulfconducte, under His Hieghnes Greate Seale; whiche the said Duke, and the said Lord Admyrall shall unto the said Lord Darcy and others, in that cace, send accordingly. And whenne the said Lorde Darcye, and others, shall, by thassuraunce of the said saulfconducte, repaire unto suche place, as the said Duke of Norfolk, and the said Lord Admyrall, shall for their congresse lymite and assigne unto them; the same Duke, and Lord Admyrall, shall first declare unto them, in the Kinges Hieghnes name, that his moste Royall Majestie, being their King and Sovereigne Lorde, doth take their procedinges sundry wayes, in very unkinde parte. First, that they, being his naturall subgietes, wold, for any cause, attempt any rebellion against him; speciallie considering, that non of them hathe, at any tyme, made any sute to His Majestie for the redresse of suche thinges, as they thought were abused, ne devised any meane, howe, lyke good and loving subgietes, to declare their greves to His Hieghnes; whose clemencye hathe been ever suche, that his porest subgiet hathe, at al tymes, had bothe accesse, in places convenyent, to his presence, and most benigne audience, for the declaration of their sutes and causes unto him. Second, that having attempted suche heynous and detestable rebellion, as, onles very mercye, and that greate love and pitie, that is engendrid in his most noble harte, towardes all his subgietes, did restrayne his Princely courage, wold have enforced

enforced His Grace, with his greate and mightie puissance, to have prosecuted the attemptate thereof, in suche extreame sort, as the punnyshement of them shuld have been exemple to all others hereaftre; they doo, nevertheles, soo litle waye and consyder his greate and excelent Majestie, soo litle remembre their most ingrate and unkinde proceding towardes him, and soo litle appere to repent the same, that His Hieghnes is almost enfourced to molest and trouble his said Counsailours with their repaire, at this tyme, in to those partes; and lykewise to put many others to paines, travail, and chardge; whiche, as besemeth his hiegh honour, he hath in a redynes for their repression, in cace they shall not, lyke personages that be in harte his true subgietes, conforme themselfes, without further violence, to His Graces pleasure. Thurdely, that notwithstanding, at the appointement taken at Dancaster, they made assured and, as it appered, faithfull promyse, that until suche tyme as they shuld knowe His Majesties answere to their petitions, there shuld be nothing, on that side, innovated or attempted, whiche might offend His Hieghnes, molest or greve any of his good subjectes in those partis; the said rebelles have sithens attempted many notable thinges; as many unlaufull assembles, conspiracies, and conventicles, the spoile of many of His Graces good subgietes, the fortification of Hull, and other places, the firing of bekons, the ringing of their belles awkward, the making of proclamations, the keping of thErle of Cumbrelond in his Castle, the deteyning of His Graces, and others his true subgiettes, revenues, the interception of His Graces letters, the steye of his servauntes, and good subgiettes that wold have resorted to him, with sundry other thinges, whiche, oneles His Hieghnes greate mercye surmounted their saide detestable ingratitude and unkindenes, wold likewise have enforced him to have left all communication, and to have proceded to thexecution of suche punnyshement against them, as justely they deserved. And the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admyrall, shall therewith make unto them, as it were, a frindely exhortation, aswell declaring the greate cause they have, on their knees, to thank God, that hathe sent them so mercifull a Prince, as howe farre their doinges have varied from their pretence. For first, their pretence was, in wordes, to mayntayn the Faithe; and what is more contrary to Goddes commaundementes, thenne for subgiettes to attempt at rebellion against their Prince, and Soveraign Lorde, whom, by Goddes holy Worde and Scripture, they be bounde, in al thinges, in suche reverent sorte to obeye, that thoughe their King did them injustice, they ought in no wise to redubbe their injuryes with violence? The rebelles said, they made their insurrection for the commune wealth; and have they not almost banished therby

therby all maner of wealth from themselfes? Have they not, also, put many other men, whom, by Goddes lawes, they be bounde to love, to losse, and greate hinderance? Yee, have they not robbed many good, honest, true, pore men, and spoyled their wyves and children of that litle substance, which, with the greate labour of their handes, and swete of their browes, they had gotten, to have releved themselfes with all in their ages? Is that a commune wealth, to have only theves and traitours lyve by spoyle, and soo to oppresse poore men? Is this a pointe of faith, that men shall robbe and stele from them, that be not hable to resist them? Is it a commune welth, for pore men to leave their labours and occupations; to leave their landes untilled; their corn unsowen, wherby they shuld lyve the next yere; to leave their wyves and children, and to rise like madmen against their Prince and Souveraign Lorde; to devast and destroye their oune natural countrey; and soo finally to worke their oune destructions, against Goddes will and commaundement; against suche othe as they have taken to their most gracious King and Souveraign; and against the very ordre and instincte of nature, whiche wold have every man doo, as he wold be don unto himself? What meane thise men? Canne they be soo barayn of reason, soo bestely, and soo like infidelles, as to forget that God will punishe this abhomynable yporchrise? that their King, to whose puissance they be but an handefull, woll, with violence, if they shuld persist and contynue, represse their traitorous malices, and their most unnaturall and bestely attemptates? and that they, being but membres of that politique body, wherof His Majestie is the hed, in their disobedience doo but enfeoble themselfes, and make their enemyes the more hable to overcume them? As if the hande of a mannes body shuld begynne to repyne, that he shuld doo service at the comande of the hed; or the fote, whiche is the inferiour part of the hole body, take uppon him to putt lawes to the hedde, and soo begynne to make comparison with the hedde; untyl suche tyme as, by the withdrawing of his due service, the poore fote, wanting reason, shuld be brought in to that cace, by his oune foly and folishe contention with the said hed, to whom he ought to be obedyent, that he shuld not be hable to doo that office he was made and created for! Adding herunto, suche other persuasions, as the said Duke, and Lord Admyral, shal, of their wisedomes, thinke mete, for the setting furth of their folyes unto them, and specially inculcing to the Lordes, and to the gentlemen, the greate reproche it is to them, that it shuld be said, that they had rebelled against their Prince, and most gracious King and Souveraign Lorde, and chosen them a traitorous villain to be their governour, calling him their capitain, and

and permytting him to write himself soo, with a plain declaration, that he did it by the consent of the Baronage of those parties. And therupon the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admyrall, shall advise them to remember themselfes, and symplie to knowleage their offences, and so not only to desire His Hieghnes pardon for the same, but, also, in their dedes, to shewe themselfes redy and willing to doo all thinges, that may tende to the repairing of that His Graces honour, that, amonges his forayne enemyes, shalbe thought touched by this their insurrection. And if so be, that the sayd Lord Darcy, and others being with him, shall persyst and contynue in their fond and traytorous malice, rather shewing themselfes desirous to have aunswere to their articles, thenne inclynable to gyve place to the said advertisementes, to be, in fourme aforsaid, signified and declared unto them; thenne the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admyrall, shall thereunto answere, that albeit their said articles were conceyved in suche general fourme, as certayne aunswere culd not be convenyently made unto them, yet His Majestie, mynding to fulfil all the partes of a mercifull and most benign Prince, hath put his owne penne[1] to the aunswering of every article; and hath doon the same in a moche more certayn sorte, thenne the said articles were proponed, and besides aftre soo playne, direct, and reasonable a maner, that all indifferent men must neades be contented with the same. Nevertheles His Hieghnes, considering agayne, that onles the said rebelles woll first knowleage their trespas, and then, humblie, according to the duetie of trew subjectes, submytt them selfes to his mercy and lawes, in all matiers, it shuld neyther be honerable to His Majestie, ne convenyent for them, to publishe His Graces aunswere, but rather a meane to put the rebelles in to a further pryde, whiche wold shortely deceyve them, hathe commaunded the said Duke, and Lord Admyrall, to steye the publication of the same, til they shuld perceyve their conformytie in the rest; orelles to advertise the Kinges Majestie, with diligence, of their obstinacie and untowardnes in the same. For though the greate clemencye of His Grace hath taken all this payn and travail, and susteyned all this chardge, to fynishe this matier, in suche sorte as might tende to the appeasing thereof, with the preservation of his subgietes, whom he tendereth as the membres of his politique body; yet, if they shall appere to refuse the same, and still adhere to their furies and madnes, they may be assured His Hieghnes woll not further forbere them; but, with all his force, on all partes, soo devise for their punyshement, as their exemple shalbe terrible to all others

[1] See pages 492, 493, 506.

hereaftre.

hereaftre. And if the said Lord Darcy, and thothers, shall, uppon this communication, be content to desire the Kinges Hieghnes pardon, without further conditions, and shewe themselfes gladde, also, to doo that thing that may tende to His Graces satisfaction; thenne shall the said Duke of Norfolk, and the said Lord Admyrall, first to a certain of them, secretely, showe the said proclamation of pardon, to thintent they may the better endevour themselfes to thapprehension of those vile personnes, that be excepted in the same: whiche they may, in semblable wise, doo before, if they shall think it may conduce to any good effect and purpose. And thenne shall they also delyver unto them copies of His Graces said aunswere, to thintent they may, in all partis, be satisfyed, and soo aftre cause the said proclamation to be openly proclaymed. And the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admyrall, in cace thise men growe to a submission, not onely cause them, that shalbe presente, to receyve suche othe, as the Lincolnshir men have sworn and receyved; but, also, take promise of them, aswell to doo any further thing, that may be, by the Kinges Hieghnes, desired, for his honour, and the declaration of theire repentance; as to endevour themselfes, specially, tapprehend and delyver to the said Duke, and Lord Admyrall, all suche personnes, as be in the said pardon excepted and forprised. And the Kinges Highnes further pleasure is, that whenne the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admyrall, shall administre the oth to the said Lord Darcy, and others, the principall personnes, and of best reputation amonges the said rebelles, they shall not only dilate at lenght unto them the manifold mischieves, myseries, and calamyties, that doo ensue of suche insurrections; but they shall also advise, exhorte, and comaunde them, on His Highnes behaulf, to have vigilant regarde, that if any sedicious personnes, or auctours of flieng tales and newe devises, happen to be heraftre amonges them, in those parties, they shal cause them to be incontynently apprehended, and soo commytted to sure custody, tyl his Graces pleasure shalbe knowen, touching their further examination and punyshement.

And forasmuche as, in this treatie and communication, it shalbe percace necessary, that the said Duke, and Lord Admyral, shall procede, in some thinges, aftre some other sorte, thenne is expressed in thise instructions, for that thinges not thought on, may occurre, or those that be remembred may succede, in some other sorte and fashion, thenne canne be at adventure put in the penne; His Highnes, knowing the wisedom and circumspection of his said Counsailours, dothe referre thordre of all thinges, herin expressed, to their discreations; and likewise giveth them full power and auctoritie, in all thinges, to devise, set furth, procede, determyn, and conclude, as they

they shall thinke most expedient for His Graces honour, and the good conducing of this affayr to his desired purpose.

And if soo be, that, notwithstanding the mercifull benignitie of the Kinges Highnes, and the greate industry, pollicye, and dexteritie, that shalbe used in the setting furth of the same to the said rebelles, the same shall nevertheless refuse utterly to make any suche submyssion, as is required, and soo shewe themselfes willing to departe, lyke most arrant traitours against His Highnes, and his hole realme; thenne shall the said Duke, and Lorde Admyrall, first advertise the Kinges Majestie therof, with al possible diligence; and, in the meane season, by waye of private counsaile, advise them to considre the matier bettre, to waye the daungers, that maye ensue of their obstinacye and wilfulnes, in that behaulf, and soo eftsones and again to write, to sende, and to com unto them; soo that, by the steye of them from any newe attemptates, the Kinges Majestie may, in the mean season, make his preparations to advaunce towardes them, and they remayn yet unprovided, or, at the lest, not soo well furnished, as they might be, for the same, if they shuld knowe of His Majesties preparation against them; and thenne, being 5 or 6 dayes soo wonne, and they soo contynuing in their obstinacy, immediatly to make proclamation, that all maner of personnes, that wilbe taken and reputed for the Kinges true and faithfull subgiettes, shall not only forbere and absteyne to make any newe insurrection, who soever shall commaunde them to attempte any suche offence against His Highnes, what pretence soever they shall alledge for the furtherance of their purpose therin; but, also, that they shall aswel use all those personnes, that wold move them to any suche thing, or attempt any suche malices themselfes, what degree soever they be of, as the Kinges most arrant traitours and rebelles, as devise howe, in forcible sorte, to subdue and represse them; and with all their forces to repaire to that Armye Royall, which His Majestie hath prepared, and wil, in his oune most Royal Personne, advaunce thitherwardes withal, for the utter extinguishment of those traitours, their wyves and children, with fire and sworde accordingly.

LXVIII. Answer to the Demaundes of the Rebelles in Yorkeshire.[1]

First, as touching the mayntenaunce of the Faith; the termes be so generall, that harde they be to be answered; but if they meane the Faith of Christe, to whiche al christen men be most obliged, We declare and protest Ourself to be he, that alwayes do, and have mynded to dye and lyve in the puryte of the same; and that no man can or dare set his fote by ours, in proving of the contrary; marveling not a litle, that ignorant people will go about, or take uppon them to instructe Us, (which somthing have ben noted to be lerned) what the right Faith shulde be, or that they wolde be so ingrate and unnaturall to Us, their most rightfull King, without any our deserte, uppon false reportes and surmises, to suspecte Us of the same, and gyve rather credence to forged light tales, then to the approved trowth by Us thes 28 yeres used, and by our deades approved.

To the seconde, which toucheth the mayntenaunce of the Churche, and lyberties of the same; this is so generall a proposycyon, that, without distinctions, no man, with trowth, can answer it, neyther by Goddes lawes, nor by the lawes of the realme. For first, the Church, which they meane, must be knowen; secondely, whether they be laufull or unlaufull lybertees, which they requyre: and thes knowen, I doubt not but they shalbe answered according to Goddes law, equyte, and justice. But yet, for all their generalite, this I dare assever, that (meaning what Churche they lyst) We have don nothing in their prejudice, that may not be abydden by, both by Goddes law, and mannes; and in our own Churche, whereof We be the Supreme Hed here in Erthe, We have not don so moche prejudice, as many of our predecessours have don upon moche lesse groundes. Wherfore, syns it is a thing, which nothing perteyneth to any of you, our comons, nor that you bere any thing therin, I can not but recken a gret unkyndenes and unnaturalnes, in that ye had lever a chorle or two shoulde enjoye those proffites of their monasteryes, in supportacyon of vycyous and abhomynable lyf, then I, your Prynce, for supportacion of myn extreme charges, don for your defence.

The thirde toucheth 3 thinges; the lawes, the comen welth, the dyrectours of the lawes under Us. Touching the lawes, We expressely dare

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[1] From a fair Copy in the Chapter House, among the Miscellaneous Papers, Bundle $\frac{A\,9}{6}$. It appears to be in the writing of Sir Ralph Sadleyr, and has a few minute corrections in the King's hand. See above, p. 503. The substance of it is given by Lord Herbert, p. 481. The demands, here answered, differ from the articles set forth by Aske, p. 467.

testyfye,

testyfye, that (blynde men demyng no colours, nor yet being judges) it shalbe dewly proved, that there were never, in any of our predecessours dayes, so many holsom, commodious, and benefycyall actes made for the commune welth; and yet I meane it syns their tyme, that wolde fayne have thanke without deserte. For Our Lorde forbedde (seing We have ben these 28te yeres your Kyng) that both We, and our Counsaile, shoulde have lost so moche tyme, as not to knowe now, better then when We cam first to our reigne, what were the commune welth, and what were not. And though owtherquedaunce of som, may chaunce, wyll not let them to knowlege it so, yet I trust and doubt not, but the most parte of our lovyng subjectes (specyally those which be not seduced by false reportes) do both thinke it, accepte it, and fynde it so. Now, touching the comon welth; what Kyng hathe kept you all, his subjectes, so long in welth and peax; so long without taking or doing wrong, one to the other; so indifferently mynister justyce to all, both high and lowe; so defended you all from outwarde enemyes; so fortefyed the frontures of this realme, to his no litle, and, in a maner, inestymable charges? and all for your welthes and sureties. What Kyng hath gyven among you mo generall or frear pardons? What Kyng hath ben lother to ponysshe his subjectes, or shewed more mercy amongst them? These thinges being so trew, as no trew man can denye them, it is an unnaturall and unkynde demeanour of you, our subjectes, to beleve or deme the contrary of it, by whose reporte so ever it shoulde be. As touching the begynnyng of our reigne, where ye say so many noble men were Counsaillours; who were then Counsaillours, I well remember, and yet of the Temporaltee I note non but 2, worthie calling noble; the one Treasourer of Englonde [1], the other High Stewarde of our House [2]; others, as the Lorde Marney [3], and Darcye [4], but scant well borne gentilmen; and yet of no grete landes, till they were promoted by Us, and so made Knightes, and Lordes: the rest were lawyers and preestes, save 2 Bisshoppes, which were Caunterbury and Wynchester [5]. Yf thes, then, be the grete nomber of

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[1] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was restored 1514 to the Dukedom of Norfolk, which had been forfeited in 1485.

[2] George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. [3] Sir Henry Marney was created a Baron in 1523.

[4] Sir Thomas Darcy was raised to the Peerage in 1509.

[5] Henry VIII.'s Council, at his accession, consisted of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Lord Chancellor; Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who was Lord Privy Seal, and Secretary of State; Lord Surrey, Lord Treasurer; Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Steward; Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovell; Sir Henry Wyatt; Thomas Ruthall, LL.D. (soon afterwards made Bishop of Durham); Sir Edward Poynings; Sir Henry Marney; and Sir Thomas Darcy.

noble men, that ye speke of, and that ye semed then to be content withall, whye then, now, be ye not moche better content with Us; which have now so many nobles, in dede, both of byrth and condicyon? For first of the Temporaltee; in our Pryvey Counsell We have the Duke of Norfolke, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Lorde Stewarde (when he may com[1]), the Erle of Oxforde, the Erle of Sussex, the Lorde Sandes our Chamberleyn, the Lorde Admyrall Tresourer of our House[2], Sir Willyam Poulet Comptroller of our House[3]: and of the Spiritualtee; the Bisshop of Hereford[4], the Bisshop of Chichester[5], and the Bisshop of Wynchester[6]. Now how farre be ye abused, to recken that then there were mo noble men in our Pryvey Counsell, then now? But yet, though I now do declare the trewth, to pull you from the blyndenes that you were ledde in, yet We ensure you, We wold ye knew, that it apperteyneth nothing to any of our subjectes, to appoynt Us our Counsaill, ne We woll take it so at your handes. Wherfore, hensfourth, remember better the dueties of subjectes to your King and Sovereigne Lorde, and medell no more of those, nor such like thinges, as ye have nothing to do in.

To the 4th; where ye, the comons, do name certeyn of our Counsaile to be subverters both of Goddes law, and the lawes of this realme; We do take and repute them as just and trew executers, both of Goddes lawes, and ours, as farre as their commissions, under Us, do extende. And if any of our subjectes can duely prove the contrary, We shall procede agaynst them, and all other offendours therein, according to justice, as to our astate and dignyte royall dothe apperteyn. And in case it be but a false and untrew reporte (as We veryly think it is), then it were as mete, and standeth aswell with justice, that they shoulde have the self same ponisshement, whiche wrongfully hathe objected this to them, that they shoulde have had, if they deserved it. And one thing amongst others, maketh me thinke, that this sclaunder shoulde be untrew; because it procedeth from that place, which is both so farre distant from where they inhabite, and also from those people, whiche never harde them preche, nor yet knoweth any parte of their conversacion. Wherfore We exhorte you, our comons, to be no more so light of credite, neyther of yll thinges, spoken of your Kyng and Sovereigne, nor yet of any of his Prelates and Counsaillours; but to thinke

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[1] He commanded against these insurgents.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam, who was, in 1537, created Earl of Southampton.

[3] Created, in 1539, Lord St. John of Basing. He was advanced by King Edward VI. to the Marquisate of Winchester.

[4] Edward Fox. [5] Richard Sampson. [6] Stephen Gardyner.

that

that your Kyng, havyng so long reigned over you, hathe as good discression to electe and chose his Counsaillours, as those (who so ever they be) that hathe put this in your heddes.

Here, in this fynall poynte, which ye, our Comons of Yorkeshire, do desyre, and, also, in the matier of the hole, We verylie thinke that the rest of our holle commens (whereof ye be in maner but an handefull) will gretely disdayne, and not bere it, that ye take uppon you to set order bothe to them, and Us, your bothe Sovereigne; and that (though ye be rebelles) ye wolde make them as berers and partakers of your mischief; willing them to take pardon for insurrections, which veryly I thinke, and doubte not, they never mynded; but, like trew subjectes, to the contrarye, hathe, both with harte and deade, ben redy at our call, to defende both Us, and themself.

And now, for our parte; as to your demaundes, We let you wytte, that pardon of suche thinges, as ye demaunde, lyeth onely in the wyll and pleasure of the Prynce; but it semeth, by your lewde proclamacions, and sauf conductes, that there be amongst you, which take uppon them both the Kinges and Counsaillours partes, whiche neyther yet by Us, nor by consent of the realme, hath ben admytted to any suche rowme. What arrogancye, then, is in those wretches (being also of none experyence) to presume to raise you, our subjectes, without commission or auctoryte, yee, and ayenst Us, under a cloked colour of your welth, and, in our name; and as the successe will declare, (We being no more mercyfull, then ye yet hitherto do deserve) to your utter confusions? Wherfore We let you wytte, ye, our subjectes of Yorkeshire, that were it not, that our Pryncely harte can not recken this your shamefull insurrection, and unnaturall rebellyon, to be don of malice or rancour, but rather by a lightnes gyven in a maner by a naughtye nature, to a commonaltee, and a wonderous sodayne surreption of gentilmen; We must nedes have executed a nother maner of ponisshement, then (ye humbly knowleging your faulte and submitting your selffes to our mercy) We intende to do. And to the intent, that ye shall all knowe, that our Pryncely harte rather embraceth (of his own disposicion) pitie and compassion of his offending subjectes, then will, to be revenged of their nawghtie deades; We are contented, if We may see and perceyve in you all, a sorowfulnes for your offences, and wyll hensfourth to do no more so, nor to beleve so lewde and nawghtie tales or reportes of your most kynde and lovyng Prynce, and his Counsell, to graunt unto you, all, our Letters Patentes of pardon for this rebellion; so that ye will delyver unto Us 10 suche of the ryng leders and provokers of you to this rebellyon,

rebellyon, as We shall assigne to you, and appoynte. Now, note the benignetie of your Prynce. Now note, how easely ye may have pardon, both gentilmen, and other, if ye list. Now note, howe effusion of bloode may be exchued. Now note, what this litle while of your rebellyon hathe hindered your selffes and countrey. Now lerne, by a litle lacke, to exchue a worse. Now lerne, by this small warning, to kepe you trew men. Thus I, as your hed, pray for you, my membres, that God may lighte you with His Grace to knowledge, and declare your selffes our trew subjectes hens fourth, and to gyve more credence to these our benigne persuasions, then to the perverse instigations of malicyous disposed persons.

LXIX. SADLEYR *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MYN humble duetie remembred to Your good Lordeship, it may please the same to be advertised, that ymmedyately uppon the receipt of your letters, which I receyved by this berer, your Lordeshippes servaunte, I did, according to the contynue of your saide letter, declare unto the Kinges Majestie, aswell the cause of the delay of your accesse to the Courte, with that ye intende to be to morow at night at Mortlake; and that your Lordeship hathe in a redynes to send fourth to morow, som tyme of the day, £5500, which with the £500, remayning in my Lorde of Rutlandes handes, amounting to £6000, your Lordeship trustith will be more then shall be spent before the ende of this matier (of the whiche opynyon the Kynges Highnes is also). As the pryse of the Frensh man, taken by the 3 Flemysshe shippes, out of the rode, within the porte of Southampton, and your sending in that behalf to thEmperours Ambassadour; all whiche the Kinges Majeste taketh in veray good parte; sayeng nothing elles to me, for answer of all those thinges, which in dede be not moche answerable, but that your Lordeship was in the same case, when ye cam to the Rolles, as His Grace was, when he cam to Westminster; for when he is there, he sayed he had moche a do to gett thens: and so Your Lordeship he sayed, when ye com to the Rolles, have no lesse a do to get awaye. Signefying ferther unto your Lordeship, that His Highnes commaunded me to sende unto you these letters hereinclosed, which His Grace receyved this day, at 4 of the

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 377.

clocke

clocke at after none, from my Lorde of Norfolke. And forasmoche as the meting of my saide Lorde of Norfolk with the Lorde Darcy, and others in the North, is defferred and protracted, as your Lordeship shall perceyve by the saide letters herein closed; so that my saide Lorde of Norffolk, and Lorde Admyrall, intending nevertheles to kepe on their journey, have determyned in the meane season to view the fortifications of Notingham, the bridge and fordes there, with other thinges requisite, as your Lordeship shall perceyve by their letters; which their determynation the Kynges Highnes lyketh very well: His Grace also willed me to sende you worde, that in the viewing of all those thinges, it shall be most requysite of all the rest, that also they loke uppon the foordes of Doonne, and the fortificacion of the same; whereof His Grace willed me to advertise your Lordship, to thintent ye might signefie the same to my saide Lorde of Norfolk, and my Lorde Admyrall accordinglye. And thus loking for your Lordeship to morow night at Mortlak, I most hertelie beseche the Holie Trynyte to sende you long lif, and good helth, with moche honour, and your enemyes and ill willers litle power; whereof I doubt nothing. At Rychmont, this Tewsday, the 21 day of November, at 8 of the clocke of the night, with the rude and hastie hand of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunte,
and daylie Bedisman,
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and his singular good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, be this yoven.

LXX. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, AND OTHERS.[2]

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, right trusty and right welbiloved Cousins, right trusty and welbiloved, and trusty and welbiloved, We grete yow well. Lating yow wit, that by our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir John Russell, Knight, We have aswell receyved your sundry letters, as at good lenght harde, and substancially wayed, the credence commytted to the same. And first, We mervayl moche, that youe doo all

[1] From a Minute, in the handwriting of Wriothesley, among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 6}{1}$. It is indorsed, "2d December".

write

write unto Us in suche extreame and desperate sorte, as thoughe the world shuld be, in maner, turned uppe soo downe, onles We wold, in certain pointes, condescende to the petitions of the rebelles; that is to say, specially, for a free general pardon, and a Parliament, having not yet spoken with them; ne any other groundes or foundation to mayntain your opinions and desires, for our agrement therunto; as it appereth unto Us both by your said letters, and by the relation of our said servaunt, but only suche general brutes as bee conveyed unto you by your espialles: wherunto, as We cannot denye, but youe must adhibite some credite, soo We thinke your wisedome shuld again have considered, that all devises and ydle wordes, setfurth and spoken by light and sedicious personnes, take not, even by and bye, that effecte that they wold desire. But admytting that the rebelles be, in dede, as cancredly disposed, and in as good aredynes, as yow write, and as is reaported; We mervayl greately, that neyther you, our Cousin of Shrewisbury, have been so diligent in the vieuyng, storing, and fortifieng of the fordes of the Ryver of Donne, as our former letters, long sithens addressed unto yow, for that pourpose, did require; ne that youe, our Cousin of Norfolke, and our Admyral, have no more ernestly, sithens your arrival in those parties, devised uppon the same; bothe knowing that We had the doing therof moche to harte, and writing from Sir Robert a Lees house, that, considering the tyme of meting was protracted, you wold, in the meane season, travayl therin to our satisfaction. And yet We doo a greate deale more mervayl, that in cace yow have certain knowleage that the rebelles have levied suche forces, as is reaported, neyther you, our Cousin of Shrewisbury, nor any of the rest of you, that be our Counsailours there, have raysed other forces, in all eventes to withstande, or, at the lest, to staye them; considering that We gave long sithens, also, special commaundement for that purpose. For if, by your negligences therin, the rebelles shuld marche forwarde, and sodainly doo any exployte uppon our good subgiettes, on this side Donne, We shuld have just cause to thinke ourself yvell served, and our commaundementes lesse regarded, thenne apperteyned. But imputing thise matiers to negligence, and soo leaving all contention therof, uppon the perfite and assured trust and confidence We have in yow, with the certain hope We have conceyved, that, with diligence, and good endevour to serve Us, you woll again repair and redubbe the same; forasmoche as by your said letters, and the said credence, it appereth not only unto Us, that the daye of your meting shalbe on Tuesdaye next cummyng, but also that of lightlywood the rebelles woll thenne shewe themselfes very stiff and wilfull, touching the two pointes befor specefied, of the free pardon, and the Parliament;

ment; considering howe moche our honour shuld be touched in suche sorte, as it were by a constraint, to graunte them their desire therin, or to permytt you in any wise to comen with them, onles they wil eyther first cause suche forces, as they have levied, eftsones to retyre to their houses and dwelling places, or elles, at the least, for the sureties of your personnes, whiche We esteme as our oune, to permytt you to levye suche forces again, befor the meting, as shal countrevayl the same: We have determyned that you shall procede with the said rebelles, in maner and forme ensuyng.

First, you shall signifie by your letters unto them, that being We advertised, that they have made, of newe, a greate assemble, and levied a greate force, that is to saye, the nomber in all of 20000 men, as it is reaported, We cannot a litle mervayl at their exceding ingratitude, and moost indiscrete proceding in that bihaulf. For what unkindnes canne they shewe more towardes Us, or what greater pointe of arrogancy and yvel entent towardes Us canne they ymagin and devise, thenne whenne We, being their Prince and Souveraign Lorde, have sent downe a good nombre of the noblest men of our realme, out of armes, to commen with them; and, as it were, by suche a benigne clemency, as hathe not been harde of in a like cace, to allure them to the consideration of the great mercy and pitie We have towardes them, and of the greate zeale and desire We have to their preservations; they, again, whiche shuld, with all humilitie and due reverence, mete with them, being our Commissioners, having promyse for their certain assurance therin, shuld, nevertheles, as men that wold rather enforce Us to folowe their appetites by violence, thenne, according to their dieuties, and the demeanours of good subjectes, seke all the wayes to appease our displeasure and indignation against them, prepare suche forces as they have nowe levyed? And that We have given yow, therfor, strayte commaundment, that, onles they woll again cause their said forces to retyre, and soo mete with youe, out of armes, in a peasable sorte; in whiche cace We shalbe content that, as our Haroldes shall vieu the cuntrey on their side, for the more perfite suertye of your personnes, soo shall their messangers, again, vieu the cuntrey on this side, to thintent they may be out of all suspition, and jealousie of daunger; you shuld not be hasty to procede to the meting, or entre any communication with them, tyl you may, for your suerties, levye like forces, for your partes, as they have already doon for theirs. Which, as We thinke it shuld be expedient for you to doo, soo, nevertheles, We remytt that pointe to your discretion; trusting you wil not in dede mete with them, but in suche sorte, as shalbe for your perfite sureties.

And if soo be, that the heddes and captaines of the rebelles shall, uppon this declaration, whiche We desire you, with all dexterite, to set furthe unto them, condescende and agree, aswel to dissolve again their forces and garrisons, as to mete with you in a peasable sorte, and out of armes; thenne our pleasure is, you shall kepe the daye of meting appointed, or suche other daye, as shalbe agreed uppon, betwen you and them. And at your cummyng togither, you shal first engreve their attemptates, sithens the appointement taken at Dancastre; dilating aswel therin their newe assemble made at this tyme, the taking of Rauf Euers and Edward Waters, with our ship, munycyons, and money, and the sending of Robert Bowes to take our Cousin of Cumberlande; as all other their innovations, mentioned in our former instructions given to you, our Cousin of Norfolk, and our Admyrall, at your departure from Us. And therupon, moving them first, by all the good meanes youe canne devise, to repair and redubbe all their attemptates, you shall thenne declare unto them, howe that, of our most inestimable clemency and goodnes, We have not only made answer to suche peticions, as they have exhibited unto Us, but also graunted their sute, and desire for their pardon, in suche a liberal and free sorte, as they may have good cause, both to receyve it most humbly, and to devise, by their lowly submyssion and fidelitie, to be shewed heraftre towardes Us, to shewe them selfes soo true and faithfull subgiettes, as, with their present repentance for this offence, and their good contynuance aftre, they maye repare and redubbe that, which hathe been, in this parte, transgressed and offended; whiche pardon you shall, by all the wayes and meanes to you possible, induce them humbly to desire, and soo to receyve, in suche forme, as in your former instructions is prescribed. And if they shall, nevertheles, refuse to accept the said pardon, onles it were general, and without exception, and either make desire for a Parliament, or for the graunting of any other articles, whiche percace in specialtye they shall expresse unto you; youe shall therunto make aunswer, that your commission extendeth not to the graunting of any of those thinges; nevertheles, suche is your love and zeale to those parties, and suche is your desire to doo that thing, that might avoyde that extremytie of myschief from them, whiche they seke by this their foly, that in cace they wil frankely signifie unto you, what they wold have, what they doo desire, and what they have resolved uppon, you wil adventure to take an abstinence; and not only advertise Us therof, but also joyne with them, as humble suters and peticioners unto Us, if their requestes, peticions, and desires shall be suche, as subgiettes may, in any cace, offre to their Prince and Souveraign Lorde, and as the same may

again

again graunte unto them, with his honour. And if they shall, uppon this general overture, declare unto you, that they desire only the said free pardon, and Parliament, you shall promyse them, as is aforsaid, to be suters with them; soo as they will sett their handes to tharticles therof, and, with the same, promyse no further to molest Us, with other particuler or publique matiers, ne to administre unto Us any further occasions, that might provoke our indignation against them, but to use them selfes in all thinges like good and faithfull subgiettes. And having ones concluded uppon the same, and receyved their writing therof, you shall take an abstinence for 6 or 7 dayes, as thoughe you shuld sende hither unto Us, specially, for that purpose; and whenne that tyme shalbe expyred, at the daye to be prefixed, declare unto them, that, with greate sute, you have obteyned their peticions; and soo present unto them the general pardon, whiche, at this tyme, We sende unto you by our servant, Sir John Russell, whom We have specially commanded not to delyver them out of his handes to any person, untyl suche tyme as they shal determyn to receyve the same, in suche sorte as We have prescribed; having first advised them to applie themselfes to receyve it, with suche humilitie as shall appertayn to subgiettes, not only in the receyving of the othe, but, also, in the withdrawing of all their violent demeanours, and the peasable yelding of themselfes to their labours: and, semblably, you shal graunt them a Parliament, to begyn at suche place as We shal appointe for the same.

Nowe, if they shall, to the two pointes befor specified, wherof oon (that is, for the Parliament) is not comprised in their articles, but named only for the surety of their pardoon, adde any other special articles; because We purpose aswell, in suche cace, to have some tyme to waye them well, as, the cace soo requiring, to put Our self in further preparation and aredynes; We woll, that perceyving they will in no wise be brought to condescende only uppon the pardoon, and Parliament, in maner and forme aforsaid, you shall thenne declare, that it shalbe mete, that We shall call our nobles togither, and advise Us therof: and therupon, considering the same cannot be doon in a short tyme, ye shal take an abstinence for 20 dayes, or lengre, as your wisedomes shal thinke mete; and, with all possible diligence, not only advertise Us of their petitions, but of your advise touching the same. And thereupon We shal, also, in that cace, sende unto you our resolution, with convenient diligence. Using, nevertheles, in the communication therof, all the dexteritie and good meanes, you canne possible, to induce them to considre the innumerable and infinite mischiefes, that maye ensue of thextremytie of this matier; and soo to advise them, like humble subgiettes, to

make their sute, and to desire those thinges, that may be obteyned by sute and petition, and not suche as the Princes honour wol neyther permytt him to graunt, ne any honest man to aske of him. And if they wil, in no wise, ne by any meanes, be persuaded to staye only uppon the said pardon, and Parliament, but adde therunto other articles, soo that you shall therupon take the said respite for 20 dayes; our pleasure thenne is, that you shall not only, with all possible diligence, in the closest and secretest maner you canne, write unto our Cousin of Derby, sodaynly to put him self, with all the forces of Chessher and Lancashire, in armes; and like wise to our Cousin of Suffolk, that he may put himself in like aredynes, with the force of Lincolnshire; but that you, our Cousins of Norfolk, Shrewisbury, and others of our Counsail there, shal immediatly levye all the forces, ye be hable to make in those parties; putting yourselfes in ordre with the same, to kepe the passages of Donne, whiche We woll you shall thenne travail to clense and fortifie, in suche sorte as the rebelles may be stayed, tyl We maye here put Ourself in some aredynes to advaunce towardes them.

Our pleasure also is, that youe shall give firme and undoubted credence to this berer, Sir John Russell, to whom We have delyvered the said free pardon; whiche We woll, in any wise, shall remayn in his handes and custody, and be, for no respecte or cause, what soever it be, otherwise delyvered, thenne with suche ordre, forme, and circumstance, as We have, with our oune mouth, declared unto him. And wheras youe have nowe, attending there uppon youe, the bandes of our servauntes, Sir John Russel, and Sir Anthony Browne, our pleasure is, youe shall cause them to be paid their wages, of our treasour being there with youe; begynning their monethe, the thirde daye of this moneth; and soo to contynew with them, during their abodes with you; and We shall, from tyme to tyme, see youe soo furnished with treasour, as you shal have no want of the same.

We sende unto you also, herwith, a Commission of Lieutenauncye, made to you, our Cousins of Norfolk and Shrewisbury, conjunctim et divisim, and semblably an other commission for you, and all the rest of our Counsail there, to commen and conclude in this matier.

Post scripta. We have receyved your sundry letters; thone writen at Newark, thother at Nottingham. Touching your devise, conteyned in those writen from Newark, for the taking of a newe daye, if you shal not agre with the rebelles, and the preparation therupon, of 5 or 600 horses, and 200 or 300 fotemen; you shall undrestande, We doo not myslike the taking of a further daye; for that is conformable to suche advertisement, as you shall nowe

nowe receyve from Us, uppon the credence of Sir John Russel, and the letters sent by the same. Concernyng the horses and men to be shipped in Norfolk, We doo neither yet condescende to the devise, ne yet disaprove it; for the successe therof may be good, albeit We trust it shall not com to suche extremyte. We wold you shuld, in the meane season, advertise Us, where youe think metest to have those horses levied; and therupon We shall advertise you of our further mynde in that behaulf. Nowe to your letters writen at Nottingham; wheras you thinke it mete, considering the fury and aredynes of the rebelles, that We shuld sende unto you some degres, soo that they might, at the least, be stayed, tyl We might again put our forces in suche ordre, as shuld bee convenient, supposing it shuld be mete for Us for that purpose; and for that, also, that you have no man there, that canne entre in the nombre of the dayes to be inserted in the salvconducte, but the same shuld appere doon of two handes, whiche might administre cause of argument, to sende unto you sundry salve conductes, for sundry tymes. To the first, for the degrees, you may perceyve by thise our letters that We have therin waded, asfarre as we may possibly with our honour; conveyeng thende of your communication to a delaye, thoughe you shuld certainly condescende uppon the two pointes of the pardon, and the Parliament; and if you shall not agre, thenne to a lengre delaye. For the bettre conducing also wherof, We have herewith sent unto you oon salve-conduct for 16 dayes; and We shal sende you two more, with all convenient diligence, thone for 20 dayes, the other for 40 dayes; to thintent you may put furthe suche and asmany of the same, as your wisedomes shall thinke mete and convenient, and as may serve best to the advauncement of our purpose; referring thordre therof to your discreations accordingly. Finally, forasmoche as by the said letters, writen at Nottingham, it appereth the Ryver of Donne is moche fallen, and the rebelles very madde and furious; We doubt not, but having nowe all the meanes to steye them, that canne be devised, you will take such courage unto you, and use suche diligence and circumspection, specially for the fortification of the fordes, that what soever the ende of the meting shalbe, youe will provide both for the preservation of our honour, and for your oune sureties, in as prudent and substancial sorte, as the tyme and cace wil possibly permytt and suffre. Albeit it is moche to our mervayl, to receyve soo many desperate letters from yow, and in the same no remedyes. We might thinke that either thinges be not soo wel loked on, as they might bee, whenne youe canne loke but only to thone side; or elles that youe be soo perplexed with the brutes of the oon parte, that ye doo omytt to write the good of thother;

and

and yet We could be aswell content to bestowe summe tyme in the reading of an honest remedye, as of soo many extreme and desperate mischeves. And if soo be, that any man shall fynde any occasion of argument, uppon any qualitie touching the fre pardon, you shal, uppon your honours, promyse, that the same shal, both generally and severally, to them all be mayntayned good; and that they shall, at all tymes, have it again, in as vailable sorte, out of our Chauncery, in due forme, as any of them canne devise the same.

LXXI. King Henry VIII. *to* The Duke of Norfolk.[1]

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete you wel. Lating you wit, that uppon the receipt of your last letters, written in a farre more desperate sorte, thenne We loked for, or thenne We canne yet thinke there is soo greate cause, as by your espialles is made; for We have called to our remembrance the hole discours and progresse of this matier, with your advertisementes made in the tyme of the same; whiche We fynde soo repugnant and contraryous, thone to thother, that We cannot forbere frankely to make a recapitulation of the same; to the only entent, that when you shall perceyve, that youe have not therin observed that gravitie and circumspection, that, in your personne, towardes Us is requisite, and to be desired, youe maye nowe, with wisedom and good dexteritie, use suche good meanes to conduce this matier to a finall and a spedye ende, that We maye bothe clerely forget your oversight therin, and have cause to rendre unto youe our most harty thankes for your travayl in the same.

And first, We doubt not, but you remembre, howe moche you desired, in your letters writen unto Us from Cambridge, that our Cousin of Shrewisbury shuld not passe Trent, tyl you shuld arryve with him; taking thenne uppon youe suche knowleage of the cuntreys theraboutes, and of the ryvers and waters, as thoughe youe had been hable, in suche sorte, to have steyed the passage of the rebelles over the Ryver of Trent aforsaid, as shuld have been a certain discomfyture unto them.

Thenne, in your letters from Newark, youe lamented moche that our said Cousin had advaunced to Dancastre; engreving the same somoche,

[1] The Minute of this separate letter to the Duke of Norfolk, is in the same handwriting, and found in the same Bundle, as the preceding letter.

that

that it might have been taken for the grounde and cause of yvel successe, if any suche had happened. And yet We see nowe, that onles he had soo doon, a greate cuntrey had been clerely over runne, and a greate nomber of our subgiettes thereby corrupted, oppressed, and spoiled, whiche nowe remayn in quiet, and be ready to serve Us against the rebelles.

Thenne wrote you from Welbeck, all desperately; and yet, in thende, youe said youe wold esteme no promyse that you shuld make to the rebelles, ne thinke your honour touched in the breche and violacion of the same. And howe sone youe fell to a pointe with the rebelles; howe shortly you dissolved therupon our armye, without doing of any exployte; leaving them, also, in their forces, percace nothing to our honour; howe moche youe advaunced their power and strenght, whenne youe cam to our presence; We doubt not but you have in good remembrance.

And finally, nowe, youe, that by your said letters from Cambridge made Us beleve, that if our said Cousin of Shrewisbury shuld not have passed over Trent, ye wold there have stayed the rebelles, to their confusion; write, in your last letters, plainly, that if We shall trust eyther to Trent or Don, We shalbe deceyved; adding, besides, the reaporte of 60 gentlemen, declaring other parties not to be trusted unto.

And nowe have We uttred unto youe, as to him that We love and trust, and wold be loth to have any maner of suspition remayn in our brest to the contrary, our hole stomake; whiche if you doo, in your personne, waye towardes Us, as We doo uttre our love in the declaration therof to youe, We doubt not but youe wil both humbly thanke Us for the same, and with your deades, give Us cause eftsones to thank you accordingly.

LXXII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Earl of Shrewsbury.[1]

Right trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, We grete you well. And forasmuche as by our commen letters to you, and all others of our Counsail there, We have signified, at good lenght, the discours of our mynde and pleasure, touching your procedinges in al pointes, and in al caces, concernyng the meting with the rebelles, and the conclusion to be taken with

[1] The Minute of this separate letter to the Lord Steward is in the same handwriting, and found in the same Bundle as the two preceding letters, all of the same date.

the

the same, We shall, in thise letters, whiche We desire youe to kepe to your self, only require you to give, in all thinges, as firme and undoubted credence to our servaunt, Sir John Russell, this berer, as you wold adhibite to our oune personne, if We were presently with you. And in cace, at the said meting, you shal, by no meanes, agre with the rebelles, thenne aftre to set furthe, with al dexteritie, suche practises as shalbe heraftre declared.

And fyrst, you shall undrestande, that forasmoche as by certain letters, sent from the Lord Darcy, and Robert Aske, to you, and from you again to Us, it appereth that the said Lord Darcy hath been of some bettre sorte thenne he hath been reaported; and that he wold be content and gladde to com in, and to use him self in all thinges, like our good and faithfull subgiett; We have determyned, in cace he will soo doo, to extende our mercye unto him; and for that purpose We have delyvered unto our said servaunt, secretly, his pardon; whiche, if he will condescende to com unto you, aftre the said meting you shall delyver unto him. And if the said Lord Darcy canne persuade Aske, in like maner, to com in, We have resolved, also, to give unto him his pardon; whiche like wise We sende by our said servaunt. And our pleasure is, that you, and the said Sir John Russell, only, shall practise with them to receyve the same; making non of the rest of our Counsail privye therunto; in the setting furthe wherof, you may assure them, that conformyng themselfes, like good subgiettes, to serve Us, We shalbe as good Lorde unto every of them, as ever We were, without reservation of any displeasure towardes them, for this, or any other matier befor passed. And our pleasure, also, is, you shall practise with as many others, as you shall thinke mete, semblably to com in; and likewise that the Lord Darcy and Aske shall bring asmany in with them, as they canne by any meanes induce therunto; promysing them, uppon your honour, to obteyn their pardons, whiche We shall not faile to discharge, and soo without steye to performe your promyse in that behaulf; declaring that for their further assurance therin, We have also made the Lord Darcyes pardon general, to serve all them, that wil com in with him. Desiring and prayeng you, good Cousin, nowe, with all your wisedom and dexteritie, to travayl, that by your good meanes, and at your hande, thise thinges maye be conduced spedily to our desired purpose; wherby you shall not only acquire yourself greate honour, but doo unto Us, also, suche stede and service, as We shall never towardes you, nor yours, put in oblivion.

And forasmoche as We could not here conveniently put in the dates of the said two pardons, bicause of the incertaintie of the tyme, whenne the same shuld begynne to take effecte, We give unto you, by thise our letters, full

full power and auctoritie to cause the same to be entred, at suche tyme as you shall thinke convenient; requiring you to cause it to be doon in suche sorte, as there appere no diversitie of handes, whiche must be considered befor, by him that you shal appointe to entre the same.

LXXIII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Duke of Suffolk.[1]

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete you well. Lating yow wit, that uppon the receipt of suche letters, as were writen unto Us from our Cousin of Norfolk, touching the graunting unto the rebelles of the North parties a free general pardon, and a Parliament, rather thenne they shuld procede, at this tyme, in their traitorous purpose; perceyving by the relation of our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir Frauncis Brian, Knight, that your opinion and advise is quadrant with the same; albeit We thought the graunting of suche a free pardon shuld not be honorable for Us, but a meane to put thiese rebelles in greate pride, and an occasion to cause others to attempt like rebellions heraftre: yet, giving place to thadvise of our Counsail therin, We have not only sent suche a pardon to our said Cousin of Norfolk, as is free and general; to be nevertheles retayned in his handes, and in no wise graunted unto them, onles very extremytie shall enforce the same; but We have, also, therwith willed him to condescende to a Parliament, to be holden at suche place as We shall appointe, at Michaelmas next ensuying; like as by the copie of the said letters, whiche, for your bettre instruction, We sende unto yow herwith, you shall perceyve. And to thintent, in cace the said rebelles shall, nevertheles, devise uppon some suche newe mater, as our honour maye in no wise graunte unto them, wherby they shuld finally be put to libertie, to doo what they canne in their malicious purpose, We maye, in al eventes, be soo furnished, as shall put them to displeasure, and enforce them to staye in their traitorous entreprise; like as youe shal, by the copie of the said letters, sent to our said Cousin of Norfolk, addressed unto you herwith, perceyve; that We have, in cace of suche extremitie, appointed our said Cousin of Norfolk, with

[1] The Minute of this letter to the Duke of Suffolk is in Wriothesley's handwriting, and preserved in the same Bundle with the three preceding letters, but is indorsed with a date two days later, viz. 4 December.

our Cousins of Shrewisbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, with all the forces they shalbe hable to make, in the quarters where they be, on thone parte, and our Cousin of Derby, with the forces of Chesshir, Lancashir, and parte of North Wales, on an other parte, to prepare themselfes again against the said rebelles: soo our pleasure is, you shal, in the meane season, counsail with the gentlemen, and suche other as you thinke most mete, of Lincolnshir; and not only take certain appointement with the same, for thestablishment of sure and certain steyes to remayn in the cuntrey, if you shuld departe from thens, for the defence therof, and of the passages of the same, wherunto We require you to have special regarde; but, also, to put suche a nomber of good men in a redynes, uppon oon houres warnyng, as you may, with your bandes being in wages alreadye, and the rest to be put in suche preparacion, have in all, readye to attende uppon you, the nombre of 8000 men, or theraboutes. And We woll, that, in the meane tyme, you shall, also, counsaile with our said Cousins of Norfolk and Shrewisbury, and knowe what they thinke most mete for you to doo with the said nombre, in cace of extremitie; whither to goo to the ayde of them, or to passe over to Hull, or some other place, whiche might cause the rebelles to steye or retyre. And uppon advertisement both of your mynde, and of their opinions, We shal sende you our resolution. For We thinke nowe it shuld be mete that, in suche cace, you shuld passe over to Hull, or to suche other place as you shall thinke more convenient; and We shall, uppon knowleage that you be in aredynes to advaunce your self to this entreprise, or otherwise, furnishe you with treasour, and all other thinges convenient for your suretye in the same.

You shal also undrestande, that, according to the devise of your last letters, We have wrytten to the Erle of Cumberland, the Lord Clifforde, Sir William Musgrave, Edwarde Ayglonby, the towne of Newcastle, the towne of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Clifforde, and Sir Reynold Carnaby, sending to diverse of them certain proclamations, to be proclaimed in those parties; all whiche letters and proclamations We desire and pray you to cause to be conveyed to Barwyk, for their sure delyverance, according to their directions; and to advise them, by your letters, to endevour themselfes, with al dexteritie, to serve Us at this tyme, setting a parte all old grudges and displeasures betwene them, and al others.

Finally, to thintent you maye, uppon the bettre groundes and foundation, practise with them of Marshlonde, Holden, and Holdenshire, We sende unto you, herwith, a proclamation, undre our Greate Seale, for those parties, and al Yorkshir; the copie wherof, if you shal thinke good, We desire yow

to

to sende unto them, and to cause it to be proclaimed amonges them; promysing the same, uppon your honour, that We woll performe and accomplisshe, in all pointes, theffecte therof, if they woll submytt themselfes to you, and, in suche humble maner as becometh subgiettes, desire the same, and receyve suche an othe, as is conteyned in the scedule herin enclosed, whiche We give you full power and auctoritie to receyve accordingly. And to thintent ye shal be conveniently furnished, if you shall perceyve the Yorkshir men, and others of those parties, willing to submytt themselffes to you, We sende you a commission, wherin youe be joyned our Lieutenaunt for all those parties, with our Cousins of Norfolk and Shrewisbury; desiring you, specially, to write to the Lord Clifforde, your sonne[1], to encorage hym, and to cause him to write unto you the plainnes of all thinges, in those quarters aboute Carlisle. And for your perfite knowleage of the tenours of our letters to thErle of Cumbrelande, the Lorde Clifforde, and Sir Thomas Clifforde, We sende you herwith the copies of the same.

LXXIV. King Henry VIII. *to* Aske.[2]

(*Signed*) Henry R. By the King.

Trusty and welbiloved, We grete you wel. Lating you wit, that forasmoche as, by credible information, We be advertised that, notwithstanding your offences committed against Us, in the late rebellion attempted in those parties, youe be nowe, in harte, repentant for the same, and determyned from hensforth to use yourself in all thinges, like our faithfull and obedient subgiet; and further, that your said offences therin proceded not somoche of your self, as of the untruth and yvel disposition of others; We have conceyved a greate desire to speake with youe, and to here, of your mouthe, the hole circumstance and begynning of that matier; and, for that purpose, have not only addressed thise our letters unto youe, by the whiche We commaund you, as our true and faithfull subgiet, for soo We doo nowe repute youe, to repaire unto our oune personne, with al possible diligence, making no man privie therunto; but also sent unto you, with the same, our

[1] Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, married Eleanor, youngest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, the sister of Henry VIII.

[2] From the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9.}{1}$

trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Peter Mewtys, this berer, oon of the Gentlemen of our Privye Chamber, to whom We woll you shal in all thinges give firme and undoubted credence; assuring you, that We shall performe and accomplishe towardes you, and all others, our general and free pardon, already graunted unto you, according to the tenour of our proclamation made in that behaulf. Trusting, therfor, that, at your accesse to our presence, you woll use suche plaines and franknes, in all thinges that We shall demaunde of youe, that We maye, besides, have cause to rewarde your fidelitie towardes Us, to be shewed in the same, whiche We shal not fayle in suche wyse to doo, that you shall have good cause heraftre to rejoyse, and thanke God of this jorneye. Yeven undre our Signet, at our manour of Westeminster, the 15th daye of December, the 28th yere of our reign.

(*Superscribed*)
To our trusty and welbiloved subgiet,
Robert Aske, Gentleman.

LXXV. Lord Darcy *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your moost noble Grace to be advertecyd, that the 10th day of Januarrij, at 11 of the cloke, before nowen, I did receyve, at my fellow, John Appilbe, one of your messengers, your moost honourable letteres, dated at Grenwich, the 6th daye of this present monthe; wherin is mencioned, that your pleasure is, that I sholde repare and cum to your presence, wyth all the diligence that I may usse wyth my helth preserved. Sir, God and Your Grace I take for my jugges, I never faynted, nor feyned, in my service doing to the Kyng is Grace, of famous memory, your Father, ne to Your Grace, in abowe fyvte yerres, within this your realme, nor wythout, in warres, nor in peax. But sewerly, Sir, sithens I cam from my Lordes of your Counsaill last, at Doncaster, I never cam downe thrys furth of my poer chamer. I have ben, and am, so veamently handild wyth my two great diseasses of rupteur and flux, as my Lord Admirall, Mr Browen, and Mr Russell appertely sawe at Doncaster, and as all your Phessissiones perfitely knaws; wherof I reken and fyndes my selfe dayle debeilles, soo that I am more like to dye, then to recover thairof. And of my faith, that I beer to God, and othe and dewtie, that I beer to Your Grace, deth of bodye I wold choyes, affore the liff, rather then Your Majestie shold thynke

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. I. No. 54.

or

or fynd in mee, that I shold, by eny fourmer pactt, or of my free woill unforssed, and soor compellyd, both for lacke of all furnitures of warr, and by the extreme compulcion and fuyree of the commons, enter into ther cumpanyes, and great folyes; as I have lerned, by syndre reaporttes, that Your Grace was, by devers, infowermed anempst me. I moost humble, therfour, beseche Your Grace, at the reverence of Cristes Passion, and at this my peticion, and by the way of reward for all my olde services, afore don, for a partte of my declaration of all my affaires, sithens the fyrst of thes bussynesses began in Lincolnshire, to commaund as many of your honerable Counsailloures and Privey Chamer, as may staund with your pleasure, to examyn and perusse a bowke, that I do send herwyth, and to make relation and just reaporttes to Your Majestie thairof. And for my Lord of Northfolke, or any utheris, that Your Grace doth send dowen into thes parties, I besech Your Grace, as I onnes shewyd to the same in Grenewich, that I may knaw Your Majestie pleasure, by your letteres and instruccions, how and of what sortt and partt I shall usse me of, in my service doing to Your Grace, under them; and the saym I woill folow. And fynallie, Sir, if I may have eny recovery of helth, and have your licence of pasportt, to cum by see, which I may doo from my hows, and that Your Grace is pleasure be, that I shall cum my selffe to your presence, as affore, I shall, uppon the saym knawen, ayther cum by see, or in litter by lande, or elles die by the waye, with the favour of God; who, as I am most bounden, I besech longe to preserve Your Grace. For the stait of thes North parttes, now, as I here, it may like Your Grace to gyve credence to this berer. Wrytten at my caben of Tempilherst[1], the 14th day of January.

Your most humble subjectt and servant,

(*Signed*) T. DARCY.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kyng is Majestie,
my Sofferan Lord.

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[1] In the West Riding of Yorkshire.

[2] He was attainted in the Court of the Lord High Steward, in June 1537, and beheaded in the same month.

LXXVI. SADLEYR *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASE it Your Lordeship to be advertesed, that albeit I have no matier of importaunce to wryte unto you, yet having an oportunyte to wryte by this berer, Mr Gostwykes servaunte, my duetie wold not suffer me to let him com to your Lordeship emptie of my letters, though I had nothing to wryte, but onely the progresse of my journey. This day, being the 23 day of this moneth, I arryved here, in Yorke, where Mr Lawson hathe made me good chere; and in my journey hitherwardes, as I mette with dyvers postes to London wardes, and dyvers others of the North, being somwhat desyrous to knowe the state of the countrey, I asked alwayes what newes; and in dede, as they were dyvers, of whom I askd the questyon, so they tolde me dyvers tales; for som told me, that there was a new insurrection, and that all Northumberlond, Cumberlond, Westmerlond, Yorkeshire, Rychemondshyre, and Holdernes was up; and som told me agayn, that my Lorde Conyers had stayed a grete parte of Rychemondeshire; and that Aske, and Mr Bowes, had don well their partes in stayeng of the countrey, aswell within the Bisshoprich of Duresme, as in Holdernes; som tolde me, that Sir Frauncis Bigote had reysed a grete company, and had made assaute uppon Hull, and that there was a grete conflicte, and many men slayn; and that Sir Rauf Ellerker did there his parte so well, that he toke a grete many of the rebelles, and their capitayn, Bigote, fled, no man knoweth whither; and, fynally, all men, that I have talked with, agree in one tale; that the onely cause of this new tumulte amongst the people is a certen dispaire, that they have conceyved, that my Lorde of Norfolk should not com into these partes: for all men here say, that his commyng shall staye all togither. Sir, all the townes that I have passed thorough, hitherto, are in very good quyet, and, as I can perceyve, very desyrous so to contynew; and yet by meanes, I assure Your Lordeship, they be moche incyted and provokd to the contrary; for in all townes and villages hereaboutes, on thisside Dancaster, there have ben billes and scrowes set up uppon churche dores, by nyght, conteyning these wordes in effecte, "Commons, be ye "trew amongst your selffes, and stycke one to a nother, for the gentilmen

[1] This original letter is in the Chapter House, among Crumwell's Correspondence, Bundle S. It must have been written by Sadleyr from York, on his road into Scotland. His mission thither, at this time, is not noticed in any of his published letters; but the object of it may be collected, from the documents in the State Paper Office, to have been to claim the English rebels, who had taken refuge in that Kingdom, and to require them to be delivered up.

"have

" have deceyved you; but yet, if nede be, ye shall lacke no capitaynes". Surely, Sir, there be som, that do nothing elles but go up and downe, and sowe sedition amongst the people; which, in myn opynyon, might be facyllie apprehended, if men were willing. But, to say myn opynyon, and as I can perceyve, the gentilmen be of such sorte, as seme to be sorye of this tumulte and rebellyon, and yet can be content to wynke at it, and make no resistence. For, as I have passed in these partes, I have comoned, in dyvers townes, with som of the honest sorte, that were housholders; and askd them, uppon what grounde the people were thus styrred to rebell ayenst their Prynce, and who they were, that first did styrre them thereunto: and they, as men that wold excuse themselffes, sayed that they began in Lyncolneshire, and if they had not first rysen there, no one man wold have rysen in the North; but when they were up, then cam Aske into Holdernes, and there he caused billes and scrowes to be set up, and spredde abrode in all places; theffectes whereof were, that all paroche churches shoulde be polled downe, and none to stond within 5 myle of a nother, that no maryages, crysteninges, nor buryalles shold be, but they should pay fynes to the Kyng, with such other mischevous devises; whereuppon the people were brought into a gret rumour, and the gentilmen, quod they, toke uppon them to be their capitaynes. " Why", quod I, " the gentilmen were " taken by the comons, and compelled to be their capitaynes". " Yee, Yee," quod they, " and the gentilmen had ben, as they shoulde be, they might " have stayed them well ynough, at the first; but when the gentilmen toke " their partes, then such poure men, as we be, could do no lesse, then do " as they did, orelles have ben spoyled of all that we have." And amongst the rest, one mery felow, who was myn host at Tadcaster, sayed, " Whye," quod he, " how say ye to my Lorde Darcy? did he not turne to the comons, " assone as they cam to Pomffret, and toke their parte? and yet, being " within the Castell, he might have resisted them, if they had ben 10 tymes " as many as they were". And so they recyted unto me, what force my Lorde Darcy might have made, by his offyces, aboutes Pomffret; and what force dyvers of the gentilmen, in these partes, might have made, if they had ben willing to resiste. Whereof I assure your Lordeship, I do conjecture, that the gentilmen have ben rather contented to wynke at all this matier, then to prepare any resistence. What they will do now, I can not tell. But to tell your Lordeship the state of the countrey, now, as I here, undoubtedly the people in all partes, wher I shall passe, after I com within the Bisshopriche, are very wylde, and now up, now downe, at no stay, but in a mamoring, what they may do; and daylie, as I here, they flocke and assemble;

assemble; and, as I am infourmed, let not to say openly, that if my Lorde of Norfolk com to do them good, he shall be welcom, and if not, they will be ynough to resyste him. Sir, I assure your Lordeship, that all the townes betwixt this Cytie of Yorke, and London, are in good quyet; and, asfarre as I can perceyve, wold fayne so contynew; but surely if any new commocyon should happen to be made, now, beyonde York, it is lyke ynough that they will take parte with them that com first. If my Lorde of Norfolk com first, or who so ever com for the Kynges parte, there is no doubte, in myn opynyon, but he shall rule all this countrey at his pleasure. And in case any new commocyon being made, the comons should be styrred here, before his commyng, then were it doubtfull; for they let not to say, openly, in all the townes that I have passed this waye, that if there be a new insurrection, they will take his parte that commeth first: if the Kinges armye com fyrst, they will take that parte; and if the comons com fyrst, they must nedes go with them, and take their parte, orelles be spoyled of all that they have. So as the people, being of dyvers sortes, dyversly take the matier; som be sorry, and wold fayne be quyet, which be of the honest sorte, and be both sorry and wery of that they have don; on thother side, there is a nother sorte, that hath nothing to lose, and they rejoyse in mischef, and desyre nothing more then rumour and rebellyon, so that they may have therby the better oportunyte to robbe and spoyle the honest sorte. Not doubting but God, and the Kynges Highnes, will provide for the redresse thereof accordinglye.

Now touching my journey fourthwardes; albeit, as I am infourmed, the people be so wylde, that way that I must passe, as is aforsaide, yet I am put in good hope, that there is no doubte, but I may saufely passe them, as Mr Lawson, and other that com out of those partes, do telle me. Wherfore, God willing, I shall not faile to addresse my self towardes thende of my journey, with suche convenyent spede as I can; and, if I see any daungier, I trust so to work, as I shall prevent it well ynough, God willing; who send your Lordeship long lyf, with increase of honour. At Yorke, the 23 day of Januarye, with the rude and hastie hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunte,
and daylie Bedisman,
RAFE SADLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and his singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, be this yeven.

LXXVII. King Henry VIII. *to* Aske.[1]

(*Signed*) Henry R. By the King.

Trustie and welbeloved, We grete youe well. And have receyved your sundry letters, declaring your good endevours for the steye of suche our subjectes there, as have been moved or inclyned eftesonys to a newe commotion, by the meanes of that traytour, Fraunceys Bygode, and his complices; whiche, neyther fearing God, ne esteamyng the greate mercye We have extended to them, or the greate good of peace, unyte, and quyet, have travayled to subverte the state of our hole Realme, wythe suche other thinges as have occurred; which, as We must neades take in thankfull parte, soo nevertheles We wold be gladde to here of some specyal thing, wherin you shuld, in dedes, doo Us that service, that may aunswere to our expectation conceyved of youe; whiche ensuyng, doubt you not, but We shall remembre youe for the same, as shall apperteyne. Yevin under our Signet, at our Manour of Grenewiche, the 24 day of January, in the 28 yere of our reigne.

(*Superscribed*)
To our trusty and welbiloved servaunt,
Robert Aske, Escuyer.

LXXVIII. Sadleyr *to* Crumwell.[2]

My duetie remembred unto Your good Lordeship. It may please the same to be advertesed, that as I have occasion to wryte unto your Lordeshipp, by the repayre of this berer, the capitayn of Berwykes servaunt and chapleyn, to London, so I am bolde, (though I have no great matier) to trouble your Lordeship, amongst your weightie affairees, with these my rude letters. And, forasmoche as I wrote unto your Lordeship, from Yorke, the successe of my journey thither, it may please you also semblably to here, what state I have founde the countrey in betwixt Yorke and Newcastell; which, as I

[1] From a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House, $\frac{A\ 6}{1}$.
[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 344. Holograph.

 wrote

wrote unto your Lordeship in my last letters, was reported unto me, at Yorke, to be very wylde. Nevertheles, to declare the trewth, asfarre as I coulde perceyve, thorough out all the Bisshopriche, as I rode, I saw the people to be in very good quyetnes, and none of the honest sorte, that had any thing to lose, desiring the contrary; except suche, as having nothing of their owne, wolde be glad to have suche a worlde, as whereby they might have oportunyte to robbe and spoyle them, that have; and that, generally, is the opynyon of all men in these partes. For, undoubtedly, the honest sorte of men, thorough out all this countrey, do gretely desyre quyetnes. And yet there hathe ben som steryng in the Bisshopriche, and, not passing 2 or 3 dayes before my commyng, musters made in Clevelande, uppon the hilles, which was by meane of dyvers billes and scrowes, set up on postes and churche dores thoroughe out the Bisshopriche, and lost, and scatered abrode in the countrey, by som sedycious persons, which do nothing elles, but go up and downe to devise myschief and devision. And by such meanes it was put into the heddes of the people, that my Lorde of Norfolk cam down with a great armye and power, to do execution, and to hang and draw, from Doncaster to Berwyke, in all places northwarde, notwithstonding the Kinges pardon; and so the people, thorough out the North, to be brought in worse case, then the Lyncolneshire men. Which tales and ymagynacions, being so sowen amongst the people, did in suche wise styrre and incense them, that surely, as I am infourmed, had not Mr Bowes com home when he did, it had been very lyke to have had a new insurrection. Undoubtedley he hathe well don his parte, as I have lerned of dyvers, in stayeng of the countrey thorough out the hole of the Bisshopriche. And now they have taken suche order, that what so ever tales, or reportes, billes, letters, or scrowes, shalbe sowen abrode, they shall gyve no light credite unto them; but rather do their devoyres to apprehende the devysers and reporters of the same. And so the people be in good staye and quyetnes, in all places of the Bisshopriche, and fully determyned, as Mr Bowes told me, to make no more assemblies, but to rest uppon my Lorde of Norfolkes commyng. Sir, I saw no lykelihod of any lightnes or desyre of devision amongst the people, thorough out the hole Bisshoprich, which is a great countrey, savyng in one towne, which is called Daryngton; and there I noted and perceyved the people to be very tykell. My chaunce was to com into the towne in the evenyng, about 6 of the clocke, or somwhat afore; and when I alighted at my lodging, I thinke there was not passing 3 or 4 persons stonding about the inne dore. Assuring your Lordeship, that I was scant ascendid up a payre of steres into my chaumber, but there

there was aboutes 30 or 40 persons assembled in the strete, afore my chamber wyndowe, with clubbes and battes; and there they cam roonnyng out of all quarters of the strete, and stode togither on a plumpe, whispering, and rownding togither. Whereuppon I called unto me myn host, who semed to be an honest man, and I asked him, what the people meant to assemble so togither. He aunswered me, that when they saw or harde of any commyng out of the South, they used alwayes so to gather togither, to here newes. I tolde him it was ill suffered of them, that were the hedes of the towne, to let them make suche unlaufull assemblies togither in the strete, and that it was a veray ill example, and harde to judge, what inconvenyences might folowe, or what attemptates they wold entreprise, when such a nomber of light fellowes were assembled. He answered me, by his faith, the heddes of the towne could not rule them, ne durst, for their lyves, speke any fowle worde to them. "But", quod he, "I thinke my self to "be in som credite with them; and", quod he, "ye shall see that I shall "cause them to scater abrode, and every man to go to his home, by and by." "Mary", quod I, "if ye do well, ye shoulde set som of them by the heles." "No", quod he, "God defende, for so might we bryng a thousande men "in our toppes within an hower; but", quod he, "ye shall see me order "them well ynough with fayre wordes." And thereuppon he went to the rowte in the strete, as they stode whispering togither; and with his cappe in his hande, prayed them to leve their whispering, and every man to go home. And then cam they all about him, and asked him, who I was, whens I cam, and whither I wolde? Myn hoste tolde them, that I was the Kynges servaunte, and going from His Highnes in ambassade into Scotlande. Whereunto one of them replyed, and sayed, that could not be trew, for the Kyng of Scottes was in Fraunce. Nevertheles, in fyne, myn host so pacyfyed them, that every man went his way; but moche a do he had, as he told me, to persuade them to beleve, that I went into Scotland. And they all, with one voyce, asked, when my Lorde of Norfolk wold com, and with what companye? And so myn host cam to me, as a messenger from them, to know the trewth. And I sent them worde, that he wold be at Dancaster on Candelmas Even, and that he brought no mo with him, but his owne houshold servauntes; whiche pleased them wonderous well, and so every man departed, and I harde no more of them. I assure your Lordeship the people be very tykell, and, me thinketh, in a marvelous straunge case and perplexite; for they gape and loke for thinges, and fayne wold have, they can not tell what; so as, in my poure opynyon, it requyreth a gret diligence and circumspection, for the edefyeing and establisshing of them.

Which, aperteyning to the office of a Prince and King, it becommeth not me to talke of; not doubting but our most gracious Prynce and Sovereign Lorde, with the mature advyse of his most honourable Counsaile, will so provyde for the same, as shall aperteyne.

At Duresme I founde Mr Bowes; who, I assure you, ceaseth not to go from place to place, thorough out all the countrey, and hathe brought the people in good stay and quyetnes. To say myn opynyon, I think, if he, and other the gentilmen of the countrey, had don so at the fyrst, there had never ben any insurrection.

Sir, on Fryday last I arryved in Newcastell; where I assure your Lordeship, I have ben well enterteyned, for the Kynges sake, bothe of the Mayour and thAldermen. And, at this tyme, I assure your Lordeship they have shewed themselffes honest, faithfull, and trew men to the Kyng. For albeit the commons of the towne, at the fyrst begynnyng of this tumulte, were very unruly, and asmoche disposed to sedicion and rebellyon, as they of the countrey were, and wold have rysen with them; yet I assure your Lordeship, the Mayour and Aldermen, and other the heddes of the towne did so, with wisdom and manhod, handle the comons of the same, that they did fully reconsile them; and so handled them, that, in fyne, they were determyned to lyve and dye with the Mayour and his brethern, in the defence and keping of the towne, to the Kynges use, ayenst all his enemyes and rebelles; as in dede they did. The towne of it self is surely a strong towne; and the Mayour, I assure your Lordeship, is a wyse felowe, and a substancyall. He, and James Lawson, who is one of thAldermen, brought me uppon the walles of the towne, which I assure your Lordeship be very strong; and there they shewed me, how they had fortefyed the towne. All along the walles lay sundry peces of ordenaunces, and at every gate of the towne they kept watche and warde, and yet do. Every gate house is full of bowes and arrowes, billes, and other abillementes of warre; and uppon every gate laye in the towers gret peces of ordenaunces, which wold scowre every way a myle, or 2, and more. All which ordenaunce they told me, that every merchaunte, for his parte, brought out of their shippes. They made, also, new gates of yron uppon their bridge, and be victualled within the towne, they thinke for a hole yere. I assure your Lordeship, they have don their partes very honestly, and have, in myn opynyon, deserved moche thanke prayse and comendation. And if it might please the Kynges Highnes to sende them a letter of thankes, it wold gretely encourage them; for surely they have deserved thanke, and ben at gret charge for the defence and fortification of the towne.

Sir,

Sir, uppon myn arryvall here, I was advertesed by the capitayn of Berwyke, that my saufe conducte woll not be had out of Scotland afore Thursday; which is by meane, that the Chauncelour of Scotland[1] is out of the way, in his countrey; and unto such tyme, as he com to Edynburgh, where the rest of the Counsayle is, there wilbe no sauf conducte gotten. The capitayn of Berwyke is at Tynmouth, within six myles of Newcastell, and hathe sent me worde, that he woll, to morow, be with me at Newcastell; at which tyme I shall not faile to delyver him your Lordshippes letters, and ferther declare unto him such credence, as you have comytted unto me uppon the same. That don, I shall addresse myself to Berwyke, where I thinke I shalbe 2° dayes, before my sauf conducte com out of Scotland; and yet my servaunte hath ben there this sevennight, to procure the same. But I perceyve that now, in the Kinges absence, they be very daungerous in grauntyng of sauf conductes. Assone as I can gette it, I will lose no tyme, God willing. I am sure your Lordeship thinketh, that I will make asmoche haste home as I can; and that I love home to well, to tary any lenger thens, then I may not chose. My busynes being don, I shall not faile to retorne, with suche spede, as I may convenyently; and, nevertheles, shall take suche tyme and oportunyte for thexpedycion therof, as shall aperteyn; Our Lorde willing, who preserve your Lordeship in long lif, and good helth, with moch honour. At Newcastell, the 28 day of January, with the rude and hasty hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunt,
and daylie Bedisman,
Rafe Sadleyr.

Post Scripta. Arryved here with me the capitayn of Berwyke, unto whom I delyvered your Lordeshippes letters, and the Kinges Highnes letters addressed to the Percyes; and also declared unto him my credence touching the handeling of that matier; assuring your Lordeship, that notwithstonding your commaundement to have the matier so secretely handeled, the capitayn told me, that he had knowledge, by one or 2 gentilmen of the contrey, almost a sevenight ago, that suche a matier should be commytted unto him. Whereof I mervaile. He thinketh, that it was reveled by Sir Raynold Carnaby. Nevertheles, he intendeth to cause the saide letters to be delyvered to the Percyes, with asmoch spede as convenyently may be; and, if the case so requyre, to execute the rest, according to the Kinges

[1] Gawin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow.

pleasure

pleasure and commaundement. The said capitayn told me further, that he hard say, the saide Percyes were preparing themselffes to mete with my Lorde of Norfolk, at Dancaster. It was also told me, this day, in Newcastell, that the Quene of Scottes should be entered in a religious house of systers, in Scotland, and was becom a syster in the same; which I take to be no gospell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and his singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, be this yoven.

LXXIX. The Duke of Norfolk *to* The Earl of Sussex.[1]

My Lord. I shall forbere to wright to you of suche newes, as I have wryton of to the Kinges Highnes, because I know ye shalbe pryve thereunto. I thynk never man was more welcome, of my degre, to the jantlemen of this contre, then I am; wiche, without dout, is most pryncypally for their owne savegardes, being in the grettest feare of the people, that ever I saw men. My Lord Latymer shuld not have met me, unto my commyng to Yourk, but he liked so ill his being at home, that he was content to mete me, or I cam at Dancaster. My Lord Coniers is in dowte, whether he shalbe suffred to come to me, or not; but I have sent suche sharpe messages to the people of those parties, that I trust they wolbe affrayde, both aboutes Medlham, Richemond, and the dalys, onys or none; and that the same shall brek a gret assemble, they have appoynted to be at Richmond, on Monday next; and if it do not, it shall not be long after, or I woll loke on them. I have not wryton of that mater unto the Kynges Highnes, because I know it is thoght amonges you, that the people here be at a gode stay; but sewerly the stay is suche, that notwithstondyng the promes, made at all our last beings at Dancaster, that the nobles shuld put the Kynges fermours in possession of the religious howsis, to be suppressed, as yet no man hath, nor dare, interprice any of them. My Lord, trust ye, sewerly, the nobles and jantlemen be well affrayde, and of suche sorte, that hardly I can cause them to go aboutes, to take the ringleders of these new commocions. I trust, or long to, ye shall here, that more qwyetnes shalbe

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[1] From Miscellaneous Letters, temp. H. VIII., in the Chapter House, Vol. I. leaf 38.

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in these parties; praying you, my Lord, that I may be advertised of your newes. And Our Lord have you in his tuicion. From Pomfret, the 3 day of Februarij.

Yours assewredly,
(*Signed*) T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very good Lorde, my Lord of Sussex. [1]

LXXX. Minute of Council. [2]

First, the Kinges honour is not to receyve the King of Scottes in to his realme, unles he will com as his Graces vassall. For there cam never King of Scottes in to Englande, in peasable maner, but after that sorte.

Seconde, it cannot be honorable to the King, to graunte him free passage thoroughe his realme, who not only brake with him thappoyntment made for the entervue [3], but for the pretence of his cause therin alleaged, that it was said he shuld be betrayed, if he proceded in the same; for if His Grace shuld graunte him suche a libertie, and that in his passage any thing shuld, by thande of God, or otherwise, happen to him, or his wief, his honour might be touched by the former suspition, thoccasion wherof it is thought mete His Majestie shuld avoyd.

Touching the chargies.

First, in case they shuld be permytted to passe thorough the realme, it is to be considered, howe they must be receyved, from place to place; and what charge shuld therby ensue to the Kinges Majestie, his Nobles, and comens of his good townes by the same, with suche presentes, as, for His Graces honour, must, in every place, be given unto them.

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[1] Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, created Earl of Sussex 1529.

[2] This paper is indorsed, "Articles made againste the passage of the Scotishe King through "the Realme of Inglond." From the internal evidence it must have been written after James V. married Magdalen of France (1 Jan. 1537), and before his return to Scotland, in the following May. It appears from a letter, published in the Hardwicke State Papers, Vol. I. p. 35., that the French King asked, in the beginning of February, for a passage for the King and Queen of Scotland. The arguments used in this paper succeeded with Henry, for James and his Queen returned to Scotland by sea, and had a dangerous passage. The latter died a few weeks afterwards.

[3] This alludes to an interview at York, proposed between the two Kings in 1536.

Item,

Item, if the Kinges Majestie, having appointed His Graces repair this somer to Yorke, for the Parliament[1], Coronacion[2], and the perfite establishment of the cuntrey in quiet, shuld graunte them passage, it shuld, besides the greate charges mentioned, not only hindre moche the Kinges oune purposes and necessary affayres; but it shuld soo divast the cuntrey in the Northe parties, as shuld be to the greate empoverishment of His Graces subgiettes in the same; and a meane that His Highnes could not have there vitailles, and other necessaries, for the furniture of his oune trayne, whenne he shuld repair in to those parties, as is aforsaid. For if it be true, as it is alleaged to be, that horsemeate cannot nowe be had their for money, howe shall the cuntrey thenne susteyne two soo greate traynes, as the Kinges Majestie, and they, must have; specially considering the nombre of bagwaletours that shall com with them out of Fraunce.

Item, it is to be considered, howe grevous and chargeable it shalbe to the nobles, nowe, after their late chargies; and again, befor the immynent chargies of the Parliament and Coronacion, in the meane waye, to burden themselfes with charge, for the honoring of him, whom they love not, nor wold not that he shuld have any favour or acqueintance in this cuntrey.

Item, it is to be remembred, howe the King of Scottes hathe proceded with the Kinges Majestie, in any sute or request that His Grace hath made unto him; and specially in His Highnes often repeted request, touching the restitucion of thErle of Anguishe; and further howe he hathe reproched His Graces Counsail, to His Highnes agentes in Fraunce, and howe slenderly he hathe entreteyned and used the same agentes, to the Kinges greate dishonour; and that sithens his arryvall in Fraunce, he never wrote letter, or sent any special message to the Kinges Highnes, to make him participant to his mariage, or any of his procedinges their, nor of his request to com hither.

Item, what glory he might conceyve by his commyng thoroughe, and the receyving that, for the Kinges honour, he must nedes have here; and what thinges he might practise in cummyng thoroughe, to the detryment of His Majestie, and his realme; whom the Counsail thinkethe it shuld not be mete for His Graces honour, he being soo meane a King, and soo certain and auncient an enemye to him, and his realme, to put in to the glory, courage, and furtherance to his purpose, that percase he maye gather by the same.

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1 No Parliament was held in 1537; but, according to Rapin, the King professed an intention of holding one at York, for the purpose of appeasing the Rebels in the North.

2 Queen Jane Seymour seems never to have been crowned.

Item,

Item, it must specially be remembred, that where thinges be out of France, bothe touching religion, and diverse other matiers, whiche His Grace, and his hole Counsail, dothe labour and study to establishe in quiet and unytie, if His Grace woll graunt this request of their passage, all thinges here in contentacion must be, in maner, let alone without determynacion; and that thing folowed for their receyving, whiche many wayes after maye bring furthe repentance.

LXXXI. King Henry VIII. *to* The Duke of Norfolk.[1]

Right trusty and right entierly beloved Cousin, We grete you well. Lating you witt, that We have aswell receyved your letters of the 16th of this monethe, declaring the newe assemblie made in Westmerlande, with your prudent determination for the repression of the same, as your other letters of the 17th of the same instaunt, sent unto Us by our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir Rauf Euers, Knight, declaring the valiaunt and feithfull hart and courage of our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir Christofer Dacres, Knight, and his most thankfull and acceptable service doon unto Us, in the overthrowe of the traitours and rebelles of the said assemble, whiche also made an assaulte upon our citie of Carlisle; with the good service doon, also, unto Us, in the chace of the same, by Thomas Clifford; and semblably the perfite aredines, greate forwardnes, and herty good wylles, of all the nobles, gentlemen, and honest men of our countie of Yorke, and of all other quarters in those parties, to have served Us in your cumpany, for the repression of the same rebelles (if they had taried togithers, tyll you might have com to them); with your determination for the punishment of that attemptate in suche sorte, as all others shall have cause to beware by thexample therof. For answere wherunto you shall understand, that in your ernest settyng forward for the repression of the said traitours, and the semblable folowing of the same, bothe with your owne spedy preparations, and by your ernest and harty letters written to our said servaunt, Sir Christopher Dacres, you have doon unto Us suche thankfull and acceptable service, as We shall never putte in oblivion; but in suche wise remembre the same towardes you, as you shall have good cause to rejoyce of your doing in that behaulf. And suerly it is moche to

[1] From a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House, $\frac{A\ 6}{1}$.

our contentation to here and understande, by the relation and advertisement of sundry of our servauntes, and good subgiettes of those parties, bothe how ernestly you doo advaunce the truthe, and declare, on thother parte, the greate usurpation of the Bisshops of Rome in this realme; and also howe discretely, plainly, and truly you painte and setforth those personnes, that call them selfes religious, in the colours of their hypocrisie; that the ignoraunt people may perceyve, howe they have been abused in them, and the rather leave the supersticions, in to the whiche they have, of long tyme, trayned them; and We doubt not, but the further you shall wade in thinvestigation of their behaviours, the more ye shall deteste the greate nombre of them; and the lesse esteme the punishment of suche, as you shall fynde, in wyll or deade, culpable in thinges, that may towche Us, or the commen quyet of our realme.

Secunde, We desire and pray you, on our behalf, to give our moost harty thankes to all our good and feithfull servauntes and subgiettes, that were ready to have served Us under you, at this tyme; assuring them, that We doo not only accepte and take their good endevours therin, for a perfite amendes for all folyes and negligences passed before the graunte unto them of our pardon; but also that, in all their reasonable causes and pursutes, We shall soo remembre their service, in this mater, as shalbe to all their rejoyses and comfortes. And as concerning our faithfull servaunt, Sir Christofer Dacres, as We have given unto him our moost harty thankes, by our letters which you shall receyve herwith, so We shall not fayle, within brief tyme, soo in our dedes to recompence his feithfull harte and service, whiche he hathe, in this entreprise, manifestly declared, that other true hartes shal take courage therby, in semblable thinges, to folowe his steppes, and good exemple.

Thirde, We doo ryght well approve and allowe your procedinges in the displayng of our Baner. And forasmoche as the same is now spredde and displayed, by reason wherof, tyll the same shalbe closed again, the cours of our lawes must geve place to thordenaunces and estatutes marciall; our pleasure is, that, before you shall close upp our said Baner again, you shal, in any wise, cause suche dredfull execution to be doon upon a good nombre of thinhabitauntes of every towne, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, aswell by the hanging of them uppe in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heddes and quarters in every towne, greate and small, and in al suche other places, as they may be a ferefull spectacle to all other herafter, that wold practise any like mater: whiche We requyre you to doo, without pitie or respecte, according to our former

former letters; remembring that it shalbe moche better, that these traitours shulde perishe in their wilfull, unkynde, and traitorous folyes, thenne that so slendre punishment shuld be doon upon them, as the dredde therof shuld not be a warning to others: wherof shall ensue the preservation of a greate multitude; whiche, if the terrour of this execution shuld not lye in the eye of their remembraunce, might percase, upon light rumours, tales, and suggestions of evyll personnes, fall into the pytte of like mischief. And when you shall have doon suche execution, as is before specified, then We be content, that, upon your discretion, ye shall close uppe our said Baner; both for thadvauncement of ordinary justice, betwen partie and partie, and for the due punishment of other malefactours, according to thordre of our lawes: for whiche purpose We have, also, herwith sent unto you the commissions for Westmerland and Cumbreland, to be putt in execution and experience, when you shall see cause, and thinke mete.

Fourth, our pleasure is, that you shall, with diligence, sende uppe, in perfite suretie, unto Us, the traitours, Bygode, the Fryer of Gnasborough, Leche, if he may be taken, the Vicare of Penrithe, and Towneley, late Chauncelour to the Bisshop of Carlisle, who hath been a greate promoter and procurer of all thise rebellions, and oon Doctour Pykering, a Chanon of Birdlington, or as many of them, immediately, as you have, or can gette, and the rest aftre, as they may be apprehended.

Sixte[1], We desire and praye you to have good respecte to the conservation of the landes and goodes of all suche, as shalbe now atteynted; that We may have them in sauftie, to be yeven, if We shalbe so disposed, to suche personnes, as have truely served Us; for We be enfourmed, that there were amonges them diverse freeholders and riche men, whose landes and goodes, well loked unto, woll rewarde other well, that with their truthes have deserved the same; not doubting, but you have alredy putte suche ordre for this poynte, as shall apperteyn.

Finally, forasmoche as all thise troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of those parties; We desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye[2], Hexam[3], Newminster[4], Leonerde Coste[5], Saincte Agathe[6], and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistence, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens thappointement at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or

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[1] There is no fifth article in the original.
[2] Sawley Abbey, in Craven, in the West Riding.
[3] Hexham Abbey, in Northumberland.
[4] Newminster Abbey, in the same County.
[5] Lanercost Priory, in Cumberland.
[6] The Abbey of St. Agatha, at Richmond, in Yorkshire.

 circumstance,

circumstance, nowe that our Baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in any wise faultie, to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple of others; wherin We thinke you shall doo unto Us highe service.

LXXXII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Earl of Sussex and Others.[1]

Right trusty and right welbiloved Cousins, and trusty and welbiloved, We grete you well. And have received your letters the 11th daye of this monethe, by the contynue wherof We doo right well perceyve the greate dexteritie, circumspection, and diligence, whiche youe have used, aswel in the receyving of the submission of our good subgiettes of those parties, as in the punishment of suche personnes, as being themselfes inwardly corrupted, labored and travailed sundry wayes, most traitorously, howe to infecte others; bothe by the sowing of sedition and devisyon amonges our people, and by the mayntenaunce and receipting of suche traitours, as contynuelly devised uppon the same: for the whiche We give unto you our right harty thankes, assuring you that you have therin proceded moche to our contentation. And wheras uppon thexecution of thAbbot of Whalley, ye have taken ordre for the good direction of the house, and the sauf keping of the goodes, without embeselement, til further knowleage of our pleasure; approving moche your good forsight therof, We have thought convenient to signifie unto you, that, forasmoche as it apperethe that the house of Whalley[2] hathe been so sore corrupt, amonges other, that it shuld seme there remaynethe very fewe therin, that were mete to remayn, and contynue in suche an incorporation, We thinke it shalbe mete that some ordre be taken for the remotion of the monkes, nowe being in the same, and that We shuld take the hole house in to our oune handes; as by our lawes We be justely, by thattaindour of the said late Abbot, entiteled unto it; and soo devise for suche a newe establishement therof, as shalbe thought mete for thonour of God, our suretye, and the benefite of the cuntrey. Wherfor our pleasure is, that you shall, with good dexteritie, laye unto the charges of all the monkes there, their grevous offences towardes Us, and our commune wealthe, and therwith assaye their myndes, whither they will conforme themselfes gladly, for the redubbing of their former trespaces,

[1] From a Paper, written by Wriothesley, in a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House, indorsed "The mynute of the l'res to my Lord of Sussex, 17 Marcij." [2] In Lancashire.

to

to goo to other houses of their cote, where they shalbe wel entreated; or elles, wither they woll rather take capacities, and soo receyve seculer habite. Albeit We require you soo to move them to entre in to other houses, that they may chuse the same; for We thinke it cannot be holsom for our comen wealthe to permyt them to wander abrode; and, therfore, We require you to frame them to that pointe, that they maye entre in to other places, as is aforesaid; wherin you shall do unto Us good service; desiring you to advertise Us of this matier with all diligence. As touching thordre of the house, in the meane tyme, We desire and pray you to have special regarde that no thing be embeseled, and to lye in a good awayte of the monkes, that they conspire not to the brewing of any inconvenience. Concernyng thold man, whom you wrote you have respited, uppon the lamentation he made at the barre, and thallegation of his service, thries hertofor against the Scottes and otherwise, doon unto us; albeit We cannot but take your steye of him in good parte, yet, considering he hathe soo often receyved our wages, and wold, nevertheles, at the last, be thus corrupted against Us, We thinke him for an example more worthye to suffer, thenne the rest, that befor had non experience of our Princely puissance, ne had receyved any benefite of Us; and soo remytt him unto you to be executed, according to his judgement given for his offences commytted against Us.

LXXXIII. King Henry VIII. *to* The Earl of Sussex and Others.[1]

Right trusty and right welbiloved Cousins, and trusty and welbiloved, We grete you wel. Lating you wit, that having receyved your sundrye letters, We doo right well perceyve, by the contentes of the same, your circumspecte procedinges, and diligent endevours in the trial out of our traitours and rebelles of those parties, and the trayning of the rest of our affaires there to suche frame as maye be to our satisfaction; for the whiche We geve unto youe our moost harty thankes. And to make unto youe particuler answers to the particuler pointes of your said letters; first, forasmoche as by suche examynations as you have sent unto Us, it apperethe that thAbbot of Furnes [2], and diverse of his monkes, have not been of that truthe towardes Us, that to ther dieuties apperteyned, We desire and pray youe, with al the dexteritie you

[1] From a Minute, in the handwriting of Paget, in the Harleian Collection, No. 283, leaf 76, indorsed, "24 March, 28 Hen. viij." [2] Furnes, in the North of Lancashire.

canne

canne, to devise and excogitate to use al the meanes to you possible, to enserche and trye oute the veray truth of their procedinges, and with whom they, or any of them, have had any intelligence; for We thinke veraylie, that youe shall fynde therby suche matier, as shall shewe the light of many thinges yet unknowen. And our pleasure is, that youe shall, uppon a further examynation, commytt the said Abbot, and suche of his monkes as you shall suspecte to have been offendours, to warde; there to remayn, tyll youe shall, uppon the signification unto Us of suche other thinges, as by your wisedom you shall trye out, knowe further of our pleasure.

Seconde, We sende unto youe, herwith, certain letters, according to your desire, for the bestowing of the monkes in other monasteries; with 3 or 4 blankes, to be directed to suche other houses as youe shall thinke mete, aswel for that We thinke some of the houses, mentioned in your bill of their names, be not wel hable to receyve the nomber set apon them, as for that the house of Gervayse[1] is in some daungier of suppression, by like offence as hath been commytted [*at*] Whalley. Neverthelesse We thinke necessary, that you shal not only duely examyn them all, befor youe shall dismisse any of that sorte, that shall goo to other houses, but also that youe shall retayne John Estgate, who wold goo to Methe, tyll We may perceyve the cause, whye he shuld desyre to goo more to that place, thenne to any other. And as touching the rest that desire capacities, if youe shall thinke them men mete to be suffred to goo abrode, We be content you shall give them their bedding and chamber stuff, with suche money as you shall by your wisedomes, thinke mete; the capacities for whom We shall sende unto you, by the next messanger.

Thirde, wheras you have sent unto Us the copie of the letter written from our Cousin of Norfolk to the Lord Darcye, aftre his first departure from Dancaster, whiche you founde in the Vicar of Blackeburnes chamber; forasmoche as by the same it apperethe, that there hathe bene greate intelligence amonges such personnes, as were of that naughty inclination, entent, and conspiracye, We desire and praye youe, aswell by the straite examynation of the said Vicar, as by all other meanes that you canne possibly devise, seriously to enserche, howe the said copie was conveyed thither, who was the messanger, who was of counsail, and howe many letters or writinges of that sorte, or any other, were, in that tyme, conveyed in to those parties, to whom, from whom, and of what effecte; for in the ernest folowing of this matier, you maye doo unto Us as highe and as acceptable service, as canne be devised.

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[1] Jervaux Abbey, in the West Riding.

Finally,

Finally, We desire and pray youe to sende uppe in sauftie unto Us Richard Estgate, late monke of Salleye. Our servaunt, Sir Arthur Darcy, hathe writen, that he doubtethe not to declare suche matier against him, at his repair unto Us, as shall conveye some thinges to our knowleage, whiche, for our affaires, shalbe very necessary to be knowen.

Whiche thinges being ones conduced to some perfection, We shal signifie our pleasure unto you, touching the returne of youe, our Cousin of Sussex, to our presence.

LXXXIV. The opynyon of certen of the Busshoppes and Clergie of this Realme, subscribed w^t^ their handes, touching the Generall Counsaile.[1]

For the Generall Counsaill.

Though that, in the olde tyme, when the Empyre of Rome had his ample dominion over the moost parte of the worlde, the first foure Generall Counsailles, whiche, at all tymes, have ben of mooste estimation in the Churche of Christe, were called and gathered by the Emperours commandement, and for a godly entent, that heresies myght be extincte, scismes put awaye, good ordre and maners in the ministers of the Churche, and the people of the same, establysshed; lyke as many Counsailes more wer called, till now of late, by the necgligence, aswell of the Emperour, as other Princes, the Busshop of Rome hath ben suffered to usurpe this power: yet now, forsomoche that the Empire of Rome, and the monarchie of the same, hath no suche generall dominion, but many Princes have absolute power in thair awn realmes, and an hole and entire monarchie, no one Prince may, by his aucthoritie, call any Generall Counsaile; but if that any one or moo of theise Princes, for the establisshing of the faith, for the extirpation of scismes, &c. lovingly, charitably, with a good syncere intente, to a sure place, require any other Prince, or the reste of the great Princes, to be content to aggre, that for the wealthe, quyetnes, and tranquillitie of all christen people, by his or ther fre consent, a Generall Counsaile myght be assembled; that Prince, or those Princes, so required, ar bounde by order of charitie, for the good fruite, that may come of it, to condescende and aggree therunto, having no lawfull

[1] There is no date to this Paper; but as it must have been signed after John Hilsey became Bishop of Rochester, in Oct. 1535, and before his death, in 1538, and as the Pope summoned a Council to be held at Mantua in May 1537, it must have reference to that Council, to which Henry VIII. apprehended that the Emperor and the King of France would accede: as appears by a letter from Fitzwilliam to Crumwell, in the Chapter House.

impediment,

impediment, nor juste cause to the contrary. The cheif causes of the Generall Counsailles ar before expressid.

In all the auncyent Counsailles of the Churche, in matiers of the Faith and interpretacion of Scripture, no man made diffinitive subscription, but busshopes and preistes; for somoche as the declaration of the Wourde of Godde perteignyth unto them.

The wordes of John, in his 20 chapter, " Sicut misit me Pater, et " ego mitto vos", &c. hath no respecte to a Kynges or a Princes power, but onely to shewe, how that the ministers of the Worde of God, chosyn and sent for that intente, are the messengirs of Christ, to teache the trueth of his Gospell, and to lowse and bynde synne &c, as Christ was the messinger of his Father. The wordes, also, of Saynct Paule, in the 20 chapter of the Actes, " Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit " Episcopos, regere Ecclesiam Dei", were spokyn to the bushopes and prestes to be diligent pastores of the people, both to teache them diligently, and also to be circumspecte, that false preachers shuld not seduce the people; as followyth immedyatly after, in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highnesse and excellencye of Christen Princes aucthoritye and power; the which of a trueth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, aswell busshoppes and prestes, as other. The busshopes and prestes have charge of sowles within ther owne cures, powre to ministre Sacraments, and to teache the Worde of God, to the which Worde of God Christen Princes knowledge them selfe subjecte. And in case the busshoppes be negligent, it is the Christen Princes office to se theym do ther dutie.

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'.
(*Signed*) JOANNES LONDON'.
(*Signed*) CUTHBERTUS DUNELMẼS'.
(*Signed*) JO. BATWELLẼS'.
(*Signed*) THOMAS ELIEN'.
(*Signed*) JOH̃ES BANGO?.
(*Signed*) NICOLAUS SARISBURIEN'.
(*Signed*) HUGO WYGORN'.
(*Signed*) JOANNES ROFFENS'.
(*Signed*) WILELMUS ABBAS MÕSTERIJ SC̃I BN̄DICTI.
(*Signed*) ROBERTUS ALDRYDGE.[1]
(*Signed*) RICARDUS COREN.[2]
(*Signed*) EDOARDUS LEYGHTON.[3]

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[1] Canon of Windsor, and Provost of Eton.
[2] Archdeacon of Oxford and Colchester.
[3] Archdeacon of Sarum.

LXXXV. The matiers treated in Counsaill, at Westminster, the 3de daye of April, anno 28°.[1]

First, that letters shuld be incontynently dispeched to the Deputie of Calayes, to see the towne vitailled, and put in suche ordre for defence, as the same may be in suretie against all sodayn entreprises, that might be attempted against the same; and like letters to be sent to the Lieutenaunt of Guisnez, for the castle there.

Item, an ordre to be taken for the sureties of the townes of Carlisle and Berwyck, and for the spedye vitailling of the same.

Item, to note specially the state of the world, and therwithal the state of the Kinges affayres; and standing the cace, as it dothe, betwene thEmperour and the Frenche King, with the practises of the Bisshop of Rome, to bring them to an unytie for his oune purpose, chiefly, as it is to be thought, against us, to devise soo that His Majestie maye, without delaye, retayn at the least oon freende, that he may be the bettre hable to withstande the malice of his enemyes, and soo to preserve his realme in perfite quiet; whiche thing it is thought may be conduced by thise meanes ensuying.

First, wheras his Highnes hath two doughters (thoughe not laufull, yet Kinges doughters), considering that all amyties arre communely concluded either uppon the franknes of the parties, and the entier love that sumtyme chauncethe to be betwene Prince and Prince, or uppon conjunctions and alliaunces in bloodde and consanguinitie; it is thought necessary, that thise two doughters shuld be made of somme estimation, without the whiche no man will have any greate respecte or desire unto them. And forasmoche as thone of them is of more age thenne thother, and more apte therby to make a present alliance, thenne thother, for want of age, is; if it might please the Kinges Highnes to declare her according to his lawes, whiche to her estimation is thought wolbe a greate thing, or elles otherwise to advaunce her to some certain living, decent for suche an estate; it

[1] This Paper is in the handwriting of Paget (British Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 489). The same Volume, leaf 481, contains his memorandum of "Things *to be* treated of in Council" on the same day (part of which is printed by Mr. Ellis, in his Second Series of "Original Letters", Vol. 2. p. 123); but the two papers differ materially, particularly in respect to the passage containing the allusion to the state of the world, and that which commences with the Queen's pregnancy, neither of which is found in the prospective memorandum. The Privy Council Register does not commence till above three years after this period.

is thought the same wold bring her to that reputation, that the more sute wold be made for her, and that, percace, with some acceleration: and thenne a like direction to be taken for my Lady Elisabeth. Wherby as His Grace, with the oon, may provide him of a present freende, soo, having thother in store, and in that estimation that is declared, His Highnes may, with her also, at his pleasure, provide him of an other freende heraftre, as the state of his affaires, and the tyme shal thenne require. For we thinke that the only showte anker, that the Frenche King hathe, is to compasse a mariage betwene the Duke of Orleance, and the Duchesse of Millain; who, in estate, were not to be compared to any of the Kinges doughters, the deprivation of her father from his kingdom considered, if she wanted that endowment of Millain, whiche the Frenche King thinkethe, by that meane, to get in to his handes. And if that shuld chaunce, thenne, of lightlywood, thEmperour and the Frenche King shuld, by the Bisshop of Romes mediation, soo joyne togither, that, as the Kinges Highnes shuld be bareyne of freendes on all sides, soo, thoughe he wolde thenne put his doughters in suche estimation as is specefied, there shalbe no Prince of honour left, to desire His Graces amytie, by the meane of either of the same.

And albeit we doo all trust in God, that the Quenes Grace is nowe pregnant, and shall bring furthe many faire childern, to the consolation and comforte of the Kinges Majestie, and of his hole realme, yet we thinke the devise befor mentioned shuld be necessary, aswel for the causes specefied, and therwith to provide the said doughters of suche endowmentes, as for His Graces doughters, thoughe not his laufull doughters, were expedient; as to take awaye the remayndre hanging uppon the King of Scottes, and the hope whiche percace he hathe of the same: the suspence wherof might bothe give him courage dailly to practise to that ende and purpose, and move other lewde personnes, if there shuld be any suche, uppon like trust to repair unto him; who, by the execution of this matier, shalbe utterly desciphered, for that he shall see his hope utterly frustrated in the same; whose alliaunce with Fraunce is, in this matier, moche to be considered, for that he may be from thens furnished with money for any suche entreprise.

Item, that all the Kinges navye may be, out of hande, put in suche ordre, as it may be ready to doo His Grace present service, if the cace shuld soo require.

Item, that an ordre may be taken, that no man be suffred to remayn in the commissions of the peax, but suche as be men of worship and wisedome, mete for the same.

Item,

Item, that letters be writen to all the Justices of the Peax of all parties, to have vigilant regarde to all the parties aboute them, specially for thapprehension of sedicious personnes; and that certain noble men maye, for a tyme, reside in their cuntreys.

LXXXVI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF NORFOLK[1].

By the King.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete you well. And have receyved your sundry letters, and likewise seen your other letters, aswel writen to the Lordes of our Counsail, nowe attendant uppon Us, as to our right trusty and welbiloved Counsailour, the Lorde Privye Seale; by the contentes wherof, as We doo well perceyve, that you doo desire nothing more, thenne to serve Us in suche wise, as may be to our contentation, and to thestablishment of the quiet of our realme, soo for the same We give unto you our most harty thankes. And to answer to the particularities of your said letters; first, you shall undrestande that, God willing, We purpose to directe our progresse for this yere to our Citie of Yorke, and at our cummyng in to those parties, according to your advise, to give our generall pardon to all suche personnes, as you, and the rest of our Counsail, shall not thinke mete to be exempted and forprised, for their offences commytted sithens the publication of the pardonne, graunted for the late rebellion, whiche We woll in no wise violate, as you maye declare to all our subgiettes there; exhorting them to use themselfes, in the meane season, in suche faithfull and loyal sorte towardes Us, as We maye have cause to extende that mercye unto them, that We have determyned. For you maye for truthe ascerteyn them all, that We have neither billed any suche nomber of personnes as you wrote, ne purpose to call uppe any oon personne, more thenne We have sent for already, onles the same have soo contynued his treason, sithe our said pardon, as no true subgiet wold not be content with his or their punishment for the same.

Seconde, We have caused ordre to be taken for the payment of suche money, as youe have defrayed, bothe for your preparations towardes Carlisle,

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[1] From a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House $\frac{A\ 6}{1}$. This Minute is written by Wriothesley, and has the date "2 May 1537" indorsed.

at the tyme of the late commotion there, and for suche other thinges as, by your boke therof, it appereth you have laid out, sithens your cummyng in to those parties. Albeit, to be plain with you, We thinke that diverse of the gentlemen, whose names be conteyned in your said boke, with the sommes of money paid unto them, at that tyme, might wel have served Us bettre chepe, for somme parte of a recompence of their former offences.

Thirdely, We doo accept in good parte the declaration of your opinion for the Marches. Nevertheles, we doubt not but youe woll bothe conforme your oune mynde, to fynde out the good of that ordre, whiche We have therin determyned, and cause other, by your good meane, to perceyve the same. For surely We woll not be bounde, of a necessitie, to be served there with Lordes, but We wolbe served with suche men, what degree soever they be of, as We shall appointe to the same; and he that woll not bothe serve Us hartely and faithfully, undre any capitayn that We shall appointe unto him, and likewise cause others, as moche as in him is, to doo the same, he is not worthy to be reputed as our good subgiet; ne any brogges or meanes, that any of those borderers, or any other, canne make, shall cause Us to altre that, whiche We have established uppon soo good groundes, as neither you, by any reason yet writen, nor no oon man of those parties, canne yet presently here improve our doing therin, but be forced and constrayned, by reason, to approve and allowe the same.

Fourthly, you shall undrestande, that We have taken ordre for the vitailling of Berwyk and Carlisle, and for suche other thinges to be doon there, in cace of nede, as the tyme will permytt and suffre in suche cace; desiring you to have an eye, by some meane, unto them, that We may the bettre knowe what is doon in that behaulf. And wheras you write of a rode made in to Tyndale, by the Scottes of Liddersdale, We doubt not, but uppon your letters already directed to the Lord Maxwell, you shall have redresse for the same; willing you tadvertise Us, howe he shall therin procede with youe accordingly.

LXXXVII. The Duke of Norfolk *to* Bishop Gardyner and Sir F. Bryan.[1]

With my most herty recommendacions, and like thankes for your paynes taken in wryting to me of your newes. This shalbe to advertise you, that, of late, I have receyved 2 letters fro you, signed with both your handes, praying God to send you so well to spede ther, that we may sit in rest, without taking part with any off the 2 gret Princes, being in war. As to newes here, the Kyng of Skottes passed by this coste, on Tuysday[2], at nyght, last past. I pray God he kepe better pease with us, then many of his light subjectes wold he dyd. For, to be playne to you, if we shuld have besynes with hym, I am more then half afraid, that I shuld not get hens so sone, as I am in trust now to do; for I am promysed to remayne no lenger here than Mychelmas, and not so long, if the Kynges Highnes come in to these parties, as he hath wryton to me he woll do.

This countre, thanked be God, is, I think, at this houre, in as gode obedience, as any part of the realme, and off suche sort, that of late, at my commyng hither, I had not thoght possible it shuld, of long tyme, have be broght to so gode pas. Ther was mervelous spoyles at the tyme of the insurrection, thorow all these contrees, and devyded in thowsandes of mennys handes; and yet suche restitucion made, that, at this day, ther is very few, that is not agreed with all, and the parties satisfied. It shuld be a very unreosonable thing, that I wold commande to be done here, that shuld not be shortly accomplished in all my Lieutenancy; save onely in Tindale and Redsdale, of whom I have 10 pledges, at Shryfhoton, wiche ly upon their lyves, if their contre men do not well. Fynally, I pray God send us 3, grace meryle to mete this winter at London, and Our Lord send you aswell to do, as I wold wishe myselff. Fro Bridlyngton, the 18 of May.

Yours assewredly,

(*Signed*) T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray good Lorde, my Lord of Winchester, and to my Nephewe, Sir Frauncis Bryan, Knight, and to eyther of them.

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[1] From the Chapter-House, Miscellaneous Letters, temp. H. VIII. Vol. 1. leaf 94. Holograph.
[2] May 15. The King of Scots was on his voyage from France to Scotland.

LXXXVIII. BONER *to* CRUMWELL. [1]

MY moost singuler especiall good Lord. After my right humble commendations. I was, according to Your good Lordeshippes commandement, this after noone to have knowen your pleasure, and also (after your pleasure knowen, towching the boke yesterday delyvered to your handes, wherein surelye what soo ever be the opinion of some men, yet hertelie to speke to your Lordship, my opinion is, that diverse other, havyng declared their opinion towching the indiction of the Councell, it shuld not be all of the best taken, that the Kinges Highnes shuld be still, nothing speking or doyng in that behalf, especiallie havyng libertie to adde and withdrawe at His Graces pleasure) to have been an humble suter concernyng certeyn petitions towching my departure [2], declared to me, of late, by your good Lordeship; whiche I forbare to doo, beyng enformed that your Lordeship was greatlie occupied and trowbled otherwise. Nevertheles (my good Lord) I shall now beseche you, that I may have, at this present tyme, by your meanes, and off your especiall goodnes, that furtherance, whiche shalbe seen to your great wisedom; and amonges other, that I may have (during myn abode) some copie of thoos traities, leages, and conclusions, heretofore made, beyng now materiall for my better arredynes and enformation: secondarilie, to have, afor hande, in preste, money to make convenient preparation: and thirdelie, to have of the Kinges Highnes (as shalbe seen to your good Lordeship) some plate, to fornyshe my povertie. Committing yet this, and all the rest, with my self also, to the goodnes of your good Lordeship, whom Almightie God longe preserve in helthe, with encrease of honour. This Friday, 1° Junij.

Your Lordeshippes moost bounden
and fast assured Bedisman and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) EDMÕD BONER, Preist.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and my moost singuler especiall good Lorde, my Lord Privey Seale.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

[2] Boner was, at this time, sent on a special Mission into Spain, together with Dr Simon Heynes, to co-operate with Sir Thomas Wiat, the Ambassador Resident, in dissuading the Emperor from assenting to the General Council, noticed in p. 543., which was adjourned from Mantua to Vicenza. Lord Herbert (p. 497.) has erroneously placed, at this period, Boner's transfer from Spain to France, which did not take place till 1538.

LXXXIX. King Henry VIII. *to* The Duke of Norfolk.[1]

Right trusty and right entierly beloved Cousin, We grete you well. And have aswell receyved your letters of the second of this moneth, as seen your sundry letters addressed to our trusty and right welbiloved Counseillour, the Lord Privie Seale, the contynues wherof do well declare bothe your discrete proceding in all our affaires there, and your joyefull and loyal hert, expressed upon the newes of the quyckenyng of our most dere and most entierely beloved wiff, the Quene; for the wich, as We doo geve unto you our most herty thankes, soo ye may be well assured that We shall reteyne the premisses, in suche wise, in our good remembrance, as bothe for your estimation in our hert, and otherwise, the same shal redounde moche to your comforte.

And wheras your desire is, to knowe our pleasure, howe We wold be receyved, and what nombres of men shuld repayre from all parties of that countrey, to attende upon Us; upon the arrivaill of your letters, conteynyng that request, for the knowlege of our pleasure in that behalf, calling to our remembraunce, the present state of the thinges, and with our Counseill debating the same, We have, for sundry skylles, thought it more convenyent to protracte and differre our journey in to those parties, tyll an other yere, then to perfourme it, according to our fourmer determination.

The first grounde and cause, that moveth Us, and in maner enforceth, to breke our appoinctement therin, is, for that the Emperour, having lately sent hither a noble man, to make certain overtures unto Us touching maters of highe consequence, the good conclusion wherof shuld be for the publike weale and benefite of all Christendom, hath also determyned, as his Ambassadour hath related unto Us, to sende hither, with convenyent spede, for the more certayn, parfite, and special entreatie of such maters as bee nowe generally proponed, two other personages of grete honour; at whose arryvaill, it shalbe veray expedient and necessary, that We shuld be in thise parties, aswell for their more honorable entretaynement, which shalbe requisite to be of the beste sorte, bothe for our honour, and the honour of this our Realme, as for the better furtheraunce and spedy conclusion of suche matiers, as have been alredy proponed, and shalbe then thoroughly entreated bitwene Us.

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[1] From a Minute, corrected by Wriothesley, and indorsed "12 June 1537," in a Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House, $\frac{A\ 6.}{1}$

A seconde

A seconde cause is, for that being our said most deare and most entierely beloved wiff, the Quene, nowe qwyck with child, for the which We geve most humble thankes to Almyghty God, albeit she is, in every condition, of that loving inclination, and reverend conformitie, that she can in all thinges well contente, satisfie, and quiete her self with that thing, which We shal thinke expedient and determyne; yet counsydering that, being a woman, upon som sodeyn and displeasaunt rumours and brutes, that myght by folishe or light persons be blown a brode, in our absence, being specially soo ferre from her, she myght take to her stomack suche impressions, as myght engendre no litel daunger, or displeasure, to that wherewith she is nowe pregnant, which God forbidde; it hath ben thought to Us, and our Counseill, veray necessary, that for avoydyng of all perilles, that myght that waye ensue, We shuld not extende our progresse this yere soo ferre from her; but directe the same to suche place, as shuld not passe 60 miles, or theraboutes, from her, whan We shuld be at the ferthiest; specially she being, as it is thought, further goon, by a monethe or more, thenne she thought herself, at the perfite quickenyng. Which counseill, therfor, remembring what dependith upon the prosperite of that mater, We thinke not amysse to folowe, both for our owne quyet, and for the common welth of our hole realme; being the thing of that qualitie, as every good Englishman woll thinke hym self to have a parte in the same.

A thyrde cause, that moveth Us somwhat to contynue our demore in thise parties, for this yere, and not to procede in our intended journey, is, for that thEmperour, and the Frenshe King, bee nowe bothe in armys, and have, on eyther part, grete nombres of men of warr upon the frontieres of our Marches of Calays. And albeit that We have furnished our towne of Calays and castel of Guynes, with all other places of force, on that syde, in suche sorte, as, God being Our good Lorde, as We truste He is, and wilbe, against all suche as wold attempt any thing agenst Us, We doubte not, but our thinges there be in suche strenght and force, with the furnyture of all thinges convenyent for their suretie and defense agenst all men, that wold attempte any thing agenst them: yet knowing the nature of men of werre, whiche be desyrouse bothe of spoyle and glorye, and considering that our being in the remote partes of our realme, myght geve them som corage to make som entreprise, upon hoope to doo som exployte, bifore We could, being soo ferre of, sende any succour in to those parties; whiche (thoughe non other hurte shuld ensue of it) myght bothe trouble our good servauntes and subjectes there, whom We tendre, as We do all the rest of our subjectes, as the membres of our bodye, and put Us to gret charges, and our subjectes here

here in grete disquyet, in preparations to be made against them, they being ever at avantage to slippe awaye, whan they shuld perceyve any force to be in a redynes agenst them; which daunger of inconvenience, though there is no grete likelyhod of the same, specially for that We be in leage and amytie with bothe Princes, wilbe certaynly avoyded by our contynuaunce here, in thise parties, being soo nere unto them, as they can not almost loke towardes any suche thing, but We be in a perfite a redynes to empesche their purpose in the same, to their displeasure that wold attempte any suche matier: yet We have thought good to joyne this, alsoo, as a pece of a cause requyryng our demore heraboutes, and the rather to determyne and resolve to differre our journey, tyll an other yere, as is bifore specified.

A fourth cause is, that We consydere that, sithens the begynnyng of our Regne, We have not visited those North parties of our Realme; and if We shuld kepe our purposed journey, being the yere soo ferre spent, and the countrey so devasted, which made Us, of necessitie, to staye soo long, neither shuld We tarye any convenyent tyme in any place, ne passe our Citie of Yorke; by reason wherof, neither shuld our people of those North parties have any fruicion of our presence, ne We shuld have any tyme to peruse our frontieres, or to see our townes joynyng upon the same; which, also, made Us, upon thother groundes bifore specified, to steye the mor willingly; beyng mynded, God willing, and no great occasions ensuyng to the lett and empechement of our purpose therin, the next yer not onely to visite our said Citie of Yorke, but also Hull, Caerlisle, Newcastell, Duresme, Berwick, with all the most part of the notable townes in those parties.

Upon whiche groundes, having, as is aforesaid, resolved to put of our progresse thither for this yere, and calling to our remembraunce your prudent consyderations, signified unto us by Maunsell, whan ye desired to knowe our resolute mynde touching our intended journey in to those parties, bothe for a pardon to be elles graunted, to put the people out of fear, and for the steye of suche provisions as they mynded to make for the better furnyture of our trayne, in cace they shuld not knowe, but We shuld repaire thether; like as ye shal understand, that We have certainely determyned, with all convenyent spede and celerite, to sende down a personage of honour, with our saide pardon, according to your advice and conseill, who shal, with diligence, reasorte thither to you with the same: soo, aswell to thentent the people maye entre some hope, as that they may, in tyme, steye in their said preparations, our pleasure is, that, upon the receipt herof, ye shal, in Yorke, and also in all suche good townes there, as wherunto, withoute your grete incommoditie or disease, ye may travaile, not onely declare and signifie, by your owne mouth, the causes bifore specified of our not repaire thither,

for this yere, causing others of our Counseill with you, to doo the same, in the meaner townes aboute the countreye; but also, that you, and the rest, having, by your appoinctement, like charge, shal therwith intymate and expressely declare unto them, that We have resolved, with diligence, to sende downe a personage of honour, and of our Privy Counsail, with a general pardon for all their former offences, which shal to your handes delyver it, and, at lenght, signifie our clemencye unto them. Like as We desyr and pray you, sumwhat to extende the same, at the publication of thise maters; expressing that We, having no maner of doubte, but they will from hensfurth remayn our true, feithfull, and loyall subjectes, have resolved clerely to putt all their unkyndnes towardes Us, oute of our hart, and have them, in all thinges heraftre, no lesse dere, then they shuld have been, if they had never offended; as our said Counsailour, at his repair, shal further declare unto them.

Nowe touching your sute for your retourne; albeit your wisedom and circumspection is suche, as We think We shal hardely devise to be soo well served ther, as We myght be assured to be by your countynuaunce in those parties, yet, mynding to graunte your desire, for your better quyete, satisfaction, and the recoverye of your helth, which We doo more tender and regarde, then We can almost expresse; Wee doo purpose shortly to revoke you, and to establishe a standing Counseill[1] ther, for the conservation of those countreyes in quiete, and thadministration of commen justice: whiche, being ones sett in a frame, We shal incontinently call you unto Us, according to your owne desir; trusting that, in the meane season, the tyme nowe being veray shorte, ye will no lesse gladly take payne there, to serve Us, then ye have alredy don, to our honour and parfite contentation, and to the grete encreace of your owne honour and estimation with Us; requiring you to advertise Us, by your next letters, of your advice touching the said Counseill, and what persones ye thinke mete for the same; and also, after what disposition, and of what inclination ye fynde the countree there.

Finally, you shall undrestande, that uppon the arryvall here of Thomas Strangways, We doo not only perceyve that he hath been a most arrant traitour towardes Us, but that he doth bothe manifestly contynue in his treasons; expressing plainly in his worddes the same, laboring to excuse holly the Lord Darcy and Constable, and that with suche an advauncement of the fame of the cuntrey towardes them, as thoughe our subgiettes there doo

[1] This Council was soon afterwards established by a Commission directed to Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham; Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff; Sir William Eure; Sir Thomas Tempest; Sir William Babthorpe; Sir Robert Chaloner; and John Uvedale, Esquire.

moche

moche repyne at their punishmentes ; sayeng also, plainly, that they be more mete to rule there, thenne you be, and moche bettre beloved, thenne you be, amonges the people of those parties. Wherfor, considering that this matier of thinsurrection hathe been attempted there, and thinking that aswell for thexemple, as to see who wold groyne at their execution, it shuld be mete to have them executed at Dancastre, and theraboutes ; mynding, uppon their sufferance, to knyt uppe this tragedy, We thinke it shuld not be amysse that We shuld sende the said Darcy, Constable, and Aske[1] downe for that purpose ; requiring you, with diligence, to advertise Us of your opinion in that behaulf. And if youe shall think this our devise good, thenne We require you to put yourself in suche ordre, as, at their cummyng downe, they maye be executed, in suche sorte as shalbe prescribed ; thoughe there shuld be any naughtye hartes, that wold grudge or maligne at the same.

Thus have We declared unto you the causes that have specially moved Us to steye in our entended journey, for this yere ; whiche We require youe to set furth, as is befor expressed, with our determynation uppon the same, for the sending downe of our pardon. Nevertheles, to be franke with you, whiche We desire you in any wise to kepe to yourself, being an humour fallen in to our legges, and our Phisicians therfor advising Us in no wise to take soo farre a jorney, in the hete of the yere, wherby the same might put Us to further trouble and displeasure ; it hathe been thought more expedient that We shuld, uppon that respect only, thoughe the groundes befor specefied had not concurred with it, nowe chaunge our determynation, thenne that We shuld be to precise in that, whiche to Us, and our hole Realme, might aftre ministre some cause of repentance. But this We write to youe, alone, as is aforsaid, and require yourself to retayn it accordingly.

XC. Bishop Fox *to* Crumwell.

My singuler goode Lorde, in thartiest maner I canne, I commende me unto youe. And have receaved your letters of the 17th of this present ; for answer wherunto, it maie like Your Lordeshipp to undrestande, that I shall with all diligence make owt the collation of Moreton[3] for Thomas Soulimont ; and

[1] Lord Darcy was executed on Tower Hill, on the 20th of June ; Constable, at Hull ; Aske, at York ; and Lord Husee, at Lincoln.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle F.

[3] The prebend of Moreton Magna, in the Church of Hereford.

either I shall sende it unto your Lordshipp by the next, or elles I shall deliver it unto his procuratour, whensoever he shall com unto me for the same, according to your request in your saied lettres. And sith it is your Lordships pleasour, that Ogle shall departe thus from his benefices, I beseche your Lordshipp that I maie be a suetour unto youe, not onely for his deliveraunce owt of prison, but also to assigne and appoynte unto hym som litle yerelie pension owt of his said benefices, wherewith he maie susteigne his poore lief in tyme to com. And oneles your Lordshipp shall procede herin by waie of deprivation, (if it shall so stande with your pleasour) it shulde be best, in myn opinion, for thassuraunce of them, that shall succede him in the saied benefices, that the said Ogle shulde first be delivered owt of his imprisonement, and afterwarde make liberam et non coactam resignationem, bifore me, or suche other as your Lordship shall appoynte; and therupon to decree him suche pension owt of either of his benefices, as your Lordshipp shall thinke convenient. I moved your Lordshipp in this mater, at your last being at Stepneth, and then youe promised me, that youe wolde do nothing therin untill our next meting. But forasmuche as I perceave that your Lordshipp is not like to retourne hither, as yet; I hertely praie youe to signifie unto me your pleasour in the premisses, by this berer, whiche I shall folowe accordingly.

And as concerning the finishing of our maters of religion, it maie like your Lordship tundrestande, that, according to my promise made unto youe, I prepared all thinges, and putt them in suche redynes against Tewisdaie last, that if it shulde have pleased your Lordshipp to have been here upon that daie, like as youe purposed at your last being at Stepneth, your Lordshipp shulde have been present, and seen the parfite accomplisshing of all thinges yourself. And surely, if it might so have stande with the Kinge's pleasour and yours, I wolde to God youe had been here with us, for we wanted moche your presence. Albeyt, Sir, we have doon, in your absence, the best we coulde, and have subscribed all our bookes, and shall sende them unto your Lordshipp to morowe. Nowe there wanteth nothing, but certaine notes concerning the Crede, which be alredy made and agreed upon, albeit my man hath not yett perfitely copied them owt. And nowe, if it shall be the Kinge's pleasour to put the same to printing, I beseche your Lordshipp to knowe his pleasour for the prefaces, whiche shalbe putt unto the saied booke, and whither His Hieghnes woll that the booke[1] shall go forthe, in his name, according to suche devise, as I ons

[1] "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man," printed by Berthelet, 1537, and known by the name of "The Bishops' Book." See Strype's Life of Cranmer.

moved

moved unto your Lordshipp, or in the name of the Bisshops; and therupon, if it shall please your Lordship to cawse Master Wriothesley to devise the saied prefaces, and send them hither, I shall be gladd to employe my diligence to the spedie setting forthe thereof, to thuttremoost of my power. I thinke it shall be veray necessarie, that youe geve commaundement unto the printer to com unto me, and to folowe myn advise in the printing thereof, and setting all thinges in thair ordre. And if your Lordship shall thinke it so best, I woll not refuse the paynes to serve the printer, in the rowme of a correctour, untill he shalbe past the worst; and, afterwarde, if it shalbe the Kinge's pleasour, I shall attende upon His Grace, at the Courte, for I assure youe I thinke it a greate while, sith I sawe His Hieghnes. As concerning the protestation, in Laten, immediately uppon the receipt of your saied letters, I sent unto Master Morison to have brought the same unto me. Notwithstanding, worde was brought unto me agayn, that he was goon unto your Lordshipp, and therfore I doubt not, but youe woll dischardge me of your commission in that bihaulf. And fare your Lordshipp hertely well. At London, this Fridaye.

Your Lordeshipps owne assuredly,

(*Signed*) EDWARDE HEREFORDEN':

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and
my veray goode Lorde,
my Lorde Pryvey Seale.

XCI. COREN *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLESE hit Your honorable Lordshyp to take in good part my slak letters, by reason of my absens from my Lord of Norfolk, at thexpedition of the last post; and these shalbe, therfor, tadvertise you of the maner that Aske dyd use, abowt the tyme of his execution, wher I was present, even from the begynnyng to thende, as I was tofor with Sir Robert Constable, whos departur I am suer Thomas Hossy hath declaryd unto your good Lordshyp, in such sort that I nede to travel no further therin. Oon thyng I dyd note in bothe these men, that thei thoght a religion to kepe secret, betwene God and them, certayn thynges, rather than topon ther wholl stomake; from the whych opinion I colde not abduce them with al my endevor. And for the maner that Robert Aske dyd kepe, it may plese your Lordshyp to peruse

[1] From the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9.}{6}$.

thys

thys shedle her inclosyd, wherin I have wrytt all notable saynges apperteynyng unto the same. And thus the Blessed Trinitie longe preserve Your honorable Lordship. At Sherifhoton, the 20ty day of July.

Your Oratour and bounden servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my Lord Crumwell, the Lord Prive Seale.

(*Signed*) Richard Coren.

[Inclosure[1] in the preceding letter.]

The sayng of Robert Aske to me, Richard Coren, owt of confession, tofor his deth.

Furst, he sayd that my Lord Darcy dyd tel hym, that he had spoken with thEmperowres Imbasidour concernyng his purpose, in thys late rebellion, for the causes of the Church, as he sayd; and that the sayd Imbasidour shulde encorage hym unto the same, sayng that he shulde lacke non helpe.

Item, the sayd Aske sath, that my Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and he, war abowt to have senct Doctour Marmaduk to the Cownsell in Flawnders, for ayd and ordinance, to helpe them in tyme of that commotion.

Item, he sayd that my Lord Prive Seale dyd not berre so gret favor to my Lord of Norfolk, as he thoght he dyd; whych thynk I have kepyd secret from my sayd Lord of Norfolk.

Item, whan he shulde be layd on the hurdle to be drawen, he made opon confession that he had grevosely offendyd God, the Kyng, and the worlde. God he had offendyd, in brekyng of his commandementes, many ways; the Kynges Majestie, he sayd, he had gretly offendyd, in brekyng his lawis, wherunto every true suget is bownden by the commandement of God, as he dyd oponly affirme; and the worlde he offendyd, for so mych as he was thoccasion that many on had lost ther lyves, landes, and goodes.

After thys, he declaryd oponly, that the Kynges Highnes was so gratiose Lorde unto all his sugettes, in these parties, that no man shulde be trublet for any offense comprisyd within the cumpas off his gratiose pardon. And,

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[1] There is another inclosure in this letter, giving an account of the monies and goods received by Aske, during the commotion, and not restored by him; which he besought the King to pay to the parties out of his goods, in discharge of his conscience.

with

with this, he was layde down upon the hurdle, and drawen thro the most notable placis of the wholl Citie; desyryng the peple ever, as he passyd by, to pray for hym.

Item, whan he was broght nere the place of execution, and taken off the hurdle, he made a lyke confession ageyn to the peple, and so assendyd up into the dungen, and ther taryd the commyng of my Lord of Norfolk.

Item, ther war too thingis, wherwithal he was agrevyd. The oon was, that he sayd my Lord Prive Seale spake a sor worde, and affirmyd hit with a stomake, sweryng that al the northern men war but trayters; wherwith al he was sum what offendyd.

The seconde was, that my Lord Prive Seale sundre tymis promisyd hym a pardon of his lyve; and, at oon tyme, he had a token from the Kyngis Majestie of pardon, for confessyng the truthe. These two thynges he shewyd to no man in these north parties, as he sayd, but to me only, whych I have and wyll ever kepe secret.

Item, whan my Lorde of Norfolk was comen, Aske ascendyd up into the towr, wher the galloys war prepayryd, and ther made a semblable confession, as he dyd to for, askyng diverse tymes the Kynges Highnes forgyvons, my Lord Chaunceler, my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord Prive Seale, my Lord of Sussexis, and al the wourld; and thus, after certayn orisons made up on the ladder, commendyd hys sooll to God.

XCII. Cranmer *to* Crumwell.[1]

My veray singuler good Lorde. After my moste hartie commendations. Theis shalbe to signifie unto Your Lordeship, that I have oversene the Prymer[2], whiche you sent unto me, and therin I have noted and amended suche fawtes, as ar moste wurthie of reformation. Divers thinges ther ar, bisides, therin, which if, before the printyng of the boke, had ben committed unto me to oversee, I would have amendid. Howbeyt, thei be not of that

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

[2] The Primer, here alluded to, is probably that which was printed, in English and Latin, by Robert Redman, in 1537. There was one previously printed by John Byddell, in 1535; but that could not be the edition here referred to, because Crumwell had not then become Keeper of the Privy Seal.

importaunce,

importaunce, but that, for this tyme, thei may be well enowgh permitted and suffered to be redde of the people; and the boke, of it selfe, no doubte, ys very good and commendable. Thus, my Lorde, moste hartly faire you well. At Croydon, the 21th daye of Julye.

Your own ever assured,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN':

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Privie Seale.

XCIII. JENNEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT Honorable, and my speciall good Lorde, my dutie unto Your good Lordshippe remembred. This present shalbe to advertise the same, that Mr Clarencius[2] shall enforme your Lordshippe of tharaignment of Lancastre[3], Lytherland, and Moreby, a monke of Fountaynes, and of all the circumstaunces concernyng the same. And the evydence agaynst Lancastre was very substauncially, truly, and earnestly, handled by the said Mr Clarencius, and his felowes, lyke honest men, and not of malice, as I thynk, as the matter apperyd; albeit the contrary was allegid by Lancastre: but he could not prove that to be true. I doo assure your Lordshippe, after he was condempnyd, he used hym self lyke a good christen man, as ever I see or hard of eny, beynge in suche lyke cace. And for divers his requestes, spoken by hym, and by the said Litherland, concernynge theire goodes and dettes, and other theire desiers, we caused them to write severall bookes of remembraunce, with theire own handes, whiche I doo send unto your Lordshippe herin enclosed. Mr Clarencius shall also shewe unto you all theire demeanours, at theire execucyons. I devised that Lancastres heade shuld be sett upp by the body of Aske. My Lord, I have noon other speciall causes to advertise your Lordshippe of, at this tyme, from the North parties, but ther was a litle busynes betwixt Sir Nicholas Fairefax, and Fox, and peraventure sumthynges be not well used, on thone partie, or of thother, the certeyntie wherof ys yett to examyn. But, my Lorde, we woll knowe the truthe, before our departure from the North parte, and therof I shall

[1] From Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 6}{6}$.

[2] Thomas Hawley.

[3] See Notes to pp. 462 & 487.

make

make relation unto your Lordshipp, at my next waytynge oppon you, by the grace of Jeshu, who ever preserve your good Lordshippe in helthe and honour. From Yorke, the 2de daye of August.

Your Lordshippys poor Bedman,
and at your cumaundement,
(*Signed*) XP̃OFER JENNEY.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my very speciall good Lorde, my Lorde Privey Seale, be thies letters yoven.

XCIV. CRANMER *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MY especiall good Lorde, after moost hartie comendations unto Your Lordeship. Theis shalbe to signifie unto the same, that you shall receyve, by the bringer herof, a Bible in Englishe[3], both of a new translacion, and of a newe prynte, dedicated unto the Kinges Majestie, as farther apperith by a pistle unto His Grace, in the begynnyng of the boke, which, in myn opinion, is very well done, and therfore I pray your Lordeship to rede the same. And as for the translation, so farre as I have redde therof, I like it better, than any other translacion hertofore made; yet not doubting but that ther may, and wilbe founde some fawtes therin, as you know no man ever did, or can do so well, but it may be, from tyme to tyme, amendid. And forasmoche as the boke is dedicated unto the Kinges Grace, and also greate paynes and labour taken in setting forth of the same, I pray you, my Lorde, that you woll exhibite the boke unto the Kinges Highnes; and to obteign of His Grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold, and redde of every person, withoute danger of any acte, proclamacion, or ordinaunce hertofore graunted to the contrary, untill such tyme that we, the Bisshops, shall setforth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after

[1] He was at this time a Serjeant at Law, and was made a Judge of the Common Pleas in 1538.
[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.
[3] Coverdale's Bible, which was printed at Zurich in 1535, was published in 1537, and had a Dedication to King Henry VIII., in which the name of his Queen is introduced. Some copies are accommodated to the change of Queens, which occurred in the interval between the press and the publication, by having "Ja" printed over the original letters "An", so as to convert "Anne" into "Jane." But probably the Bible, here alluded to by Cranmer, was Matthews', which was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch in 1537, and was likewise dedicated to the King. A Proclamation was subsequently issued, prohibiting any Bible being printed in English, for five years, without Crumwell's licence. It is printed in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 649.

Domes day. And if you contynew to take suche paynes for the setting forth of Goddes Wourde, as you do, although in the meane season you suffre some snubbes, many sclandres, lyes, and reproches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether; and the same Wourde (as Saincte John saieth) "whiche shall judge every man at the last daye", must nedes shewe favour to theym, that now do favour it. Thus, my Lorde, right hartely faire you well. At Forde[1], the 4 day of Auguste.

Your assured ever,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN':

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my especiall good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale.

XCV. BISHOP FOX *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MY singuler goode Lorde, in thartiest maner I canne, I commend me unto youe; advertising the same, that, notwithstanding all the diligence we coulde possible use in the printing of our booke[3], the same cannot be finished bifore Tuysdaie next. It groweth somwhat unto a greter quantitie, than I shewed Your Lordship of, at the begynning; and I assure youe, that I had litle thought, that the correcting and setting forthe of the same, shulde have stande me in so moche payne and labour, as it hath doon. Notwithstanding, when it shall com forthe, I trust it shall content the Kinges Hieghnes, whom I long veray sore to see, if it might so stande with His Graces pleasour. I have lien owt of London[4], my self, more than thiese thre weekes, and the moost parte of all my servauntes have lien at Ruyslipp, more than thiese tenne weekes. Wherfore, if it shall please your Lordshipp to sende me worde of the Kinges pleasour, concerning my retorne to the Courte, I wold gladly com thider upon Mondaye or Twysdaie[5] next, and then I shall bring with me the booke, I trust, parfitely printed. The meane season, I praie God sende your Lordshipp as hertely well to fare, as I wolde myself. At Popler, this 25th daye of August.

Your Lordeshippes owne to commande,

(*Signed*) EDWARDE HEREFORDEN':

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale.

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1 Near Canterbury. 2 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle F.
3 See p. 556. 4 Probably through fear of the plague. 5 August 27th or 28th.

XCVI. Bishop Latimer *to* Crumwell. [1]

Salutem in Christo plurimam.

Thys day, Syr, wych ys Saturday, we hade fynysshyd (I trow) the reste of our bowke, yf my Lord of Harford [2] hade natt byn dyseasyd; to hoom sewrly we owe grett thankes, for hys grett dylygence in all our proceedynges. Uppon Munday (I thinke) yt wyll be doon all to gether, and then my Lord of Canterbury wyll sende it unto Your Lordshype, with all spede; to hoom also, yf any thynge be prasse wurthy, bona pars laudis optimo jure debetur. As for my selffe, I can nothynge elles, butt pray God, that, when it ys doon, it be well and sufficiently doon, so that we shall natt nede too have ony moo such dooynges; for, verely, for my partt, I hade lever be poor parson of poore Kynton [3] a yen, then to contynew thus Busshope of Worcester; natt for ony thynge, that I have hade to doo therin, or can doo, but yett, forsoth, it ys a trubulosse thynge to agre uppon a doctryne, in thynges of such controversye, with jugmenttes of such dyversite, every man (I truste) meannynge well, and yett natt all meanynge won way. Butt I dobwght natt, butt now, in the ende, we shall agre both won with a nother, and all with the truthe, thowgh sum wyll then mervell. And yett yf ther be any thynge ether uncerten or unpure, I have good hope, that the Kynges Hynesse wyll expurgare quicquid est veteris fermenti, att lestway gyffe it sum notte, that ytt may apere he percevyth it, thowgh he doo toleratt it for a tyme; so gyvynge place, for a ceason, to the freylte and grosse capacite of hys subjectes. Syr, we be here natt with owght all perell, for besyde too, 2 hath dyede of my kepers folkes, owght of my gaytt hows, 3 be yett there with rawe sores; and evyn now, Master Nevell cummyth, and tellyth me that my undyr coke ys fallen seke, and lyeke to be of the plague. Set duodecim sunt hore diei, et termini vite sunt ab Eo constituti, qui non potest falli; neque verius est tamen, quod nascimur, quam quod sumus morituri.

As for Doctor Kynges matter, I referre to your knolege of justyce, and to they use of your charite; butt as tochyng "Defensor Fidei", I thynke that tytull dew to the King.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W. It is wholly written by the Bishop.

[2] Fox.

[3] In the early part of his life he was Rector of West Kington, Wilts, a living in the patronage of the See of Sarum.

As for my Lorde of Haylles [1], I fere wyll be to cookett now, with hys grett authorite and promotion. Hys frendes can geste uppon such a Busshope, that can, with complaynynge, promoott, and wold he shuld complayn moor. Butt I woott, whatt I intendyd, lett thoz geste att large.

But now, Syr, thys bryngar, Thomas Gybson, ys a poore sewter to your Lordeshype, that he may, by your favour, have the pryntyng of our bowke [2]. He ys an honeste poore man, and wyll sett ytt forth in a good letter, and sell ytt good chepe, wher as other doo sell too dere, wych doth lett many to by. Doctor Crom, and other my frendes obteynyd of me, natt with owght sum importunyte, to wrytt unto you for hym. Butt I watt natt, whatt I doo, savynge that I kno ytt, you watt, both whatt ys to be doon, and whatt may be doon. I nothynge elles, butt commytt hym to your charytable goodnesse. Yours, (*Signed*) HUGO WYGORÑ:

moor hastely, than wysely.

(*Superscribed*)
To hys synguler good Lord Crumwell,
the Lord Pryvy Seale.

XCVII. FITZWILLIAM *to* CRUMWELL. [3]

MY verrey good Lord. After moost herty commendations, this shalbe to advertise Your Lordship, that yesternight, after myn arryvall hider, I declared unto the Kinges Highnes thordre your Lordship hath taken with thAmbassadour of Fraunce; and, at the furst, His Highnes reasoned depely with me, concernyng the delivery of the two Frenshe ships; sayeng, that as he was enfourmed by Sir John Dudley, and other his servauntes, late being on the see, the said ships were pirattes, and came into his havon of Portismouth, there to take and robbe his subgiettes. Wherupon I shewed unto His Grace, that there coulde bee no due prouf made of any such matier; and that, therfor, and also forasmoche as thAmbassadour of Fraunce shewed unto your Lordship and me, that the said ships had been at Sainct Walleries [4], within the ryver of Sum, and there discharged their merchaundises, and afterwardes, by reason of fowle weder, were put with the Wight, for saufgarde of their lyves, and how that they had rescewed an Englissheman, which was chased by a Spanyard; it was thought by your Lordship and me,

[1] Stephen Whalley, Abbot of Hayles in Gloucestershire.
[2] He does not appear to have obtained this favour.
[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle F.
[4] St. Valeri, on the South side of the mouth of the Somme.

that

that yf the said ships shuld have been deteigned, it might percaas have been an occasion of breche of the leige. I declared, also, unto His Highnes, what good matier there was, that the other two ships shuld bee deteigned, and how well contented the said Ambassadour was, they soo shuld bee; soo as, in conclusion, His Majestie was right well contented and satisfied with all your Lordships doinges in the premisses.

His Highnes liketh right well the peyres your Lordship sent unto hym, by me, and gyveth unto your Lordship right herty thankes for the same, and desireth your Lordship to sende hym moo, as, upon Sondaye next commyng, the Quenys Grace is determyned to take her chamber.

My Lord, oon thing there is, that the Kinges said Highnes, at my late reasorte unto your Lordship, willed me to speke unto your Lordship in; and, at my reatourne to His Grace, His Highnes asked, wheder I had remembred the same or not: which is, His Grace hath a priest, that yerely maketh his hawkes, and this yere hath made hym two, which flye and kille their game verrey well, to His Highnes singlier pleasure and contentation; and for the payne which the said priest taketh aboutes the same, His Majestie wold that he shuld have oon of Mr Bedelles benefices, yf there bee any ungyven, besides that which His Grace hath alredy gyven; and yf there bee noon of the said benefices ungyven, that then your Lordship shuld have hym in remembraunce, that he maye have sum other, when it shall falle voyde. And thus the Blessed Trinitie have your good Lordship in his moost blessed preservation. At Hampton Court, this Wedynsdaye, the 12th daye of September.

Your houne,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃ FYTZWYLLM̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my verrey good Lord,
my Lord Prive Seale.

XCVIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.[1]

By the King.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete you wel. And have receyved your letters, addressed unto Us by our servaunt, Thomas Cary, and aswel perused thinstructions sent also by the same, as harde what he coulde declare, touching suche pointes of them, as referred a further

[1] This paper, which is among the Miscellaneous Papers in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A\ 9}{6}$, is indorsed, "Minute of the King's l'res to my Lord of Norff: die 18° Septembris 1537," and is written by Wriothesley.

declaration

declaration to his credence; al the whiche We have wel considered, and, with good advise and deliberation, resolved therupon to make to every pointe and article of all thinges, brought or declared unto Us by the said Cary, suche answer, as ensueth herafter.

First, as touchinge the cuntreys of Tyndall and Riddesdall, whiche you write be very farre out of ordre, and a greate occasion of the same to depende in the remisnes and negligence of our officers, Sir John of Withrington, and Sir Reginold Carnaby; whom therfor you thinke We shulde not doo amysse to chaunge, and in theire romes to plant suche others, as in your said instructions be named. To this pointe you shal undrestande, that like as We have noo mistrust, but, in whatsoever cace the said cuntrees be, at this present, you shall, with your wisedom, whiche hitherto hathe wrought all thinges there to soo good frame, in suche wise, at this tyme of your being there, reforme them, and bring them to some good order; soo We cannot thinke, that whenne you shall waye what instabilitie, or at the least want of good forsight and circumspection, might be noted in Us, and our Counsail, if We shuld soo often make chaunge of our officers, you woll not rather travail to your best, with your good advise, counsail, and direction, to make them bettre, and more hable and mete to serve Us, thenne they nowe be, thenne in any wise move Us, soo sodainly and lightly to chaunge and altre that, whiche We have doon with soo good advisement and deliberation. And yet, if We shuld have enclyned to your opinion, at this tyme signified unto Us, We suppose you wold not, uppon a further consideration with yourself, preferre unto Us either Hilton or Dacres: thone, because he cannot serve Us, but to our greate charge; and yet thenne at the pleasure of an other man, whose tenauntes he shuld use, by his favour[1]; soo that he, being our officer, shuld yet hang uppon an other mannes sleve, whiche thing hathe been to long used: thother, bicause no man knowing better thenne you, what maner of man he is, We thinke you wold not counsail Us soo hastely, to put him in suche a trust; specially having noo suche landes or rule, in those parties, as wherby he shuld be hable to doo Us stede, or service, whenne nede shuld require. And, again, howe could you advise Us to take thinges from any man, whiche he hathe already by lease, or graunte, unles you wold have Us either doo injustice to the partie, or elles buye his interest at his will, whiche wolde be costely unto Us? And as to thopinion of the cuntrey, conceyved against Carnaby,

[1] This passage originally stood "at the pleasure of Lord Dacres," but his Lordship's name is erased, and the periphrasis substituted, which is now in the text.

that,

that, for want of stomake, he shall not be hable to serve Us in his rome, as We thinke, and partely knowe, that an old grudge betwene him, and some others there, may be an occasion that thone dare not trust thother, wherby bothe partes may be afraid, and so doo that worse service, whiche your wisedom maye remove, in making them perfite frendes; soo having already advaunced him to it, if you woll nowe, with your wisedom and good counsail, as We doubt not but you woll, anymate hym to occupie it, as shal apperteyn, Wee see not, but as he maye be wel hable to serve Us, who soever wold maligne uppon any malicious purpose against him; soo their affected opinions shal be easely altered, and what estimation soever We have of their judgementes and fantazies, We cannot yet conceyve, whie bothe Carnaby and Wythrington, holpen with your good counsaile, shuld not be as mete, and more mete, to serve Us, thenne any of thothers, named in your said letters and instructions. And We doo wel considre that yong men must have a tyme to lerne, and that others, put in theire romes, may percace doo as yvel, at the begyning, as they doo nowe. And, therfor, being determined, who soever kyck against it, to be served with suche ministers, as We shall thinke good, and appoint, We woll not yet judge otherwise, but that all men there, of all degrees, woll conforme themselfes, willingly, and without hart burnyng, grudge or disdayn, to doo Us that service, undre them, that to men of trouthe and honestie, all respectes set aparte, shal appertayne. And as no man canne doo more, thenne you, either for thadvauncement of thestimation of suche, as We have already put in trust, or for the bettering of them, where they be faynt, remysse, or negligent; soo We doubt not, but you woll so travail, for the satisfaction of our pleasure in bothe pointes, as they shalbe the more hable to serve Us, and We shall have cause the rather to thanke you partely for the same, and to thinke you a man voyd of to moche affection.

And as concernyng punishment, to be nowe taken of suche as shall flye for feare of justice, We have no mistrust but, in the doing of the same, your wisedom woll remembre they be our subgiettes, thoughe yvel men and offendours. And considering therwith the great clemency that We have hitherto shewed, you woll use suche a discreate temperance, in the persecution of them, as they may perceyve that We doo rather desire their reformation, thenne their utter destruction, if by any meanes they may be induced to a bettre facion of living. For a more ample declaration of our mynde and pleasure in whiche thinges, We have dispeched herwith unto you, our trusty and right welbeloved Counsailour,

Robert

Robert Bowes, to whom we desire and pray you to give credence in that bihaulf.

As touching the letters of our Suster, the Quene of Scottes, We require you to write both unto our Nephieu, the King of Scottes, according to her desire, and to certefie her of the same accordinglye. And likewise We desire and pray you to cause the Douglasses to withdrawe to any place in those parties, from the Bordures, soo as thei com no nerer towardes Us, thenne the ryver of Doon; whiche nevertheles we require youe soo to appointe them to doo, as they perceyve no lymitation by Us to have been made in that behaulf.

Finally, We desire and pray you, nowe, at your being in those parties, to call befor you all the gentlemen, and honest yeomen of the same, and of the parties therunto adjoynant, and to declare unto them, that in cace they wil not conforme themselfes, bothe to cast awaye all dissention and debate depending betwene them, and aswel diligently, truly, and redily to serve Us, at all tymes, under suche our officers, as We have nowe there, or shall heraftre appointe to supplie their romes and places, as be vigilant to defende the enemyes, We woll not faile soo to loke uppon them, or uppon suche parte of them, as wilbe negligent or obstinate in the not fulfilling of this our plesure, as all others shal have cause to be ware, howe to contempne their Prince and Souveraign Lord by their disobedience to his officers and ministres. For you may plainly saye unto them, that if there be any oon amonges them, of what degre soever he be, that wil not serve as lowlely, and as redily, undre the meanest personne We canne put in auctoritie, as undre the greatest duke in our Realme, We wil neither repute him for our good subgiett, ne, uppon knowleage of his contumacy and pride therin, leave him unpunished, to thexemple of others. Whiche declaration We desire and pray you to make, with suche an ernest vehemence, as they may perceyve howe muche We have the doing of their dieuties therin to harte; and the rather conforme themselfes to satisfie our pleasure therin, like our good and loving subgiettes accordingly.

XCIX. FITZWILLIAM *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER moost herty commendations unto Your good Lordship. Please it the same to understande, that yesternight came unto me my fellowe, Henry Huttost, this berer, who hath shewed unto me, which I knowe to bee of trouth, that the plage is, and hath been by the space of a moneth, or 6 wekes, verrey fervently within the towne of Portismouth, and as now is chaunced amonges the wourkemen, that bee at the dokk, aboutes the making of the Kinge's new ship[2] there, which is half a myle from the said towne; in somoche that, at his departure hiderwardes, there was oon deade of the said plage, and two sike of the same; by reason wherof, and that there is but oon house at the said dokk, for all the said wourkemen to lodge in, and that the towne is also infected, as afor, there is greate murmeration amonges the said wourkemen, as the sayd Henry sayeth, sayeng that they will not abyde the daungier of the said plage, but will surely departe from thens. And as the said Henry hath enfourmed me, not oonly the greate tymber of the said ship is alredy framed, and set into the said ship, and thre strakes therof planked, in such wise as, though the Kinges Highnes discharge the said wourkemen, at this present tyme, yet, in caas they maye bee set a wourke again by Christenmas, gyving commaundement unto the said Henry to see all thinges put in a perfaict arredynes mete for her fynysshing, she shall and maye bee set to the see, yf the Kinge's Highnes shalhave nede, by Mydsomer next[3], at the farthest. Wherfor myn opinion is, under the correction of the Kinges said Highnes and your Lordship, considering the ferventnes of the said plage, and the feare the wourkemen have of the same, with their disposition therfor to departe from the said wourkes, better it is to dissolve theym for this tyme, then to kepe theym togeders; the Kinges said Highnes gyving suche commaundement unto the said Henry Huttost for the provision of all thinges necessarie for the fynysshing of the said ship, as shalbe requisite for the same, as afor. Yf it were my wourkes, I wold not faille thus to doo;

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle F.

[2] This is probably the great ship, which was visited by the Countess of Southampton, and a large party of ladies, in August 1538, and excited in them much surprize; which is expressed in a letter to the King, published by Ellis in his First Series, vol. 2. p. 126.

[3] The plague raged in the summer and autumn of 1537. Fitzwilliam was created Earl of Southampton on the 18th of Oct. in that year; and as Allhallontide (All Saints Day, 1 Nov.) appears, at the date of this letter, to be nearer than Midsummer, it is plain that this letter must have been written between June 24 and Oct. 18. 1537.

for yf the said wourkemen shalbe kept togeders by force, considering the feare they bee in, as afore, they shall but spende the Kinges money, and doo small wourkes. Yf this chaunce of the plage had not happenned, the said ship wold have been redye to have been lanched by Alhallontyde. As knoweth the Blessed Trinitie, who have your good Lordship in his moost blessed preservation. At Guldeford Manour, this Sondaye.

Your houne to is pouer,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Fytzwyllm̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my verrey singlier good Lord, my Lord Prive Seale.

C. The Dowager Marchioness of Dorset *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Hyt may please Youre Highnes to be advertysed, that I have receyved the Quenes Graces lettres[2], of the most joyfull newes, and gladde tydynges, that cam to Englond thies many yeres; for the whiche we, all, Youre Graces poore subjectes, ar most bownden to gyve thankes to Allmyghty God, that hit hath pleased Hym, of His greate mercy, so to remembre Youre Grace wyth a Prynce, and us all, youre poore subjectes, to the grete comfort, universall weale, and quyetnes of this youre hoole Realme; besechyng Allmyghty God to send His Grace good lyff and long, to His pleasure, and comfort of Youre most noble Grace, wyth as many humble thankes to Youre Highnes, as my poore hart can thynke, that hit pleased Youre Grace to appoynte me, so poore a woman, to so high a rowme, to have borne my Lorde Prynce to his christenyng; whiche servyce, or any other, that hit shuld have pleased Youre Grace to have commaunded me to doo, I shuld have been as gladde to have don, as eny poore woman lyvyng. And moche hit greaveth me, that my fortune is so evyll, by reason of the sycknes[3] here,

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[1] From Letters to the King and Council in the Chapter House. Vol. I. No. 80.

[2] Circular Letters, in the Queen's name, and under her Signet, were prepared, announcing the birth of Prince Edward, which happened on the 12th of Oct. 1537. One of them addressed to the Lord Privy Seal, and dated on that day, at Hampton Court, is now in the Museum, Nero C. X., leaf 1. Their form is printed in Fuller's Church History, p. 481; but he, most extraordinarily, gives the 22d as the date, instead of the 12th.

[3] There are other letters, which shew the King's extreme fear of admitting to the Christening any persons from Croydon; where, at this time, three or four persons daily died of the plague. He even dispensed with the attendance of the Marquis and Marchioness of Dorset, though the latter was his niece, because the Dowager Marchioness lived at Croydon, notwithstanding they were at a distance, and neither of them had, of late, had any intercourse with her.

in

in Croydon, to be banysshed Youre Graces presence, this tyme, at whiche I wold most gladly have don servyce; and syth my chaunce is suche, that I may not be there, I shall, accordyng to my bounden duytye, dayly praye for the preservacyon of Youre most noble Grace, by whome hit hath pleased Allmyghty God to have this youre hoole realme in his remembrance. As knoweth Owre Lorde, who sende Youre Highnes goode lyff and long, to Hys pleasure. Wrytten at Croydon, the 14 daye off October,

by Your Gracys most humble servant,

(*Signed*) MARGARETT DORSETT.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

CI. LATIMER *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

RYGHT Honorable, Salutem in Christo Jusu. And, Syr, here ys no lesse joynge and rejossynge in thes partees for the byrth of our Prynce, hoom we hungurde for so longe, then ther was (I trow) inter vicinos, att the byrth of St John Baptyste; as thys berer, Master Evance, can tell you. Gode gyff us all grace to yelde dew thankes to Our Lord God, God of Inglonde; for verely He hath shoyd Hym selff God of Inglonde, or rather an Inglyssh God, yf we consyder and pondyr well all Hys procedynges with us, from tyme to tyme. He hath overcome all our yllnesse, with Hys excedynge goodnesse; so that we ar now moor than compellyd to serve Hym, seke Hys glorye, promott Hys Wurde, yf the Devyll of all Devylles be natt in us. We have now the stooppe of vayne trustes, and the stay of vayne expectations; lett us all pray for hys preservation. And I, for my partt, wyll wyssh that Hys Grace allways have, and evyn now, from the begynnynge, governares, insstructores, and offyceres of ryght jugmentes, ne optimum ingenium non optima educatione depravetur. But what a grett fowll am I! So, what devotione shoyth many tymys butt lytell dyscretione. And thus the God of Inglond be ever with you, in all your procedynges. The 19 of October, now at Hartlebury.

Yours,

(*Signed*) H. L. B: OF WORCEST?.

[1] Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton in Kent, was the second wife of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and became his widow in 1530.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

Yf you wolde excytt thys berer to be moor hartye ayen the abuse of ymagry, and mor forwarde to promotte the veryte, ytt myght doo good; natt that ytt cam of me, butt of your selffe &c[a].

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable Lord
Pryvy Sealle, hys synguler
good Lord.

CII. The Earl of Rutland and Others *to* . . . . . [1]

These shalbe to advertise Your Lordship of the Quenes estate. Yesterday afternone she had an naturall laxe, by reason whereof she beganne somwhat to lighten, and (as it appered) to amende; and soo contynued till toward night. All this night she hath bene very sycke, and doth rather appare, then amende. Her Confessour hath bene with Her Grace this morning, and hath done that, to his office apperteyneth, and evyn now is preparing to ministre to Her Grace the Sacrament of Unction. At Hampton Courte, this Wednesday mornyng, at 8 of the Clock.

Your Lordships at commaundement,

(*Signed*) Thomas Rutland.
(*Signed*) Robert Karliolẽ:
(*Signed*) Edward Bayntun.
(*Signed*) John Chambre, P^{r}st.
(*Signed*) Willm̃ Butt.
(*Signed*) George Owen.

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[1] This letter is printed by Fuller in his Church History, p. 422; but is here republished, not only because the signatures are very incorrectly given by Fuller, but also because it ascertains, contrary to the received opinion, that Jane survived the birth of her Son, at least five, if not twelve, days. Edward was born on the 12th of Oct., and so is the date of the Queen's Letter to Crumwell, though Fuller gives the 22d as the date. The next Wednesday after the 12th was the 17th, which is the earliest date assignable to this letter. But it was, no doubt, written on the following Wednesday, the 24th; for there has been lately found in the Chapter House an original letter from Sir John Russell at Hampton Court to Crumwell, dated the 24th of Oct., which is printed in the following page, and proves Mr. Sharon Turner's conjecture, that Jane lived to that day, to be well founded. It is very remarkable, that the date of an event, of so much interest at the time, should have been misplaced by no less than ten days even by a contemporary Chronicler, Hall. He places the Queen's death on the 14th of Oct., and has been implicitly followed by Stow, Godwin, Fox, Fuller, Lord Herbert, and Burnet. Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 2. p. 5. fixes the 24th of October as the day of the Queen's death, on the authority of a manuscript in the Heralds' College; but states the fact with great diffidence against the current of authorities.

CIII. RUSSELL *to* CRUMWELL.

PLEASITH Your Lordship to understand that I have receyved your letter, the which I shewid to the King, and he red it, and hath causid Mr Nevell to sende for dyvers of the men, the whiche I thinke shalbe here to morowe. Sir, as yesterday, Mr Treasurer, and I, examyned one of Mr Nevelle's servauntes, which hath confessed to the number of 20, and not one of them that was in the bille that the King had of you; so that I thinke, be that tyme thes men be taken, whiche ye wrote of, ye shalhave a greate nomber accusid.

Sir, the King was determyned, as this day, to have removid to Asher; and be cause the Quene was very sik this night, and this day, he taried; but to morowe, God willing, he entendithe to be ther. If she amende, he will go; and if she amende not, he tolde me this day, he could not fynde in his harte to tary; for I ensuer you, she hathe bene in grete daunger yesternight, and this day; but, thankid be God, she is sumwhat amendid[1]; and if she skape

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[1] These letters do not entirely clear up the doubt which has arisen, whether Edward VI.'s birth was effected, or not, by the Cæsarean operation; but every day, the Queen survived his birth, increases the improbability of recourse having been had to that operation; and in a despatch to the Ambassadors in France (which will be hereafter published) her death is distinctly ascribed to her having been suffered to take cold, and to eat improper food. This accords with the account given by Leland, in his "Genethliacon Edvardi Principis Cambriæ", which was published in 1543.

"MORS REGINÆ JOHANNÆ.

"Spes erat ampla quidem, numerosa prole Johanna
"Henricum ut faceret Regem fœcunda parentem;
"Sed Superis aliter visum est. Cruciatus acerbus
"Distorsit vacuum letali tormine ventrem.
"Frigora crediderim temere contracta fuisse
"In caussa: Superat vis morbi: Jamque salute
"Desperata omni, nymphis hæc rettulit almis;
"'Non mihi mors curæ est: perituram agnosco creavit
"'Omnipotens: moriar. Terram tibi debeo, terra;
"'At pius Elysijs animus spatiabitur hortis.
"'Deprecor hoc unum, maturos filius annos
"'Exigat; et tandem regno det jura paterno'.
"Dixit, et æterna claudebat lumina nube.
"Nulla dies pressit graviori clade Britannum".

The story of Edward's being brought into the world by surgical art, and by the sacrifice of his mother's life, seems to have been invented by Nicolas Sanders, the Jesuit; from whom it was borrowed by Sir John Hayward, and adopted in his life of Edward. See Kennett's History of England, vol. 2. p. 273. From this source it found its way into various historical books.

this

this night, the Fyshisiouns be in good hope that she is past all daunger. And thus Jhesu preserve Your good Lordeship in long lif and increse of honour. At Hampton Court, the 24th day of October.

Your owen to command,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and my singular good Lorde, my Lorde Privie Seale.

CIV. SIR RICHARD GRESHAM *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MYN humble dieuty rememberyd to Your good Lordeshipe &c. Yt shale please you to untherstand, that by the commaundement of the Ducke of Northefolk, I have cawssyd 1200 massys to be seyde, within the Cite of London, for the sowle of our moste gracious Quene. And where as the Mayer and Aldyrmen, with the Commenors, was lattely at Powlles, and ther gave thanckes unto God, for the byrthe of our Prynce, my Lorde, I doo thyncke yt wher convenyent, that ther shulld bee, allsoo, at Powlles a sollem derige and masse; and that the Mayer, Alldyrmen, with the Commeners, to be there, for to praye and offer for Hyr Graces sowle. My Lorde, yt shale please you to move the Kynges Heyghnes, and hys pleasser knowen in thys behallfve, I am and shalebe redy to acomplyche his moste gracious pleasser. As knowthe God, who gyve unto you goode helthe with long lyve. From London, thys Thurssdaye, the 8t daye of November.

My Lorde, yf ther be eny allmes to be gyvyn, ther ys meny power pepyll within the Cite.

Your owne, at Your Lordeshepes commaundementes,

(*Signed*) RYC: GRESHM̃.[2]

CV. CRANMER *to* CRUMWELL.[3]

MY very singuler good Lorde; after most hartie commendations. Thes shalbe to signifie unto Your Lordeship, that I have receyvid both your letters, and the booke[4] also lately by us divised, and nowe oversene and corrected

[1] From the Museum, Nero C. X., leaf 2, b.
[2] Sir Richard Gresham was, at this time, Lord Mayor of London.
[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C. [4] See p. 556.

by

by the Kinge's Majestie; whiche boke, accordyng to His Grace's pleasure (all other business laid aparte) I shall, withall possible expedition, peruse and oversee[1], within this sevennyght, or fortenyght, at the uttermost; and therof advertise His Majestie, by your Lordeship, of my judgement and opinion in suche places, as ar in the same booke by His Grace corrected.

And as towching your farther advertisment of the Kynges moste gracious pleasure, to be resolved in the caase of matrymony, bitwene the late Duke of Richmond and my Lorde of Norfolkes dawghter[2], wherin His Highnes willith me to call my doctours unto me, and to propone the same caase emonges them, whither suche mariege be matrymony, or no? I assure your Lordeship, that, withoute farther convocation of doctours, I am fully persuaded, that suche marieges, as be in lawfull age contracted per verba de presenti, ar matrimoney bifore God; and the same caase is (as I remember) playnly opened and declared in the Kinges Graces booke, of his awn cause of matrimoney. Howbeit I shall eftsones consult herin with suche lernid men as, at this tyme, be with me present, and send unto your Lordeship our resolution in the same. And if His Grace will have me farther to consulte therin, than I must send for other lerned men, or elles come to London myself. Thus Almyghtie God have Your Lordeship in his tuition. At Forde, the 14th of Januarye.

Your own ever assured,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN':

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray singuler good Lorde,
my Lorde Prevey Seale.

CVI. COVERDALE AND GRAFTON *to* CRUMWELL.[3]

AFTER moost humble and hartie commendacions to Your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entred into your worke of the Byble, wherof (accordynge to our moost bounden dutie) we have here sent unto your Lordship 2 ensamples; one, in parchement, wherin we entende to prynt one for the Kynges Grace, and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, wherof all the rest shalbe made; trustynge, that it

[1] Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, has published (from Cleopatra, E. 5.) the Archbishop's Letter to Crumwell of the 25th of Jan., conveying the Annotations here promised.

[2] This is the case alluded to by Strype, in the Life of Cranmer, p. 45. The Duke of Richmond died in 1536. The Duchess's dower was withheld, pending this question. (See Ellis's Second Series, vol. 2. p. 83.) The validity of the marriage was finally recognised. See p. 577.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

shalbe

shalbe not onlye to the glorye of God, but a synguler pleasure, also, to your good Lordship the causer therof, and a generall edefyenge of the Kinges subjectes, accordynge to your Lordshipes moost godlye request. For we folowe not only a standynge text of the Hebrue, with the interpretacion of the Caldee, and the Greke, but we set, also, in a pryvate table, the dyversite of redinges of all textes, with suche annotacions, in another table, as shall douteles delucidate and cleare the same; as well without any singularyte of opinions, as all checkinges and reprofes. The prynt, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship. The paper is of the best sorte in France. The charge certaynly is great; wherin, as we moost humbly requyer your favourable helpe, at this present, with whatsoever yt shall please your good Lordship to let us have, so trust we, (yf nede requyer) in our just busynes, to be defended from the Papistes by your Lordshipes favourable letters; which we most humbly desyer to have, (by this berer, Wyllyam Graye,) ether to the Bysshop of Wynchester, or to some other, whome your Lordship shall thinke moost expedyent. We be dayly threatened, and looke ever to be spoken withall, as this berer can farther enforme your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we knowe not. Neverthelesse, for our farther assewraunce, where thorough we maye be the abler to performe this your Lordshipes work, we are so moche the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have none, under God and our Kynge, whom, with noble Prynce Edward, and all you, their most honorable Councell, God Allmightie preserve, now and ever. Amen. Wrytten at Parys, the 23 daye of Juyn, by Your Lordshipes assured and daylye Oratours,

(*Signed*) MYLES COVERDALE.
(*Signed*) RYCHARD GRAFTON, Grocc?.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and their synguler good Lorde, the Lorde Cromewell, and Lorde Prevaye Seale.

CVII. SADLEYR *to* CRUMWELL.

AFTER myn humble recommendations unto Your good Lordeship. These shalbe to advertise you, that the Kinges Highnes hathe commaunded me to signefie unto you, on His Graces behalf, that my Lorde of Norfolk, taking an oportunyte to mete with His Highnes, the same day that His Grace

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S. Holograph.

removed

removed from Westminster to Hampton Court, amongst other, thanked most humblie His Majestie for his doughter, the Duchesse of Rychmonde[1], and so not onely made a sute and mocyon to His Majestee, touching his saide doughters joynctour, as your Lordeship hathe sythens had knowlege from His Grace by Mr Wryothesley, but, also, made a further overture for the maryage of his saide doughter; sayeng that, lyke as he wolde wourke, and do nothing therein, contrary to the Kinges Highnes pleasure, ne without His Graces advyse, so he knew but 2 persons[2], uppon whom he thought mete, or coulde resolve in his herte to bestowe his saide doughter; the one he named, of whom he saied your Lordeship had made a mocyon unto him, whose name the Kynges Majestee now remembreth not; thother he sayed, to whom his herte is most inclyned, was Sir Thomas Seymour, on whom, aswell for that he is so honestly advaunced by the Kynges Majestee, as also for his towardenes, and other his comendable merytes, he coulde well fynde in his harte, and wold be glad, stonding so with the Kinges pleasure, to bestowe his doughter; sayeng ferther, that, perceyvyng there ensueth comenly no grete good by conjunction of grete bloodes togyther, he sought not therfore, nor desyred to mary his doughter, in any high bloode or degree. Whereunto the Kinges Highnes, answering meryly, that if he were so mynded to bestowe his doughter uppon the saide Sir Thomas Seymour, he shoulde be sure to couple her with one of suche lust and youth, as shoulde be able to please her well at all poyntes, shewed himself to be right willing and agreable, that the same shoulde take effecte accordingly. Whereuppon His Highnes, after that, brake with the saide Sir Thomas Seymer; who perceyving not onely the Kinges Majestee to be so moche his good and gracious Lorde, but, also, that my Lorde of Norfolk himself procured and desyred the same, hathe nevertheles made sute unto His Highnes, that, forasmoche as he taketh your Lordeship to be his good Lorde, and for that your son hathe maryed his suster[3], that, therefore, your Lordeship might the rather have the mayning of the matier; and for the better perfection thereof, your Lordeship, taking an oportunyte to be eyther at dyner or souper, with my saide Lorde of Norfolk, might make the overture, and first entree into the same. Wherein the Kinges Highnes, not onely noting a certen

[1] She became a widow in 1536. See p. 575.

[2] The Duke does not appear to have succeeded in uniting his daughter to either of these persons.

[3] Gregory, Lord Crumwell, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Seymour, widow of Sir Anthony Oughtred. She was sister of Queen Jane Seymour, of the Earl of Hertford, and of Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord Seymour of Sudley.

certen zele, love, and trust to be in the saide Sir Thomas Seymer towardes your Lordeship, but also estemyng him for his honestie, sadnes, and other good qualitees, as one that is nothing addicte to his brothers affections, to be right mete and wourthie of the saide maryage[1], hathe commaunded me to wryte unto your Lordeship, and, on His Majestees behalf, to requere you to take a tyme convenyent for the purpose aforsaid. And forasmoche as His Highnes is infourmed that the saide Duchesse goeth to morow, or next day, into the countrey, His Grace, therfore, prayeth you to take your tyme the soner; so that, whilles she is there, the matier may be entered in suche sorte, as the same may the rather take effecte, according to his most gracious pleasure. Thus the Holie Trynyte preserve Your Lordeship in long lyf and helth, with increase of honour. At Chobham, the 14th day of Julie, with the rude hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunte,
and daylie Bedisman,
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and his singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, be this yoven.

CVIII. COVERDALE AND OTHERS *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

AFTER moost humble and due salutacion to Your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that your worke going forward, we thought it oure moost bounden dutie to sende unto your Lordship certayne leaves therof, specially seynge we had so good occasyon, by the returnynge of your beloved servaunt, Sebastian. And as they are done, so will we sende your Lordship the residue, from tyme to tyme. As touchynge the maner and order, that we kepe in the same worke, pleaseth your good Lordship to be advertised, that the merke ☞ in the text, signifieth, that upon the same (in the later ende of the booke) there is some notable annotacion; which we have writen without any pryvate opinion, onlye after the best interpreters of the Hebrues, for the more clearnesse of the texte. This marke ✠ betokeneth, that upon the same texte there is diversitie of redynge, amonge the Hebrues, Caldees, and Grekes, and Latenystes; as in a table, at the ende of the booke, shalbe declared. This marke ☙ sheweth that the sentence, written in small

[1] Lord Seymour afterwards married Queen Catharine Parr.
[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

letters,

letters, is not in the Hebrue, or Caldee, but in the Latyn, and seldome in the Greke; and that we, neverthelesse, wolde not have it extinct, but higlye accept yt, for the more explanacion of the text. This token †, in the Olde Testament, geveth to understand, that the same texte, which foloweth it, is also alledged of Christ, or of some Apostle, in the Newe Testament. This (amonge other oure necessarie laboures) is the waye that we take, in this worke; trustynge, verely, that as God Allmightie moved youre Lordship to set us unto yt, so shall it be to His glorie, and right welcome to all them, that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithfull obedyence. As is onlye knowen to the Lorde of Heaven, to whom we moost hartely praye for your Lordshipes preservacion. At Parys, the 9 daye of August 1538, by your faithfull Oratours,

(*Signed*) MYLES COV?DALE.
(*Signed*) RICHARD GRAFTON.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ GREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and their synguler good Lorde, Lorde Prevye Seale, be this delyverd.

CIX. CRANMER *to* CRUMWELL. [1]

MY veray singuler and especiall good Lorde. After my most hartie commendations unto Your Lordeship, theis shalbe to signifie unto the same, that, according to your letters to me addressid, the 15th daye of this present moneth, I sent for the Oratours of Germanye [2], and required theym, in the Kinges Graces bihalf, (so gentilly as I could) to demore here, untill His Highnes commyng nerer into theis partes. Wherat thei were sumwhat astoneshed, saying, that, at the Kinges request, thei wold be very well content to tary during his pleasure, not only a moneth or 2, but a yere or 2, yf they were at thair awn libertie. But forasmoche as thei had ben so long from thair Princes, and hadd not, all this season, any letters frome theym, it was not to be doubted, but that thei were daily loked for at home; and therfore thei durste not tarye, onles the Kinges Highnes would make thair excuse of thair long abode here, unto thair Princes. And yet therin thei wolde give me no determinate aunswer, by no meanes, that tyme; but thei would consulte together, and make me an answer the nexte daye after. And the next daye, thei were fully determyned to departe within 8 dayes;

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle Ç.
[2] Francis Burgart, George van Boyneburg, and Frederick Mycon.

 nevertheles,

nevertheles, after long reasonyng, upon hope that thair tarying should grow unto some good successe concernyng the poyntes of thair commission, whiche I moche put theym in hope of, on your bihalf, thei condiscendid, and were very well contentid to tary for a moneth, so that they should be no lenger deteyned; but that, after the said moneth should be expired, thei myght take thair leave, and so departe, withoute farther tracte of tyme; trusting that the Kinges Majestie woulde write unto thair Princes, for thair excuse in thus long tarying[1]. Besides this, thei require, in the meane tyme, while thei tarye here, that we may entreate of thabuses, and put the same articles in writyng, as we have don the other. Whiche thing I promised theym; nevertheles I woulde gladly have the Kinges Graces pleasure and commandement therin, wherby we shall the soner fynishe the matier[2].

Farther, bycause that I have in greate susspecte, that St Thomas of Canterbury his blodde, in Christes Churche in Canterburye, is but a fayned thing, and made of some redde okar, or of suche like matier, I beseche your Lordeship that Doctour Lee, and Doctour Barbour, my Chapleyn, may have the Kinges commission to trye and examen that, and all other like thynges there. Thus, my Lorde, right hartely faire you well, praying you to give farther credence unto this berer. At Lambeth, the 18th daye of Auguste.

Your own ever assured,
(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and my very singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Privie Seale.

CX. SADLEYR *to* CRUMWELL.[3]

PLEASE it Your good Lordeship to understonde, that uppon the receipte of your letters, assone as I coulde gette convenyent oportunyte, I shewed Penysons letter[4] to the Kinges Highnes, and thoroughly did rede them my self unto His Majestie; the contentes whereof His Grace lyketh and acceptith

[1] Five days after, the Archbishop complained to Crumwell of the Ambassadors being very ill lodged; and disquieted, daily and nightly, by the multitude of rats running in their chambers, and by the kitchen being directly against the parlour; by reason whereof the house savoured so ill, as to offend all men who went into it. See his letter, Burnet, vol. 1. Coll. No. 48.

[2] It appears by Cranmer's letter, above quoted, that the delay arose from the King's having taken the answer into his own hands; and the Bishops, on that account, not choosing to meddle.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S. Holograph.

[4] This letter is printed by Ellis, in his First Series, Vol. 2. p. 107.

very

very well. And where as one clause is conteyned in the saide Penysons letter, which is, that the Lady of Motrell[1] shoulde say to him, that she intended, on Monday next, to take her journey toward Fraunce, howbeit she had recommendations from the Quene of Scottes to the Kinges Highnes, if she might arryve nygh where His Grace were: hereuppon the Kinges Highnes willed me to wryte unto your Lordeship, that forasmoche as he is somwhat desyrous to see the saide Lady, and to speke with her, His Grace thinketh that you may wonderous well take an occasion, honestly, to staye her, after suche sorte as she may speke with His Majestie, and do her recommendations to His Highnes from the said Quene, as she shall passe by at Dover; where His Grace sayeth that he shalbe 2 dayes soner then was appoynted by his jestes. And His Grace thinketh best, that when she shalbe at Dover, His Highnes may take an occasion, as he goeth there abrode to see his haven, to enter into her lodging, and so to see her, and speke with her there. In the meane season, His Highnes prayth you to devyse som honest meane to staye her; which His Grace thinketh may be very well don uppon this occasion, that she sayeth she hathe recommendations to His Highnes from the saide Quene: the handeling whereof His Grace commyttith to your Lordeshippes good discression, and I have remytted Penysons servaunt agayn to your Lordeship, in case you shall thinke mete to commytte any thing hereof to his maister.

I sent your Lordeship, to day, the letters signed for the depeche of Don Diego, with other billes to be signed, which your Lordeship lefte with me; trusting that you have receyved them. And now I sende herewith to your Lordeship the letter to the Quene of Scottes, signed, which your Lordeship sent me to day; remayning in all thinges most redy to do your Lordeship servyce under the King, according to my bounden duetie. As knoweth Our Lorde, who sende you long lyf and helth, with thincrease of honour. At Eryge[2], this present Feaste of Saynt Bartholomew, at 8 of the clocke at night, with the rude hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunte,
and daylie Bedesman,
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and his singuler good Lord, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, be this yoven.

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[1] Madame de Montreuil attended Magdalen of France, the first Queen of James V., to Scotland, and remained there till after his second marriage with Mary of Guise, who reached Edinburgh in June 1538. Mad. de Montreuil was now on her return to France, with some other ladies of Queen Mary's suite.

[2] In Sussex.

CXI. Sir John Wallop *to* Crumwell.[1]

Please it Your good Lordeship to be advertised, that after your departing from the Courte to Lewes, the Kinges Magestie (upon certayne communycation had of the Frenche Ladyes) willed me to repayre towardes theim, as well for their the better entertaynement, as also to shewe unto theym (yf their myndes were so confourmable) His Graces Houses of Westminster, Hamptoncourte, and others, and there to have bancquetted theym. Not withstanding, at myn here arryvall, Mr Penyston opened unto me your Lordeships letters, unto hym addressed, mencyoning your pleasur for their giestes, and being at Dovor, against the Kinges thyther commyng; whiche, aswell by me, as also by the saide Mr Penyston, ys determyned to be followed; although, for trouthe, they have redy perused the Kinges House at Westminster, but not so well feasted, as they sholde have been, yf tyme had so served. How be yt, they confesse theym selfes aswell satisfyed, as yf they had seen further, and more bancquetted. They have ben, sythens their hyther commyng, accourding to the tyme, caused to be feasted with the Mayour, and others; where I assure your good Lordeship, they have been specially well entretayned, and Mr Penyston, in that bihalf, hys parte hathe no lasse followed. Wherfore, now, upon their fromhens gooing, I intende to take my journeys homewardes, and so into Somersetshire, where, and in all other places, yf ytt shall please your good Lordship to commaunde me my servyce, I shalbe as glad to accomplisshe yt, as any living creature, to the best of my power. As knoweth Almighty Jhesu, who have your good Lordship in His blessed tuytion. At London, the 27th daye of August. Please yt Your good Lordeship to declare theffect herof to the Kinges Magestie, for my discharge.

Your owne assured to my power,

(*Signed*) John Wallop.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very good Lord, my Lord Previe Seall his good Lordeship.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

CXII. Penison *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honnourable and my singulier good Lord, as louly as I can, I recommend me unto Your Lordeship. Please it the same to be adcertayned, that, ensuyng myne other letters, my Lady of Montreuill hath kept her journeys; so that upon Fryday last, at 6 of the cloc, she, accompayned with her gentilwomen and thAmbassadour of Fraunce, arryved in this towne; and the Maister of the Roles[2], with a good nombre of men, wheynt to myte her half a myle owt of the towne; wo welcame her in his best wyse, and so accompanyed her to the towne, where the Mayre and the Shryffes met with her, in saluting and welcomyng her in theyre best wyse, and so accompanyed, she was brought to her lodging, which she dyd like very well. Upon her said arryvall, the Lorde Priour dyd present her fish of soundry sortes, wynes, and fruyttes, plentye; the Maister of the Roles dyd present her torches, and perchers of wax, a good nombre; fysshes of soundry sortes, wynes, and fruytes, plentye; the Mayre and the Shryves for the towne dyd present her with ypocras, and other wynes, plentye, with soundry kyndes of fysshes. All the which presentes she dyd thankefully resceyve, saing, that she was never able to knoweledge the high honnour and recueill she had resceyved of the Kinges Majestie, and his subjectes. And so, within 2 owres after, by thandes of my servaunte, I dyd resceyve your Lordeships letter, dated the 28 day of the last monyth, which seen the contentes, I made her partely a counseill, touching her sejournyng here, in cace the Kinges Majestie should not come by yesterday to Dover; she beyng right glad and content to followe the Kynges pleasure, making a very good semblant in showing herself, the more she aproches the Kinges Majestie, the glader to be. And so, yesterday ensuyng, the Maister of the Roles, in the mornyng, dyd present her a plentuous dissh of fressh sturgion, and so, by ten of the cloc, she, her gentilwomen, and the said Ambassadour, whent to the Church, where I showed her Saincte Thomas shryne, and all such other thinges worthy of sight; at the which she was not litle marveilled of the greate riches therof; saing to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the wourlde could never a made her to belyve it. Thus over looking and vewing more then an owre, aswell the shryne, as Saint Thomas hed, being at both sett cousshins to knyle, and

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle P.
[2] Christopher Hales, Esq.

the

the Pryour, openyng Sainct Thomas hed, saing to her 3 tymes, " This is " Saint Thomas Hed", and offered her to kysse it; but she nother knyled, nor would kysse it, but still vewing the riches therof. So she departed, and whent to her lodging to dynner, and, after the same, to interteyne her with honest passetymes. And about 4 of the cloc, the Lorde Priour dyd send her a present of connys, capons, checkyns, with dyvers fruytes, plentye; insomoch that she said, " What shall we doo with so many capons? let the " Lorde Priour come and helpe us to eate theym, to morowe, at dynner"; and so thanked hym hartely for the said present. At night, she dyd suppe with thAmbassadour. And thus we remayne, in making of good chere, tarrying for to knowe your Lordeships further pleasour. With this, Jhesu preserve Your Lordeship in long lyff, with moch honour. From Cauntur-bury, the furst day of September.

Alwayes redy at Your Lordeships commaundement,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Penison.

(*Superscribed*)
To his Right Honorable and singulier good Lord, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, his good Lord.

CXIII. Tuke *to* Crumwell.[1]

My singuler and special good Lorde I humbly recommende me unto Your good Lordship. My Lorde, by my last letters I certified your Lordship, of the payment made a sevenyght passed unto Monsr de Mendoza, thEmperours Ambassadour, of 400£ in elect angelles, tolde, culled, and delyvered by myn oun self, and tolde at my desire by his servauntes, wherof I have an acquitance in Spanysh; and whiche I assure your Lordship he thankefully received, geving humble thankes unto the Kinges Majeste, with sundry right ample commendable wordes of His Highnes excellent vertues, and most honourable merites; in suche wise, as I perceyved not oonly that he was singulerly wel contented, but that also, as I coude conject, it was a gretter somme then he loked for. I advertised your Lordship, also, of his liberal rewarde of 21 angelles, geven by his commaundement, while he held me in other passetymes, to my clerkes and servauntes; wherof I had no knowlege, til I had taken my leve of hym at his gate, whither he wolde nedes bring

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 402.

me;

me: and there advertised of it, I overtoke hym again in his courte, and did asmoche, as with honest maner, not defrauding a noble man of his thankes, I myght do, to refuse it; and shewed hym it is not the manour or usage of the Kinges Treasorers to take any rewardes for them selfes, or otherwise, in payment of the Kinges money; and to the intent they shulde not so do, His Highnes geveth unto them the more ample and welthy livinges; and that His Majestie wolde not take in good parte, if I shulde any suche thinges receyve. In conclusion, your Lordship knoweth what noble men in suche cace woll say, and howe it becommed me to use the liberalite of a noble man, specially of a Spanyarde, and of so grete a parentele as he is. I, being desirous to play the parte of an honest English man, though I have receyved no profite therby, am aboute to gete hym suche an horse, whiche I wol geve hym, as I suppose shal be thankeworthy, if I may have hym of the owner for my money, whiche wolbe 9 angelles more then his money geven. I thought to advertise your Lordship of the payment of the said 400*£*, of newe, bicause your first man deceyved me, in shewing myn answer, as I trust the last hathe not don, in delyvering my letters to your good Lordship.

My Lorde, being nowe the Abbay of Saint Austens besides Caunterbury surrendred in to the Kinges most royal handes, and being His Majeste in those parties, I thought convenient to advertise your Lordship, that my poore father, whose soule God pardon, being a jentilman borne, of the countie of Kent, diverse and many tymes, in his life, shewed me, that he had good and evident title unto diverse lordshippes and landes, lying besides Hithe, and besides Sandwiche, and in diverse other places of Kent, to the yerely value of 200 markes and above; and, amonges other, he named unto me Norbourne besides Sandwiche, which he said the Abbot of Saint Augustines had, and an other lordship, that he said the Priour of Christeschurche had; and he shewed me he had fayre evidences, and that he wolde put me to lernyng of the lawe, as in dede, if he had lived, he intended to have don, to the intent I myght the better recovere my right. Of thise evidences som parte be commen to my handes; but the rest, by meanes of a mother in lawe that I had, who was my father's executrice, and is also ded, be yet abrode; but I trust to comme by them, not for any clayme or pretence that, the said manour nowe being commen unto the Kinges handes, I intende to make therunto, ne I am sure whither it be the veray manour, or elles parte of the landes belonging therunto; but, my Lorde, if I myght have somoche gracious favour of the Kinges Majeste, by the mediacion of your good Lordship, that I myght bye the said lordship of His most excellent Highnes, whiche,

as I understondè, is wel buylded, and was oon of the Abbottes reasorting places, and I thinke shal do litel sted to the Kinges Highnes, other then the revenues, but may be craved by oon or other; I wolde take a grete payn upon me, selling som other smal thinges, to have it, bicause of my fathers said saying. And as I am His Graces most humble vassal, and most bounden bedeman, so wer I, and my poore posterite, obliged to be in place of a sclave to His excellent Highnes. But, my Lorde, if your Lordship do knowe His Majeste determyned otherwise to dispose of it, I humbly beseche your good Lordship never to speke worde of this my sute, as I am, and dailly shalbe, your feithful and assured bedeman. And thus, my Lorde, I beseche Almyghty Jhesu long to preserve Your good Lordship. At London, the first of September, 1538.

Your Lordshippes perpetuel Bedeman,

(*Signed*) BRIAN TUKE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my special and singuler good
Lorde, my Lorde Crumwell,
Lorde Privey Seale.

CXIV. AUDELEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER my right harty comendations to Your good Lordship, with my most harty thankes for your last gentill letters. I am required by the Erle of Oxford, and Master Chauncelour, to desire your good Lordshipp, in all our names, to make our moost humble recommendations to the Kynges Mageste, and to render ouer most harty thankes to His Highnes, for our licens to visite and see my Lord Prynces Grace, whom, acordyng to our desires and duteez, we have seen, to our most rejoise and comfort, next the Kynges Mageste. And I assure your Lordshipp I never sawe so goodly a childe of his age, so mery, so plesaunt, so good, and lovyng countenauns, and so ernest an ye, as it were a sage juggement towardes every person that repayreth to His Grace; and, as it semyth to me, thankes be to Our Lord, His Grace encresith well in the ayer that he ys in. And albeyt a litell His Graces flesche decayeth, yet he shotyth owt in length, and wexith ferme and stiff, and can stedfastly stond, and wold avaunce hym self to move and go, if they wold suffir hym; but, as me semyth, they do yet best, considerynge His Grace is yet tendir, that he shuld not streyn hym self, as

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

his

his owen corage wold serve hym, till he cum above a yere of age. I was right glad to understond there, that the Kynges Mageste wil have His Grace removyd from Haveryng, now ageynst wynter tyme; for suerly it semythe to me that the house wil be a cold howse for wynter; but, for somer, it ys a good, and a goodly ayer. I can not comprehend nor describe the goodly, towardly qualyteez, that ys in my Lord Princes Grace. He ys sent of Almyty Good for al our comfortes. My dayly and contynual prayer ys, and shalbe, for his good and prosperus preservation, and to make His Grace an olde Prince; besechyng your good Lordeshipp to rendir to the Kynges Mageste thankes, in al our names, as ys abovesayd.

Suche brutes hath runne, sythen my last departyng from your good Lordshipp, concernyng the dissolution of the Abbeys of Seynt Johns in Colchester[1], and Seynt Osyes[2], that I am bold to wryte to your good Lordshipp after myn old sute[2] for the contynuans of the said 2 places; not as they bee, religeous, but that it mought plese the Kynges Majeste, of his goodnes, to traunslate them in to Collegys, after suche sort and ordynaunces, as shall seme most charitable to His Highnez; for the whiche, as I seyd to you afore, His Grace may have of eythir of them a 1000*£*, that ys for bothe 2000*£*, and the gyft of the deanes and prebendaryes at his owen plesure. The cause I move this ys; fyrst, I consider that Seynt Johns stondyth in His Graces owen town at Colchester, wherin dwel many pour people, whiche have dayly relefe of the house; another cause, bothe these howses be in the ende of the shire of Essex, where litel hospitaly shalbe kept, yf these be dissolved. For as for Seynt Jones lakkyth water, and Seynt Osyes stondyth in the mersches, not very holsom, so that fewe of reputation, as I thynke, wil kepe contynual howses in eny of them, oonlez it be a congregation, as ther be nowe. There ys also 20 howses, gret and smal, dissolved, in the shire of Essex, all redy. These, and many other considerationz, movyth me to be a suter for ther traunslationz; and yet I will not, nor mynde in eny wise to move or speke in this mater, othirwise than shal stond with the Kynges plesure; nor, in good fayth, I entend not to have eny particler avauntage for ther standyng. Yt hath plesid the Kynges Mageste to giff me leve to exchange londes and thynges with eyther of the houses, wher with I am satisfyed, and right hertely thanke His Highnes for the same. I beseche you, my good Lord, if your Lordshipp shal thynke thys sute honest

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[1] The Abbot of Colchester was one of the three, who suffered by attainder in 1539.

[2] Strype has printed a Letter from Audeley to Crumwell, asking for a grant to himself of St. Osyth's Abbey.

and resonable, to move this mater to the Kynges Mageste, and to sett it ernestly forward. Your Lordshipp knowyng bothe the howses, as ye do, can alegge more better considerations, then I can imagyn or wryte. And thus I trobill you with my sutes oft tymes, and can not recompens your often gentilnesses and paynes taken for me, but with my pour harty good will, wherof your Lordeshipp shal be suer, duryng my lyff. And besides that, if ye can or may opteyn this sute for the traunslation of these 2 howses, your Lordeshipp shal have for your favour therin 200£[1]; besechyng you to travayle therin and to advertise me, as sone as ye shal se tyme, of the towardnes or ontowardnes therof. And thus, as a bolde sutour, puttyng your good Lordshipp in remembrauns of al myn olde sutes, to use them at your owen leysur, I beseche Our Lord to send Your Lordshipp as good helth, and as wel to fare, as I wold my self. Wryten at Berechurche[2], the 8th day of September.

Your assured, to al his power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS AUDELEY, K. CHAUNCELL.

Post scripta. Forasmoche as this day I ryde in to Suffolk, to mete the Duke of Norfolk, at Framyngham, to kyll sum of his bukkes there, I thought good to advertise your Lordeshipp therof. His Grace desired to have had me to Kenynghale, to his howse there, but I besought hym to pardon me therof, it was so ferre from me; and so, to satisfy his desire, I promysed to mete hym at Framyngham, whiche ys but 24 miles from me; besechyng your Lordeshipp to advertise me, by your next letters, of the Kynges Magestes retourne to London, or nere there abowt, with suche other occurrauntes, as your Lordshipp maye. And thus fare your good Lordshipp hertely well.

CXV. COVERDALE *and* GRAFTON *to* CRUMWELL.[3]

AFTER most humble and due salutacions to Your moost honorable Lordshippe. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we are instantly desyred of oure hoste, (whose name is Fraunces Reynold[4], a Frenchman) to make supplication for him,

[1] Crumwell was not tempted by this bribe. In 31 H. VIII. he obtained for himself a grant of the site of St. Osyth's Abbey. That of St. John in Colchester does not appear to have been alienated by the Crown, till 1 Edw. VI., when it was granted to John Earl of Warwick.

[2] Near Colchester, in Essex.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in he Chapter House, Bundle C. In Coverdale's writing.

[4] Francis Regnault soon afterwards fell under the displeasure of the Holy Inquisition, for printing the Bible in English. The substance of the citation against him, dated 17 Dec. 1538, is

him, unto your Lordshippe. Where as, of long tyme, he hath bene an occupier in to England more then 40 yere, he hath allwayes provyded soche bookes for England, as they moost occupied; so that he hath a great nombre, at this present, in his handes, as Prymers in Englishe, Misseles, with other soche like, wherof now (by the Company of the Booksellers in London) he is utterly forbydden to make sale, to the utter undoyng of the man. Wherfore moost humbly we beseke your Lordshippe, to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he maye have lycence to sell those, which he hath done allready; so that, herafter, he prynte no moo in the English tong, onlesse he have an English man, that is lerned, to be his correctour, and that is the man well contented withall. He is also contented, and hath promised, before my Lord Elect of Harfford[1], that yf there be founde any notable faute in his bookes, he will put the same out, and prynte the leafe agayne. Thus are we bolde to wryte unto your Lordshippe, in his cause, (as doth also my Lord Elect of Herfford) beseching your Lordshippe to pardon oure boldnesse, and to be good lorde unto this honest man, whose servaunt shall geve attendaunce upon your Lordshippes most favorable answere. Yf your Lordshippe shewe him this benefyte, we schall not fare the worsse in the readynesse and due expedicion of this your Lordshippes worke of the Bible, which goeth well forwarde, and, within few monethes, will drawe to an ende, by the grace of Allmightie God, who preserve Your good Lordshippe, now and evermore. From Parys, the 12th daye of Septembre.

(*Signed*) MYLES COVERDALE.
(*Signed*) RYCHARD GRAFTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and their syngular good Lorde, the Lorde Prevye Seale.

CXVI. CRANMER *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MY veray singuler good Lord. After my moste hartie commendations, theis shalbe to signifie unto Your Lordeship, that Bartelett and Edward Whitecherche hath ben with me, and have, by thair accomptes, declared

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is given by Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, p. 83. A copy of it (Cleopatra, E. V. 326.) is headed by Boner, in his own hand, "The copie of the second citation & inhibition agaynst the prynter "of the Englishe Bible."

[1] Boner, who was, at this time, Ambassador in France, was elected to the Bishoprick of Hereford, and was translated to London, without having been ever confirmed in the former See.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

thexpensis

thexpensis and charges of the pryntyng of the great Bibles [1]; and by thadvise of Bartelett, I have appoynted theym to be soulde for 13^{s} 4^{d} a pece, and not above. Howebeit, Whitechurche enformeth me, that your Lordeship thinketh it a moore conveniente price to have theym solde at 10^{s} a pece, which, in respecte of the greate chargis, both of the papar (which in very dede is substanciall and good), and other great hinderaunces, Whitechurche and his felowe thinketh it a small price. Nevertheles they ar right well contented to sell theym for 10^{s}, so that you wolbe so good Lorde unto theym, as to graunte hensforth none other lycence to any other printer, saving to theym, for the printyng of the said Bible; for els thei thinke that thei shalbe greately hindered therbye, yf any other should printe, thei susteynyng suche charges as they al redie have don. Wherfore, I shall beseche your Lordeship, in consideration of their travaile in this behalf, to tender thair requestes [2], and thei have promysed me to prynte in thende of their Bibles the price therof, to thente the Kinges lege people shall not hensforth be deceyvid of thair price.

Farther, yf your Lordeship hath known the Kinges Highnes pleasure concernyng the preface of the Bible, whiche I sent to youe to oversee, so that His Grace dothe alowe the same, I pray you, that the same may be delyvered unto the said Whitechurch, unto printyng; trusting that it shall both encorage many slowe readers, and also stay the rash judgementes of theym that reade therin. Thus Our Lorde have Your good Lordeship in His blessed tuition. Att Lambeth, the 14th day of November.

Your own ever assured,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'.

(*Superscribed*)
To my singuler good Lorde,
my Lorde Privie Seale.

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[1] This must have been the Translation commonly called Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, of which several editions were published in the year 1539. It is remarkable that neither of them appears to have been printed by Barthelet and Whitchurch jointly.

[2] This advice was followed by the Proclamation, which is referred to before, p. 561, note [2], and to which the date of 14 Nov. 31 Hen. VIII. (i. e. 1539.) is assigned by Rymer. The 14th of Nov. 1538 is more likely to be the true date of that document, for it would then precede (as it probably did) all the editions of Cranmer's Bible, and would be contemporaneous with this letter, which was manifestly written before the first of those editions was published.

CXVII. GRAFTON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER moost humble commendacions. Pleaseth it Your Lordship to undrestand, that it chaunsed, sence oure commynge into these partes, that James Nycolson, that dwelleth in Southwark, put in prynt the Newe Testament, bothe in Latyn and Englyshe. Which booke was delyvered unto us by a straunger; and when Master Coverdale had advysed and consydered the same, he founde his name added therunto as the Translatour, with the which he never had to do, nether sawe he it, befor it was full prynted and ended; and also founde the booke so folyshly done, ye, and so corrupt, that yt did not only greve him, that the prynter had so defamed him and his learnyng, by addynge his name to so fonde a thinge, but, also, that the commen people was depryved of the true and syncere sence of Godes true Worde, and also that soche an occasyon was mynystred to the enemyes of Godes Worde, that rather seke occasyons to rayle and sclaunder, then to be edefyed. And, therfore, at his moost honest and lawfull request, (although I had ynough to do besyde) I have prynted the same agayne, translated and corrected by Master Coverdale him selfe. Of the whiche bookes, now beynge fynesshed, I have here sent your Lordship the fyrst, (and so have I also sent unto my Lord of Cantourbury another, and almost to every Christen Bysshop, that is in the realme; My Lorde of Harfforde, also, hath sent to Mr Rychard Cromwell one of the same) the which I moost humbly desyer your Lordship to accept, havyng respecte rather unto my harte, then to the gifte; for it is not so well done, as my harte wolde wysshe it to be. I have also added, as your Lordship maye perceave, these wordes, "Cum gratia et pri-" vilegio Regis". And the day before this present, came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your Lordshipes letters to my Lorde of Harfforde, with the which was bounde a certen inhibition for pryntynge of bookes, and for addynge of these wordes "Cum privilegio". Then, assone as my Lorde of Harfforde had receaved yt, he sent ymedyatlye for Mr Coverdale and me, readynge the same thynge unto us, in the which is expressed that we shuld adde these wordes ("ad imprimendum solum"), which wordes we never heard of before, nether do we take it that those wordes shuld be added in the pryntynge of the Scripture (if yt be truly translated), for then shuld yt be a great occasyon to the enemyes to saye, that yt is not the Kynges acte or mynde to set yt forth, but only lycence the prynters to sell

[1] From the British Museum, Cleopatra, E. V. leaf 329.

soche,

soche, as is put forth. Wherfore moost humbly we beseke your Lordship to take no dyspleasour for that we have done, for rather then any soche thynge shuld happen, we wolde do yt agayne; but I trust the thynge yt selfe is so well done, that it shall not only please your Lordship, but also the Kynges Highnes, and all the godly in the realme. And where as your Lordship hath added in the sayd inhibicions, that your Lordship, and all the Kynges most honorable Councell, wylleth no booke from henceforth to be put in prynt, but that fyrst yt be alowed, at the least, by one Bysshop; we moost humbly beseke your Lordship to apoynt certen therto, that they maye be as readye to reade them, as other good men be to put them forth. For yt is now 7 yere, sence the Bysshopes promysed to translate, and set forth the Byble, and as yet they have no leasour. I praye God they may have. Howbeyt the Christen Bysshops in dede have small leasour. Thus I commyt your Lordship to the tuicion of Allmyghtie God, who evermore preserve Your good Lordship. At Parys, the firste daye of December.

Your humble and faythfull Servytour,

RYCHARD GRAFTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and their singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Prevaye Seale.

CXVIII. CRUMWELL *to* KING HENRY VIII. [1]

MY most bounden duetie, with all reverence, right humbly remembred to Your Majestie. Please the same to knowe, that this present mornyng Monsr de Castillon hath ben with me, and declared, that yesterdaye he receyved letters from the King, his Master, conteynyng answere to suche matiers as Your Highnes did geve hym charge to wryte of, the whiche he wold be gladd he myght, as son as could be, declare declare [2] unto Your Grace self, afore he shuld make any man participaunt therof; requiring me, therfore, to be his meane, that he myght have Your Graces favorable audience, asson as could be possible, and to knowe your graciouse pleasur therupon. In general, he affirmeth unto me that his Master, consydering the manyfold kyndnes and good turnes often receyved of Your Highnes, gevethe suche frendly, amyable, and gentil answere, as may be desired accordingly; but as touching the declaration of the special poinctes, he shewed hym self so loth

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. 1, leaf 257.

[2] Sic.

to

to declare them to me, afore he had exposed them to Your Majeste, that I could not, conveniently with honeste, presse hym of the same. Yet nevertheles I have, amonges communications at large, sucked of hym, that his Master woll he shuld shortely retourne thither to hym; and that bitwen thEmperour and hym there is no conclusion as yet taken, nor shalbe, afore his retourne from hens to his saide Master, and after conference had with hym; in the whiche, the said Castillon promisseth so to employe hym self, that there shall followe of his going, as he trusteth, many good effectes, and moche to the commodite both of Your Highnes and his Master. Albeit, I perceyve by his communication, that he locketh not to retourne to be resident here, but that som other shalbe sent in his stede. Further wading with hym, he hath shewed unto me, that the Bishop of Rome wold have established a Legat in Fraunce, as it was wount to be, but that his Master hath refused it, and woll in no maner wise consent therto. I lyke well that begynnyng. Upon occasion of the same, we commoned of Your Grace, howe litel ye regarded any the said Bishops unjust censures, and that I trusted other Princes wold regarde them the like. And yet further I casted in his worttes, that if they wolde regarde them, Your Highnes was, and shuld be hable both to defende and kepe your self upright, and offende sore such as wold offende Your Majeste; and that, in the same cace, they shuld not fynde Your Grace unfournished of all thinges expedient. Wherupon I toke occasion to bring hym up to myn armary, and have shewed unto hym such store of harneys and wepens as I have, the whiche he semed to esteme moche; and I tolde hym that there were other particular armaryes of the lordes and gentilmen of this Royaulme, more then the nombre of twenty, as well or better furnyshed, then myn was; wherat he woundred, and sayd that he thought Your Grace the Prince best furnished thereof in Christendom. We commoned of the cafart, Cornibus, that slaunderose frere. He said that Your Majesties Ambassadour, the Bishop of Hereford [1], hath sued and proposed certayn articles against him, the copie whereof he hath promessed to sende unto me; and, further, that the said Bishop hath ben very playn and rownde with Mess[rs] of the Counsell there. I have promesed unto hym that I shuld, with all diligence, sende to knowe Your Graces pleasure touching his audience, and incontinently to geve unto hym knowlege thereof. Therfore I beseche most humbly Your Majestie, to take this my rude letters and procedinges in good, and to vouchesauf to advertise me of

[1] Edmund Boner was elected Bishop of Hereford, in Nov. 1538, and translated to London in Oct. 1539; which fixes the date of this letter to be Feb. 3. 1539. See p. 589. note [1].

your graciouse pleasure upon the same, and all other thinges; being assured that in thaccomplishement of the same, and all other thinges committed to my charge, I shall employe and endevoir meself, most ernestly, with all my power, according to your most abundaunt benignite towardes me, your most humble servaunt, and as to my most bounden duetie it apparteyneth. The saide Castillon is moch desyrose of spede; and if it were possible to have your favorable audience tomorowe, he wold fayn see that Your Majestes most noble joyell, my Lorde Princes Grace. Wherby my pouer advice is, under your graciouse correction, that (if Your Highnes could have convenient leasure) it shuld be best to appoincte tomorrowe. Nevertheles your high Wisedome can better juge, what is most expedient; requiring forgevenes for this my bold audacite.

I have sent unto Your Majestie myn other letters, with a man that is lately arryved oute of Flaundres. By suche thinges as he shall declare unto Your Majestie, and also that my Lord of Southampton, Your Graces Admyral, sheweth to me, that he knoweth, by a ship lately arryved oute of Spayne, that there be no shippes there prepared, nor aboutes to be prepared for werre; I thinke, under your discretion, Your Majestie shal not nede to be hote, nor hasty, in concluding any thing with the Frenshe Ambassadour; seen the said mans declaration, and my saide Lorde Admyralles declaration, that there is no apprest of any ships in Spayne, to any purpose to be regarded. But your prudence passeth my capacite. Wherfor I remitte me to the same.

Your Highnes servaunt, Nicolas Cratzer, Astronomer, hath brought unto me this mornyng a boke, herin enclosed, of "the Solace and Consolation of "Princes," the whiche oon Georgius Spalatinus, somtyme scolemaister to the Duke of Saxon, and nowe oon of the chief prechours, desyred hym to deliver unto Your Majestie.

I mislike that thAmbassadour sayeth he shal not retourne. Thus I beseche Allmyghty God to sende Your Grace with prosperite and encreace of honour, mery and long lif. From London, this 5th of February.

Your Highnes most humble Servaunt
and Subject,
(*Signed*) Thoms Crumwell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most excellent
and noble Majeste.

CXIX. CRUMWELL *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

MY bounden duetie most humbly remembred to Your right excellent Majeste. Please Your Highnes to be advertised, that this present mornyng I have received letters from Mr Wryothesley, Your Graces Ambassadour in Flaunders, dated the 9th of this present[2], conteynyng a long discours of his accesse to the Quene[3], and asking of his leave to retourne to Your Majestie. The whiche letters, bicause [*they*] be long and diffuse, I have thought not to trouble Your Grace with the reading of them, but in fewe wordes to declare the substaunce thereof; which is, that the Quene often tymes desyreth, and prayed, instanted, yea, and herselfe and her Counseill entreated, Your Highnesses said Ambassadeur to tarry there, tyll she shuld have answer from England, wher she had alredy [*sent*] a poste, and loked dayly for his commyng. Whereunto the said Mr Wryothesley answered, that he was but Your Graces servaunt, and that he had commandement absolute from Your Majeste to retourne [*home, which*] no maner of their prayers or instaunt desirs could excuse hym of; instantly agayn desiring them, that he might fulfylle the same. Whereto she said that his demore should per[*case*] do more good to thentretenement and encreace of thamytie bitwen Your Grace and thEmperour, then he thought; and that he shold have no cause to repent. Gret instaunce was made on both parties, with discours of assuraunce of thamytie, and observation of the treaties and allyances; but Mr Wryothesley, in conclusion, wold never agree to their petition, but fulfille your commandement, onles they shuld stoppe hym, or commaunde hym the contrary. Wherunto the Quene, after sundry wordes of prayer and requisition, said, "Well," quod she, "take my prayer for a commandement, "and I woll write to the King, your Maister, that ye did so". Agayn she said, "I praye you take this frendely, and rep[*ute*] it, as it were a freendely "commandement; thEmperours Ambassadeur", quod she, "taryeth agenst "my commaundement in England, at your Maister's instance, and I am not "angry he so doth, at his instance, to gratifie him". So upon thise discourses and commandement, he agreed to tarye. She said it was for non other, but that on frende myght commaunde the servaunt of an other. Wherupon your said Ambassadeur requireth Your Majestie most humbly to pardon him.

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[1] This letter is slightly injured by fire and damp. It is in the Museum, Galba, B. X., leaf 35.

[2] Extant in the State Paper Office.

[3] The Regent of Flanders.

Of newes and occurrences, he hath writen in his said letters, he hath hearde, but onely of marchauntes, that thEmperour hath taken trewes with the Turke, for 14 yeres. He hath letters from Venece, that the Veneciens, as it is thought, woll shortely make an ende with the Turk, if it be not made secretly. He hath hearde that the King of Denmarch hath stopped his portes, and maketh provision for defense; and that of truth the Landgrave of Hesse doth levye men for the werr. This is theffect of those [*long*] and diffuse letters, I have receyved.

Mr Sydney hath ben with me this mornyng; to whom I have declared your most graciouse favour[1] and p[*rotection,*] and byden him to reasorte unto Your Majeste, to knowe your further [*commands*]. It shalbe good Your Highnes pleasure be declared unto hym, whither he shall wayte upon the sam in Kent, this voyage and journey, or noo. This berer, [*my*] nephiew, shall supplye the rest of my letter by mouth. And so I beseche Your Majestie to take thies my letters in good parte, and to commaunde unto me, [*your*] most humble servaunt and beddesman, that shalbe your pleasure, to be fulfilled accordingly. Almyghty God sende Your Majestie all your most noble hertes [*desire*]. From London, this 12 of Marche.

Your Highnes most humble Subjecte,

(*Signed*) THOMS CRUMWELL.

CXX. CRUMWELL *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

MY most bounden duetie to Your most excellent Majeste, with all honour and reverence, right humbly offred. Please it the same to be advertised, that I have receyved such letters as were directed to me, both from Your Graces Oratours[3] the Bishop of Rome, and Mr Wryothesley, the whiche I have diligently readen and perused; and not onely according to your gracious pleasure directed my letters to the Bishop of Hereforde, conteynyng, in effect, the thre poinctes signified unto me by Mr Sadleyers letters, on Your Graces behaulf. I thought better to despech them by my private letters, then to put Your Highnes in the payne to have writen and troubled your self with the same. To Mr Wryothesley I had writen afore, that he shuld accelerate his retourne with all spedy diligence; so that he myght be

[1] He was made Chamberlain to Prince Edward.

[2] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 263.

[3] Sic in Orig.; "with" is omitted.

assone

assone retourned at Calais, as Chappuys[1] shuld arryve thither, or before; bicause I have, on Your Majesties behalf, contremaunded Your Majesties Deputie there, that in cace the said Chappuys shuld arryve there, bifore Mr Wryothesley's cummyng, the said Deputie, under colour of honourable and kynd entretenement, shuld honestly, and as it were for to shewe hym gentilnes, and make hym good chere, to kepe hym and reteyn hym there, untyll he shuld be sure of Mr Wryothesley arrivaill at Calais, or within the marches of the same, withoute any daunger; and in cace that the said Chappuys could not be that waye persuaded to tarye, but instantely desire to departe, that then the said Depute shuld playnely saye unto hym, that forasmoch as he had a certain general restraincte bifore this, and afore the date of his passeport, he desireth him to tary, tyll he shuld knowe Your Graces pleasure, being upon the very see syde, and where he shuld have, every tyde, oportunite to sende and receyve answer, or untyll the said Wryothesley shuld be arryved. But I think my letters to the said Depute shall not nede to be put in ure; for the said Chappuys is as yet here, and hath desyred to borowe a lytter of me, if I had had any, as in dede I had noon. He can not ryde, nor goo well, wherfore he is aboute to be furnyshed of a lytter to be caryed in. He hath instanted me to have Your Graces letters of his departure to the Quene and to thEmperour. I have caused them to be writen in such a maigre sorte, as I thought the cace required it. I referre to Your Graces pleasure the correction and signature of them. The said Chappuys desyreth moch, that yet, afore his departure oute of the realme, he myght have agayn accesse to, and speke with Your Majestie; I take it to be for declaration of some pleasant wordes of thEmperours good mynde and affection. Your Highnes may, as cause shalbe to your discretion seen, resolve and advertise hym of your graciouse pleasure in that behalf.

My Lady Kyngeston hath been with my, and other of Your Majesties Counseill; very conformable she hath ben to Your Graces mynde, and gladd to folowe the same, most humbly thancking Your Highnes, with teares in her eyen, and beseching Your Grace pardon, if in any thing she had displeased the same; behaving her self very obedyently, and of merveillouse good inclination.

With like thankes Mr Benton, and my Lady his wiff, have wyllyngly accepted the charge by Your Grace appoincted unto them, very ernest to endevoire them selfes to the uttermost, to fulfyll your graciouse commande

[1] Eustace Chapuis, the Imperial Ambassador.

in

in all poinctes. There is ordre taken for my Lorde Princes assayes, aswell of all kynde meates and drink, as of waters, to be taken tyll Your Grace shall otherwise provide.

This daye, being my Lord Chancelour, my Lorde of Sussex, and the Bishop of Duresme with my, I have receyved letters from the President and Counseillours of Your Graces Counseill in the North, dated 9° Marcij, conteynyng that a certain Frenshe ship, laden with Scotishe goodes, wether dryven at South Schelis, in the countie of Duresme; whereof thErle of Westmerland having advertisement and by certain persons from Scotland advice yeven afore, serched the ship, found under the bagages in the botom thereof a nest of traytours; that is to saye, oon Robert More, preste of Chicester, which was lately scapped from Hexams prison, and two Irishe men, a monke and a frere, who had with them sediciouse and trayterouse letters agenst Your Grace, directed to the Bishop of Rome, and to the traytour Pole; amonges the which, ther was oon from that yong rebell trayter, Fitz Gerald [1], to the Cardinal Pole; conteynyng the kyndnes he had founde in hym, and in his, and requiring him not to put him in oblivion, but beleve the said monke: his hand and scell be at the same. Also there be letters long, from an arant traytour, Rurik, Bishop of Derensis [2] in Your Graces lande of Irland, his hand and grete seale at it, to the Bishop of Rome, declaring the calamites of the Papistes in Irland, with sundry trayterouse lyes agenst Your Graces officers there; another letter of credence to the said Pole, and many other. We have examyned them, and doo fynde the same to be cause of disclosing many thinges. They lacke almost thEnglishe and Laten tong; wherfore I have put men, understanding the Irishe and Laten tong, to examyne them, and write their depositions; and, the same had, I shall, by my next letters, advertise Your Majestie of the hole effect, more particularly. We thinke it, as it were, a myracle, that God drave them hither to be disclosed and punished; and assuredly they thynke no lesse or greter then we doo. Their letters were hydden in corners. But other letters there were from Scotishemen to marchauntes of Dieppe, and for certain bulles and dispensations to be obteyned at Rome for Scottes, which touched nothing Your Graces subjectes nor affaires; wherfore, being the same opened and perused, they have ben redelivered agayn, and the Frenshe ship suffred to departe. Amonges the Scotishe letters, there was but oon thing notable,

[1] Gerald, Son of Gerald 9th Earl of Kildare, who died in the Tower in 1534, and half-brother of Thomas 10th Earl of Kildare, who was attainted and executed in 1537. He escaped to Cardinal Pole, and was, in 1554, restored to his inheritance, and became 11th Earl of Kildare.

[2] Roderick O'Donell, Bishop of Derry.

that

that is, thAbbot of Melros wrote to some freend of his at Rome, that noon indultes or expeditions obteyned there shuld take no effect in Scotland, withoute the licence of their Prince. The which purpose I like well; trusting that the mercy of God woll extende his brightnes upon them, to perceyve the truth of his Word and Gospell, to the Bishops confusion[1].

I have despeched Michel, according to Your Graces commandement; assuredly I take hym to be suche, as Your Grace jugeth hym. He desyreth yet to speake ones with Your Grace, but I remitte the same to your highe discretion. I perceyve, by his rapport, that Your Grace shewed unto hym that the yong Ducke of Cleves[2] was decessed, and that he answered to Your Highnes, that then the Duke of Sax shuld be heyer[3], having maryed theldest doughter; and that he is advertised that, by a general assent of the hole countreyes, that, in this cace, the Duk of Sax shuld enjoye all; and further, that the Dukdoms of Cleves, Julik, Berghes, and Gheldres, have made an allyaunce and promesse to stycke all togeder, and hold oon with an other; and so he concluded that the Ducke of Sax shuld have the joyssance of all them. But whither it be true or noo, I can not tell; for thEmperours Ambassadour, aboutes Wenesdaye, byddyng me adiew for his departure, amonges other purposes saide unto me, that the Dukdoms of Cleves, Julik, Berghes, and Geldres, if the Duke shal dye, owe to come to his handes, for they be Imperiall Fees, as he said, and that he doubted not the Duke of Sax woll not entremedle therwith, onles some of them shuld be inheritable to the heyres general, for then (he said) the Duke of Sax shuld have the same. We shal heare more of it shortely. I spedd away, yesterdaye, Richard Harman towardes the partes of Julik; he hath promesed shortely to bring worde again, and I think assuredly he woll not faile. I have sent for Sir John Cornewallys, who shalbe here a Sondaye.[4]

A Thursdaye, I receyved letters from Harvel, Your Graces servaunt and subject, nowe dwelling at Venece; the oon directed to Your Majestie, conteynyng oonly thankes, and some other generall purpose of his good affection. I beseche Your Grace to regarde his good will and zele in good part, and consydere that, within a litel tyme, he shalbe better hable to do service, and gett experience of Your Graces affaires. The other letters be

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[1] This paragraph is printed by Ellis.

[2] John, the Pacific, Duke of Cleves, died in 1539, and was succeeded by his son William; so that no question arose as to the descent of the Duchy to the Duke of Saxony.

[3] John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, eldest daughter of John Duke of Cleves.

[4] The subsequent parts of this letter are also printed by Ellis.

directed

directed unto me, conteynyng, besides thankes, certain occurrences there. Your Highnes shal receyve them herewith.

The Irishe monke purposed to resorte unto the traytour Pole; he was with hym in Fraunce, and at Camerik, the last tyme that the said Pole was there.

I trust, in the meane tyme, to be continually occupied aboutes thaccomplishement of the commissions, and other Your Graces proposes and resolutions; for the whiche my Lorde Admyral is alredy goon to employe hym self, for his part; and my Lorde of Suffolk is likewise goon to Lincoln shire. I trust our duetie shalbe so well employed to Your Graces service, that ye shal have cause of contentement, at the lest to take our doinges in good part. I beseche Your Majestie to accept our pouer good willes and smale power, who shalbe alwayes redy to obeye to thuttermost your graciouse commaundementes, and specially ye may be assured, for myn owne part; being of most bounden duetie obliged thereto. Thus I beseche Almyghty God to sende Your Majeste acomplishement of all your graciouse desires. Writen at London, the 14th of Marche.

Your Majesteis most bownden Subject
and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) Thoms Crumwell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most excellent
and most noble Majestie.

CXXI. Crumwell *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

After my most bounden duetie of honour and reverence most humbly remembred. Please it Your excellente Majestie to witte, that according to your graciouse pleasure, I, and other of Your Graces honorable Counseill, are ernestly employed to fulfylle Your Highnes pleasure signified unto us, and suche charges as we have of Your Royall Majestie, in suche wise, that, at your return, all thinges shalbe in as good forewardnes as may be.

My Lorde Admyrall hath advertised me by his letters, that he is aboute and hath ben, with most celerite for his part, to fulfyll the same. He had advertisement that in all Normandye, nor in the ryver of Roan[2], ther were no ships of werre, nor preparations of any; but that their was an ydell bruyt, nothing like to be true, that som ships shuld assemblee and

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 259.

[2] The Seine, the river of Rouen.

gather

gather to gither at Brest in Bretayn. Albeit there is no suche likelyhod at all, yet he woll sende thither prively a bark, to knowe assuredly the truth thereof. Many bruytes, rumoures, and reportes be made, aswell in and from Flaundres, as in and from som other parties, the groundes thereof being unexpressed, and all thinges well wayed, not like to be such in dede, as is reported. Men may somtyme, upon accumulation of suspicions and light conjectures, take a phantazie in dede, that their suspicions be true; other, trusting som false reporters, which myght fortune hath shewed them som true thinges, may perchaunce be deceyved by them. Other, merking the wordes of the inconstant and fyckel people bablyng abrode, thinke the same can not be so moche in the peoples mouth withoute som ground, as smoke is not without fyre. But for all this, somtyme such thinges do vanyshe awaye as the wynde. Yet, nevertheles, I can not but (lyke as Your Grace, of a merveyllouse high wisedom, for more assurance in all chaunces and occurrentes, maketh provision in tyme for defense) so to thinke, that Your Grace woll not be further moved or pricked by such reportes, or letters upon such unknowen reportes, suspicions, and tales grounded, than the thinges do appere; for assuredly, to my jugement, the thinges be more and further otherwise bruted a brode, then the meanyng, or the ded is. Assuredly, like as it is good to be ware and circumspect, so no lesse is to be avoyded overmoch suspicion; to the which if any man be ones geven, he shal never be quiete in mynd. Thies I do not write, as thinking Your Grace nedeth any warnyng thereof, being of so highe and excellent witt, prudence, and long experience; but that I wold declare unto Your Majestie, howe I do, for my part, take the thinges, and as I think other men shuld take them, and that no more celerite or precipitation of thinges shuld be used, then of congruencye. For undoubtedlye I take God to be not onely Your Graces protectour, but also a merveillouse favorer; so that in my hert I holde me assured, although all the rest shuld have conspired agenst Your Grace, yet ye shal prevaile, thorough His Grace, assuredly.

Seing that nowe I understande from Irland, that your rebelles Desmond, Byryn, ONell, and Odonell do moch combyne and practise to geder, I thinke a myracle of the arryvaill of the Irishe monke, whiche was wether dryven hither. They were 4 shipps at their departure of Scotland, a fortenyght ere they could procede any thing foreward; and by tempeste, 3 of them drowned in thother sight, wherin this monk was dryven to this Your Graces lande by the wynd; wherto, of all places in the world, he was the most lothe to arryve. It shalbe a grete hinderance to the saide Irishe rebelles purposes and practises, whan they shal knowe them selfes so to be, at this tyme, by the interception of this

monk, their messager, so interrupted. We can not, as yet, gett the pyth of his credence, wherby I am advised to morowe ones to go the Towre, and see hym sett in the brakes[1], and, by tourment, compelled to confesse the truth.[2]

As for commissions concernyng the bekyns, they were sent more then 3 veckes agon. I understand that som sheriffes have doon their duetie, som perchaunce be as yet negligent so to doo. Letters for the musters be also sent; and no doubte they shal doo their duetie in the fulfilling your pleasure in that behalf. I see good inclination, disposition, and towardnes of good will, in all Your Graces people; that, by all that I can see and heare, Your Majestie hath moche cause to thancke God thereof, and to rejoysse in your owne mynde, all maner mistrust sett apart. As for the return of the musters, it is not appoincted tyll Easter, by the which tyme all I trust shalbe don and certified: then, upon the certificates thereof, shal other letters be redy (for the special ayde and nombre every gentilman woll certifie to have of hym self ever in a redynes) to be sent, incontinent, at the arryvaill of the certificates of the general musters; so that I trust all thinges be in a good forewardnes. In the meane tyme, I, and other of Your Graces Counseill here, doo studye and employe our selfes dayly, upon those affaires that concernen Your Graces Parlament[3], and to prepense and prepare in the same, and other, all that we may thinke to Your Highnes satisfaction.

I thinke Chappuys woll resorte towardes Your Grace, to see wither it shalbe your pleasure to geve unto hym accesse, or no; wherupon I have thought to shewe you my mynde concernyng his departure and licence to go a waye. Albeit it may appere Your Majesties ministres, by the tenour of their letters, be in very grete suspition; yet I thinke, for asmoche as I can not perceyve expresse and manifest ground thereof, and that, as this daye, there be 3 or 4 hoyes arryved out of Flaundres, laden with marchandise, and good numbre of money in the same, that the going a waye of the said Ambassadour shuld not be letten, but his leave graunted. For it were to abhominable that they shuld steye Mr Wryothesley, or any other your ministres, as I beleve for shame they will not do. Therfore, wheras heretofor I have writen unto Your Majesties Depute at Calais, under the colour of good chere and entretenement, to kepe the said Chappuy there; or elles if he wold not suffer to be so steyed by colour of fair entretenement, tyll Mr Wryothesley

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[1] The brake was an instrument of torture, called the Duke of Exeter's daughter. See Holinshed, p. 670., and Steevens' note on Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, Act II. Scene 1.

[2] This passage respecting the Irish traitors is printed by Ellis.

[3] Parliament met 28 April 1539.

shuld

shuld retourne, that then he shuld saye unto him, that for a special restraincte made afore the date of his passport, he dereth not suffre him to passe, tyll Mr Wryothesley be com, or tyll he shuld further knowe Your Highnes pleasure upon that special point; requiring him to take pacience: I beseche Your Majestie to declare your owne pleasure; and in cace the same shalbe, that he may also departe from Calais, that then it may please Your Highnes to sende my letters herewith, to my Lorde Deputie, theffect whereof is to contremande the former letters, and that in nowise he shal steye the said Chappuys, whether the said Wryothesley be arryved, or no. The same I remitte holly to Your Highnes most prudent disposition and order; evermore assuring you, that my hert geveth me, whatsoever be said or writen of suspicion, yet nevertheles I trust certainly it shalbe but a face sett furth, and in a brout shall vanyshe awaye. It notwithstanding, as your determination is, so I most humbly beseche Your Grace to procede furth to your preparations, and to the good order is begon alredy.

I have caused the two Raguseys to be steyed, according to your graciouse mynde, tyll your pleasure be knowne, and likewise the Venecian, at Southampton.

The marchauntes straungers, which had their goodes in Mr Gonson ship, to the valour, to my jugement, of 50000 markes sterling, wold fayne lade the same upon other botoms, and conveye the same to be uttred and sold, as they purposed. They sue to me, to knowe your graciouse pleasure.

Your subjectes, the marchauntes of this towne, wold avanture, some of them, more of their goodes in to Flaundres, but I have steyed them at the custome house, tyll your further pleasure and resolution knowen; the which in this, and in all other thinges, as I shall knowe, so shall I not faile to accomplish, to the uttermost of my power. My mynde is ever to this purpose, that I shal ever mistrust my witt, or elles we shal fynde that all thies stourmes of rumoures have ben sett furth for a practise, which I trust shal shortely come to light. But for all that, the cost and paines Your Grace taketh nowe aboute the preparations and fortifications of the hole Realme, shalbe thought well employed.

Amonges other, for Your Graces Parliament, I have appoincted Your Majesties servaunt, Mr Morisson[1], to be oon of them; no doubte he shalbe redy to answer, and take up such as wold crake or face with literature of lernyng, or by indirectyd wayes, if any such shalbe, as I think there shalbe fewe, or noon; for asmoch as I, and other your dedicate Conseillers, be

[1] Sir Richard Morison, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

aboutes to bring all thinges so to passe, that Your Majestie had never more tractable Parlament. I have thought the said Morisson very mete to serve Your Grace therin; wherefore I besech the same to have hym in your good favour, as ye have had hitherto. I knowe his hert so good, that he is worthy favour in dede.

Thus most humbly beseching Your Majestie to pardon myn ignorance, and to take this my rude letters in good part, I supplie Our Blessed Creatour to sende Your Highnes encreace of honour and fortunat successes, and contynuance of long and joyfull liffe. Writen at London, this 17th of Marche, in the evening.

Your Highnes most humble Subject
and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) THOMS CRUMWELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes
Most Royall Majeste.

CXXII. CRUMWELL *to* KING HENRY VIII. [1]

MY duetie most humbly remembred. Please Your most [*gracious and*] noble Majestie to be advertised, that, this mornyng, I have [*received letters from*] Your Graces servauntes, Christophor Mount and Thomas Paynel, [*written at*] Franckford the 5th of this present moneth; theffect whereof is, that [*on the day*] of February last, the said Christophor had accesse to the Duke of Saxony, to [*whom*] (all other being aferre of) he declared theffect of his instructions the [*best manner*] he could; whereunto the Duck answered, that he wold with good will e[*ndeavour*] himself to his power, to do all thinges, and nothing to pretermitte or , that myght conduce to the perfection of this honest affaire; and that, for the singular love and affection he beareth to the Kinges Majestie. He said, also, that he knewe no part of thother Princes mynde, but he trusted they shuld meete shortly, and be to geder, and then shuld he endevoir him self to thaccomplishement of this matier; and that he had liever breke and open this mater him self, than by any other person, bicause he trusteth to spede better hym self, and the thing be kept more secretly. And whereas the said Christophor saide that thaffaire required spedy expedition, and desyred that Mr Burgartus, which had seen all, and could reporte my good mynd and hert, shuld be sent thither, for he could see and afferme the same; the

[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. XXI. leaf 86. Damaged by fire.

Duk

Duk answered, that incontinent after the assemblee of Franckford, he shal mete with thother Duck, and then he shal, if it shal so please Your Highnes, he shalbe mediateur and intercesseur bitwen both parties; and that he wolde be content to sent Burgart thider afore, but, forasmoche as he is not known, nor knoweth the Court there, he thinked better the matier shuld be differed, tyll they shuld mete. He said also, that the Comes de Aquila moved somtyme such a matier to Your Grace, and that he had the said Comes so moch at his commandement, that he shuld cause him to doo all the service therin he could. The said Christophor instantely sueth every day the acceleration of the matier, lest som other shal prevente it; and that, in the meane tyme, the picture may be sent. Wherunto the Duk answered, that he shulde fynd som occasion to sende it, but that his paynter, Lucas, was left sicke behynd hym at home. Every man prayseth the beawtie of the same Lady, aswell for the face, as for the hole body, above all other ladys excellent. One, amonges other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth asferre the Duchesse, as the golden son excelleth the sylveryn mone. Every man prayseth the good vertues and honeste, with shamefastnes, which appereth playnely in the gravitie of her face. Thus saye they, that have seen them both.

The said Christophor thinketh, the Diete shal not be finished, bifore the last ende of this moneth, and that the mart and the Diete shal chaunce to be at oon tyme. ThElecteurs Paltzgrave and Brandeburgh, with the Bishop of Londen [1], thEmperours Ambassadeur, employe them selfes to make a pacification, and to confirme the same; and hope to spede. ThErle of Nassau, thErle de Aquila, thErle William a Furstemburg, with many Frenshe capitaines, to the nombre of 20, arryved at Franckford two days passed; and, dayly, gentilmen more do resorte thither. There can as yet nothing be diffined of the conclusion of this Diete; and as every man hopeth well, so be they ware, that they be not deceyved or oppressed by the craft or puyssance of the Papistes, or of the Emperour. The States Protestantes have geven their petition more then 4 dayes passed, but as yet thEmperours Commissioners have geven no answer therto.

The said Christophor doth diligently instante and sue for the sending of an honerable ambassiate, but he hath not yet no answer; but they feale them selfes agreved, and do deteste the long dilations of our Court.

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[1] John Vesalius, Archbishop of Lunden in Sweden. He was afterwards banished from Sweden, and made Bishop of Constance in Suabia.

This

This daye thErle William a Furstemberg was at dyner with the Duk, which asked of him what newes; he answered, that there is labour made for trewes bitwen thEmperour and the Turke; then said the Duk, "to what pur- "pose shuld be all thies preparations thEmperour maketh?" ThErle anwered, that other men shuld care for. Then said the Duk, "the bruyte is here, it "shuld be agenst the King of England." Then said thErle, "the King of "England shall nede to take hede to him self". The same Bernard de Mela reported, who was present at the dyner, and desired the said Christophor to advertise Your Grace thereof, and have hym recommended most humbly. This is the hole effect of those letters, as Your Majestie may knowe by thoriginal thereof in Latin, which I sende herwith. The Duk of Cleves, as I heare say, is well recovred. If Your Grace woll have any thing writen to the said Christophor, we have nowe good commodite of men to conveye letters; wherfore I wold be glad to knowe your graciouse pleasure herein [1].

And, also, wheras my stuard, long afore this, hath withdrawen his wiff from my Lady Mary, Your Majesties doughter, and therupon Her Grace hath lately directed her letters unto her, which ye shal also have herewith, I beseche Your Highnes to knowe your gracious pleasure and mynd, whyther she shal retourne thither or noo; for assuredly, nor my saide stuard, nor she, wold do nothing to Your Highnes discontentation, wittingly, for all the world.

Your Majestie may be assured, that Your Highnes affaires, in all poinctes, can be no more accelerate, and more don to their expedition, then we all do to our powers; which undoubtedly be not ydell. Wherfor I besech Your Grace to pardon me, and take thies in good part, as I hope Your Majestie, of your accustumed benignite, woll do. So I praye Almyghty God ever to have Your Highnes in His blessed tuition, and sende Your Grace honour, prosperite, and long liff. Writen at London, this 18th of Marche.[2]

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[1] A long letter from Crumwell to Mont and Paynell, in answer to theirs from Frankfort of the 5th of March, was sent on the 22d, and is preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 283. leaf 147.

[2] This letter is in the same hand with others of Crumwell to the King. It wants a signature; but it was his invariable practice, in writing to the King, to sign at the extreme bottom of the page, which, in this volume (Vitellius, B. XXI.) is burnt.

CXXIII. ABBOT WHITING *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT honorable, my singler goode Lorde; my dewtie in recommendations in right humble wise remembred unto Youre goode Lordshipp. Pleasith it you to be advertised, that I have recevid the Kinges writte, commaunding me to cumme unto His Graceis high Parleament, to be holden at Westminster, the 28th daye of this present moneth of Aprile. My good Lorde, the trewthe is this, as knoweth Our Lord God, I have been greatlye diseased with dyvers infirmyties, more then this halffe yere, in somoche that for the more parte of the tyme I have not been able to labour fourthe of my housse, and I cannot ryde, nother yett goo well, but with the helpe of my staffe, in veray greate payne; by reason whereof I am not able to do my moste bownden dewtie unto the Kinges Mageste, as with all my hoole harte and wille I wuld do; and that right moche grevith me, as knoweth God. In consideration whereof, goode my Lord, in whom is my singler truste, I hartely and right humblie beseke you, be goode lorde unto me, as ye alwayes hitherto have been; and if your Lordship thinke it so to be best, it may please you, of your great charitie and goodeness, to move the Kinges Highnes for me, that, of his moste habundant grace and pitie, it may please His Highnes moste graciously to pardon me, and to be absent, at this tyme, from this His Graceis saide Parleament[2]; wherein your goode Lordship may do towardes me a right mercifull and charitable acte, as knoweth God. But if the Kinges pleasure be so, I wulbe gladlye caryed thider in a horsse litter, to accomplisshe His Graceis pleasure and commaundement, rather then to tary at home. My goode Lorde, I am not able to make you recompense accordinglye, otherwise then with my moste hartye prayers, which, of my veray dewtie, I am bounden to rendre unto Almyghtie God, for the greate goodenes your goode Lordeshipp hath alwayes doon to me herebifore. As knoweth God, who alwayes preserve Your good Lordshipp in honour. At Glastonbury, the 7th day of Aprile.

Your Lordshipps Bedisman assured,
(*Signed*) RIC: ABBATT ther.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my singler goode Lord, my Lord Previe Seale, be this delivered accordinglie.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle G.

[2] On the 3d of May the proxy of Abbot Whiting was read in the House of Lords, he being absent by the King's licence, attested by Lord Crumwell. He is said by Burnet to have attended in Parliament, and to have been present at the passing of the Act for the suppression of the Greater Monasteries. Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 260. But as it does not appear by the Journals, that he attended, in person, during any part of the Session, Burnet must be understood to mean an attendance by proxy.

CXXIV. Crumwell *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Please it Your most excellent Highnes, my very bounden duetie remembred to Your most noble Royall Majeste, to understand, that even nowe I have receyved newes from the man of Antwerp, which Your Highnes wote of, writen in broken English, of the date of 11th of Aprill present moneth; theffect whereof is, that in Germayn, the Christen Princes assembled have as yet no answere from thEmperour, but they loke dayly for it, and also for the conclusion of all the practike. The said man writeth, the said 11th of Aprill, he receyved letters of the 24th of Marche from Toledo in Spayn, by the which he understandeth that thexchaunge of the 150000 crones, made by the Fowlkers and Welfers, to be paid in Augsburg within 2 monethes, shal serve for to assemble fotemen to be conduced to Geanes, for to go with thEmperours shippes, which he hath undoubtedly prepared for Barbaria; but forbicause thEmprresse is veray sicke, and with chyld, and her tyme to be brought to bedd within 2 or 3 monethes, untyll suche tyme as she be well, thEmperour doth not thinke to departe oute of Spayn. Wherfore he jugeth that the Englishemen ought not to feare any thing the flete of thEmperour, for they be all ordeyned for Barbaria, as he saieth he hath ever writen. He thinketh that thAdmyral of the Lowe Countreye is nowe upon the see, with all the flete, for Spayn; and his person shall passe no further, but retourne agayn to the Lowe Contreyes, by land. Englishemen may assuredly make their rekenyng, that thEmperour hath cause to think elleswhere then upon them. And for the verification and prove hereof, as he allegeth to have writen heretofore, thEmperour hath not consented to the Popes desires, nor that his mandementes shuld be published, neyther in Spayn, neyther in any other his dominions, that Englishemen shuld be destroyed, both bodyes and goodes, where so ever they could be found, as that Pope wold they shuld be; which desires, although he calleth them sanctissimo, yet we ought to repute tyrannissimo, and so the world ought to juge, seen that he procedeth withoute reason. But the Worde of God shal laste in eternum, and the truth shall have place in spytte of the Devill. The newes in Antwerp, from thEmperours Court, be, that aboute the later ende of Maye, the said Emperour shal take his waye towardes the Frenshe King, and his armeye surely go uppon Barbarya [2]. The Duchesse of Myllan

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 261.

[2] This and the next sentence have been printed by Ellis.

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is no more syck; and, in Antwerp, is hope that yet Your Highnes shall marye her. The 24th of Marche last, the said man of Antwerp receyved letters from Rome, from a freende of his; the tenour of his letters, worde by worde, by this, as he wryteth; "Here, at Rome, we heare nothing of any maner "busynes, but that the mynde and will of thise persones is well knowen, "as it may be better consydered then told. The practise that nowe goth "aboute here, bitwen the twayn, is withoute that the thyrd have any part "in it, and so clere, as your freendes at Lyons and Antwerp may more "nerer discover the truth. As for me, I have thought tyll nowe, that it "had ben but a fayned thing, and an opinion vulgare, withoute any foun-"dation; but syth that, in diverse parties, there is conformable talking of "it, I thinke therupon, and it semeth unto me to be of good lykelyhod, "that the oon of the felowes, that is ever gladd to hold and kepe in hand, "is for to sett the other in some snare or tanglyng, and that he doth for "the same geve him faire wordes to feade him with; albeit he hath no "mynde to com to theffect, and that if he shuld com to it, peradventure "he thinketh to leave him in the daunce, and revolve him self to som "other place; by the which way the other shuld remayne quyte of such "thinges, as be demaunded of him, or the felowe shuld lese som steye of "freendes, if he have any, with danger to make banke rota; which shuld "be more pleasure to the other, then to see his encreasse. In this cace," (he writeth) "if I were asked of conseill, being I withoute the arte of "divination, I could non other but holde my peace. Sithens thise 3 "monethes it rayneth here styll. Of the Turke is litel talking, and "here is not seen any apparat to offende him. The 24th of March, "Petro Bembo hath ben published Cardinal". Hitherto is theffect of the letters fro Rome, worde by worde; which is somwhat darke, but I take THE Two to be thEmperour and the Frenshe King, and THE THYRD the Bishop of Rome; and to my jugement he meyneth them. I doubte not, but your high Wisedom may better juge of all the same, than I.

This daye I have writen Your Graces advises to your servauntes, Christophor Mount and Thomas Paynell[1], to be declared unto the Duke, and Landsgrave, as Your Highnes prescribed unto me. Other newes I have not to write unto Your Highnes. Wherefore requiring Your Grace to take thies

[1] Mont and Paynell were despatched from England, in December 1538, on a mission to the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. A Diet of the Protestant Princes was held at Frankfort, February 12th 1539.

my rude letters in good part, I beseche Almyghty God to contynue and encreace your prosperite and honour, with helth long to endure. From London, this 16th of Aprill.

Your Magestes most humble Subject
and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) Thoms Crumwell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Excellent
Royall Majeste.

CXXV. Crumwell *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

My most humble and bounden duetie remembred to Your Excellent Majeste. It may please the same to be advertised, that, as this present daye, I had not failed to sett foreward and prepared that, as to morowe, I myght hade wayted, and geven my due and promissed attendaunce upon Your Highnes; but that I fynde upon me some grutge of an ague, and thinke that, withstanding the first bruntes, by the sparing of oon or two dayes, I shalbe the better hable to contynue my duetie of service towardes Your Grace many monethes and yeres; and yet, in the meane tyme, I shal not be ydell, but intende to Your Majesties service, as I have don hitherto, and shall, as long as God shal geve me breth and power to styrre.

I have, sithens my last letters, receyved advertisementes from Your Graces Oratour in Flaundres, Stephan Vaughan, a grete part wherof Your Highnes hath had alredy. Part of them, as thadvise of the Bishop Lundensis[2], thEmperours Ambassadeur in Frankford, we hard not afore; but seen they advise to take such waye, as his jugement is they shuld doo, so I thinke, bicause it shall not be easy to them to compasse their purpose, that, at the last, their entreprises shal com to nothing, and so in space shal appere Goddes grace. In your letters, by the said Vaughan writen to Your Majestie, the matiers may be seen more at large, and for that purpose I have joyned them herewith.

Upon the letters sent unto me by Your Highnes most honorable Counseill, the Marquise[3] hath ben examyned; and in effect, albeit she pretendeth ignorance, and no knowlege of the person that shuld reporte the tale, yet nevertheles she confesseth, in substance, the moch like wordes to have ben told her. I shall assaye to the uttermost of my power, and never cesse, tyll

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[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I. leaf 265. [2] See note to p. 605.
[3] Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, erroneously termed Salisbury by Ellis

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the botom of her stomacke may be clerely opened and disclosed; and to that shal I not be slack, to thintent that if I may pycke oute the same, and be as helthy as I trust to make meself, I shall, on Mondaye next, by mouth, declare the same unto Your Highnes, more then I could by any writing. I trust Allmyghty God shall bringe all thinges to lyght, that any ungodly and untrue persons have conspired agenst Your Grace, as hitherto (praysed by God) it hath ben seen [1].

The ernest and true examynation of Leynham, sheweth that of a long season he hath ben a madd prophete; assuredly, asferre as any man may juge, the man is but a pyvyshe foule, and no parte of the sprite of true prophetie can be found in hym. Many such foules have bene in tymes; and, as I thinke, the feld of the world woll never be withoute suche noyefull weddes amongest the good corne, but hervest shal, I trust, make an ende of them.

Here arryved yesterday oon Hieronymo, an Italian of Senes, a man of moche outward simplicite, and as weake lernyng, as ferre as I can perceyve. He fledd the persecution of the Papistes in Italy, and went to Witteberg, where he hath bene but a litel season; yet, nevertheles, he hath letters of commendation from Martin Luther, Philip Melanchton, Creutziger, Oziander, and other lerned men, and therewith some letters to my Lord thArchebishop of Canterbury, and to Your Graces chapleyn, Mr Thyxstyll. The simplicite of the man, and his rude appareill and behaviour, shewe the man not to be, in my jugement, gretely suspected. I have sent him to the said Archebishop, aswell for to juge of his lernyng, as also for to helpe him, as he shal see cause [1].

I have receyved letters from my Lord of Norfolk, which I sende herewith, to thintent that Your Highnes may knowe, howe grevously his Lordship taketh the assignement, I have made to Anthony Rouse, of oon of Sir Edward Ichinghams doughters; who, by all the very true advertisementes that I can have, is Your Majesties warde, and, to Your Graces use, appointed to the custodye of the said Rouse. I am sory he taketh the mater so moche to hert, seen the said Antony Rouse hath ben, and is, reported an honest and indifferent man. I remitte the resolution and disposition of the hole matier to Your Highnes; not doubting, but your most excellent Wisedom can, weyeng the matier, weye also therwith my saide Lorde the Duke of Norfolkes good merites, and determyne the best in that mater, to be fulfylled and accomplished accordingly.

[1] These two passages have been printed by Ellis.

I beseche Your Majeste to take myn absence in good part, and to excuse my default of promesse for this tyme. Prayeng Almyghty God to sende Your Grace full accomplishement of all your most noble desires. From London, this 19th of Aprill.

Your Highnes most humble Subject
and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) THOMS CRUMWELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most Noble
Majeste.

CXXVI. SIR PIERS EGGECOMB *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLESSE it Ywr goode Lordeshyp to be advertyssyd, that the Kyngys Majesty hath commandyd me, at my beynge in hys gracius presens, that in casse I parceyvyd any grugge, or myscontentacyon a mongge hys sojectes, I shulde ther off advertysse ywr Lordeshyp by my wrytynge. Hyt ys now comme to my knolegge, this 20 daye of Apryll, by a ryght trew honest man, a servant off myn, that ther ys moche secrett, and severall communycacyons amongges the Kyngges sojettes; and that many off them, in sundry places with in the scheres off Cornwall and Devonsher, be in greate feer and mystrust, what the Kyngges Hyghnes and hys Conseyll schulde meane, to geve in commaundement to the parsons and vycars off every parisse, that they schulde make a booke, and surely to be kept, wher in to be specyffyyd the namys off as many as be weddyd, and the namys off them that be buryyd, and of all thoes that be crystynyd[2]. Now ye maye perceyve the myndes off many, what ys to be don, to avoyde ther unserteyn conjecturys, and to contynue and stablysse ther hartes in trew naturall loff, accordynge ther dewties, I refferre to ywr wyssdom. Ther mystrust ys, that somme charges, more then hath byn in tymys past, schall growe to theym by this

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle E. The letter is wholly in Sir Piers's handwriting.

[2] Crumwell's first Instructions to the Clergy, after he became Vice-gerent, which were issued in 1536, did not require Parish Registers to be kept. They were first enjoined by the 12th article of his Instructions of 1538 (printed at length by Burnet, in the Collection appended to the first volume of his History of the Reformation, p. 178). And as they were not issued, according to Strype, till the months of September and October, the date of this letter must have been in 1539. It is a curious fact, that the same mistrust which here appears to have arisen from the first institution of Parish Registers, namely, that they were to be converted to the purposes of taxation, was revived almost three centuries after, among the common people, when the first Act passed, in 1801, for a census of the population.

occacyon

occacyon off regesstrynge of thes thyngges; wher in, yff hyt schall please the Kyngges Majeste to put them yowte off dowte, in my poar mynde schall encresse moche harty loff. And I besseche Our Lorde preserve yow ever, to Hys pleasser. 20th daye off Apryll. Scrybelyd in hast.

(*Signed*) P. Eggecomb.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Privy Seall ys goode Lordesshyp, be this yevyn.

CXXVII. Crumwell *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

My most bounden duetie of reverence and honour to Your Majeste right humbly remembred. It may like the same to wite, that to my grete regret sorowe and displeasour, by reason of certain accesse of a fever tertian, that is com upon me, I am compelled to be nowe absent, and to forbeare such myn attendaunce upon Your Royall Highnes, as sundry wayes I am bounde unto, and as I purposed yesterdaye in the mornyng, and made meself redy to have don, whan my fytt of the ague casted me downe, and held me in a grete hete aboute a 10 howres. The payne of the disease greveth me nothing so moch, as that doth, that I can not be, as I shuld, there present, and employe my power to Your Graces affaires and service, as my hert desyreth to do; but I trust so to withstande myn ennemy the fever, in the very begynning, and eer ever it shal have mor hold upon me, that I trust shortely to overcom it. In the meane tyme, I doubte not but Your bonteouse and benigne Grace, of his accoustumed clemency, woll hold me for excused, and thereof I beseche Your Majesty most humbly.

I have, in this meane space, devised a fourme of instructions for Mr Sadleyer, the which I thought to have brought meself, and have knowen your graciouse pleasur therupon. The same shall Your Highnes receyve herewith; prayeng Your Majeste to take my pore devise in good part, and graciousely to supplie my defawtes therin.

I have also, in the mean tyme, writen in to Flaundres to Mr Vaughan, your Oratour, to seke and knowe howe after what fashon the hulkes shalbe dismissed in Holand, why they have ben discharged from their voyage, and other like thinges, and thereof tadvertise. To Maisters Wotton and Berde I have writen, that if they can gett the pictur of the Lady[2], that Mr Berde

[1] From the Museum, Nero, B. VI. leaf 5.

[2] Anne of Cleves.

shal

shal retourn hither with diligence therwith, and Mr Wotton to tarye ther, tyll he shal have som more effectuall answer, &c.

To Maisters Christophor and Paynell I have also writen, that they shuld warn the Princes not to moch to trust to faire wordes; and to consyder why, and to what purpose, thexchange of the 150000 crowns shuld be made, &c., exhorting them to the inculcation thereof &c., and diligently to so sollicite an answer.

After the depeche of Mr Tate, I have sent Nicolas, your currour, in to Spayn, to cause Mr Wyat to prepar his instructions and advises to Mr Tate, agenst his commyng; and that he may, as shortely as he can, resorte in poste to Your Highnes, for the satisfaction of your mynde concernyng that mater, which he could not wryte, but onely shewe to Your Grace by mouth. By the said currour, I addressed, also, my letters to my Lord of Hereford, advising him of such occurrences as we hadd. And from hym, to my grete merveille, as yet I have receyved no maner letters, nor from any other also, but I have evermore with diligence (as ever I shal) sent the same to Your Majestie. Newes oute of other partes we have non, but oute of Flaundres; that is, howe the hulkes wer contremanded to retourn bak; the sending of Andelo in post to the Bishop of Rome, to Andreas de Auria, to the Veniciens, and to retourn within 45 days; that thEmperour purposeth to com in to Flandres; and that the Frenshe King wold have him to passe thorough his realme, but he entendeth not so to do, and therfor it is thought, that Andelo is sent to make his excuses. And suche other poinctes, which Your Grace is already advertised of by other letters and advertisementes, the sam be confirmed to be true.

And also it is writen that the Princes in the Diete of Franckford ar not agreed, and that ther Diete shalbe proroged tyll Mydsommer, and concluded at Colonia; but of this I beleave nothing of certainte, not doubting but Your Graces Oratours ther shal geve diligent advertisement, if any such thing shuld be.

Monsr de Marrillac, the Frenshe Kinges Ambassadour, sent me worde, that he had som newes, not of grete importance, to make me participant of; requring to know, whan I myght have leasur to hear him. Wherupon, seing myself in myn accesse of fever, I sent Solemont unto hym, desyring hym to have me excused, and no lesse to declare unto him, than he wolde to meself. His declaration was, that by letters of Monsr de Rangon, and by other advertisementes, he had advise that assuredly the Turke made merveillouse preparations, both by see and by land, to invade Christendom; and that alredy he had sent a grete armye towardes Castro Novo, which the Veniciens

Veniciens toke from him, to recover it, if he can; and that the Sophy, King of Perse, had an Oratour with the Turk. And, interroged by the said Soulemont, whither the said Turke wold converte his forces, he answered, that he was extremely sett and bent agenst the Venicienes, and that he was utterly determyned to extincte them, and to put them to the worst, aslong as he shal have any power; and that of peace or trewes he shuld never take noon with the said Veneciens; that Gritti of Venise was in Turky, in dede, but he pretended not to be as Oratour of the Veniciens, but as a sutour to have certain goodes, which George Gritti, his brother, (who died in Turkye) had left unto him, at the tyme of his decesse; but that nevertheless, if he shuld have perceyved opportunite, the Veniciens had geven hym charge to move the Turke, of som agrement; but ther was no suche oportune occasion, as the said Marrillac said; and that also the Veneciens wer never put in hope of agrement with the Turk, but onely by som of the Bassas, for coveytise of suche presentes as the Veneciens, and other, be acoustumed to geve them, whan they go in ambassade; and that, for the said avariciouse coveytyse, the said Bassas had often tymes prayed the said Marrillac to byde the Veneciens to sende som Ambassadours, whiche he refused to do, but ones he shewed the same to the Turke him self, who answered to him that if the Bassas shuld any mor attempte such matiers, they shuld dye for it; and that he shuld never have peace with the Veneciens, affirmyng the same by the solemne othes of his Turkishe lawe. He shewed also a letter, whiche lately he had receyved of Fraunce, not from Monsr le Conestable, but from an other, his freende, in the Conestables absence; theffect thereof was, that Christophor, the said Conestables secretary, who is wont to ryde in poste bitwen the Emperour and them, was retourned owt of Spayn; and like as he had brought, at his retourn afor, a cold answer from thEmperour, he brought it at the last tyme moch mor colder, so that ther is but litel hope of spede bitwen them: and (said Marrillac) "Monsr le Secretaire, vous trouverez vray, ce que diz au Roy à "mon arryvee vers Sa Majeste, et le dictes a Monsr du Prive Seale". Soulemont said to him, that in dede we heard saye that the Conestable was at Chantylly. He answered, that his poste cam that waye, and wolde have spoken with Monsr le Conestable, but that he was not ther, but was departed towardes som other of his places in Picardy, he could not tell wher. Other communication of any importance they had not.

The cause, why I think we hear nothing from my Lorde of Hereford, is, that, by all lykelyhod, he loketh and taryeth for his mens arryvaill from Avygnon, and other places, where your pleasur was he shuld have a vigilant eye.

Asferre

Asferre as I am enfourmed, by a certain person, that is arryved this mornyng, and hath reported the same to me, whan my letters wer writen hitherto, Your Graces servaunt, Christophor Mont, shal arryve hither this daye, with Burgartus, and an other gentilman from the Duke, with hym. Asson as I shal knowe the truth, I shal not faile tadvertise Your Majeste thereof. Thus beseching Your Highnes to have me excused, I praye Almyghty God to contynue your helth, prosperite, and long liff. From London, this St. Georges Daye.

Your Highnes most humble Subject
and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) THOMS CRUMWELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Excellent
Majestie.

CXXVIII. THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASE it Your good Lordshippe. This morning, 2 howres or I rose, Fox, your man, deliverd me your letters; and assoone as the King was upe, I desired my cousen, Henaige, to advertiese His Majestie of the same, and to knowe his pleasure, whidre he wold reade your letters incontinent, or no; who retorned, and brought me answer, that His Highnes wold speake withe me, him self; and so, or he were readie, he sent for me, and caused me to reade the said letters unto him. And when he had herd them, I assure you he moche rejoysed of the good fortune of his servauntes in Ireland[2], sayeng these wordes, "I thanke God, traitours had never bettre speed "against me". And as to the mater, concerning the Duchesse of Millan[3], whan he had herd it, he pawsed a good while, and, at the last, said, smyleng, "Have they remembred their selves nowe?" To the wich I said, "Sir, "wee, that bee your servauntes, arr moche bound to God, that it pleaseth "him to send you so good fortune in Irland, and nowe they to woo you, "whome ye have wood so long." He answered coldelie, "They, that wold "not, whan they might, percaas shall not, whan they wold."

And as for thordre for the Counte Palatine[4], His Highnes hath chaunged no poynt, oodre wiese than I wrote to your Lordshippe yesturday.

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1 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.
2 Lord Leonard Gray's victory over the Irish rebels.
3 See above, pp. 608, 609.
4 He was entertained by the King at Windsor.

And

And for thexamination of the prisoners in the Towre [1], with the circumstaunce of that mater, His Highnes desirethe you to travaile therin aftre your accustomed fashion, and doubteth not, but ye wol doo in the same asmoche as mannes witt can comprehend; desireng you, that what ye shal find, aswel in that mater, as in your communication with the said Counte Palatine, and in all oodre thinges, that shall occurr and comme to your knowledge, afore your comming to him, that ye woll advertise him therof. And His Highnes lieketh wel the sending furthe of the Maisters [2], and the delivery of the monay for Calsherdes Poynt [3]. My Lord, I have deteigned your man long here; the cause whie, was for that my clerk conceavid not my mynd wel, ne devised this letter according, so that I was fayne to put penne to the booke my self. Thus I beeseeche Almightie God to send Your Lordshippe aswell to fare, as I wold my self. From Ampthill, the 17th of Septembre, at 5 of the clocke at night.

Your good Lordshippes
assured,
(*Signed*) W. SOUTHMPTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my verie good Lord,
my Lord Privie Seale
his good Lordshippe.

CXXIX. SOUTHAMPTON *to* CRUMWELL. [4]

My Lord. This daie the King, beeing at dynar, I received your letters, and immediatelie as His Grace had dined, he red over aswel your letters sent to me, as the letters sent ought of Flaunders, Venice, and Fraunce, with my Lord of Cantorburies letters. And for answer to yours, His Highnes wolled me to signifie unto you, that he takith your dooenges in verie good parte, and giveth to you therfore his most hartie thankes, aswel for the good and honorable enterteignment of the Counte Palatine, as the wiese discourse that ye have had with him; and also for the good enterteignment of the Duque of Cleves and Gelders Ambassadours. And as to the Counte, he desireth you to gather as moche more of him, as ye can; and for his repaire unto him, he chaungeth no thing therin. And concerning the Ambassadours of Cleves, he

[1] The Countess of Salisbury, &c.
[2] The Mistress, a ship so called.
[3] For the repair of the works at Calshot Point in Hampshire. See Ellis's Second Series, vol. 2. p. 87.
[4] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

wold ye shold send for them unto you, and bed them as hertely welcomme, as ye can devise; declaring unto them, that their commeng is marvelouslie agreable unto His Majestie; offreng them all the gratuitie ye can devise; and furdre to declare unto them, that he hath appoynted the Counte a tyme to bee at Windsore, on Tiewsday, and hathe given knowledge unto the said Counte therof, and he shal have audience on Wenesday; wiche thing was appoynted, or His Majestie knewe of their comming. Wherfore his pleasure is, that ye shal knowe of them, whedre they wol comme to his presence, whiles the Counte is with him, and to have open audience, orelles tarie till His Highnes hath herd the said Counte; and, their myndes knowne by you therin, and His Grace advertised therof, than he wol appoint, what daie they shal comme unto him.

And as the newis of Flaunders and Venice, he thought, many a daie ago, that they wold comme to this poynt; sayeng furdre, he never knewe man that lookid so highe, and carid for no man, but coveted to have all, but that God provided so at length for them, that they repented; adding therunto, what great dishonour it was to the Emperour, to practise the stealing of the Duque of Cleves townes, and liekwise the handling of the Counte Palantine.

And for the merchauntes goeng to the Marte, he wol not resolve therin, til your commeng to him; but, by asfarr as I can perceave, he wol not greatelie sticke in that mater. Sir, he desireth you, if ye may convenientlie, to bee with him on Sonday; and, if ye may not so convenientlie doo, as His Grace fearith ye can not, than he wold ye shold not fayle to bee with him upon Monday; and, in the meane tyme, to send him word, by Maistre Wriothesley, or by writeng, what ye shal perceave, aswel by the said Counte, as the said Ambassadours of Cleves.

And tooching thexamination of the prisoners in the Towre, he praieth you not to troble your hed with those maters, but set such men therto, for their examination, as ye thinke most convenient; and when these great maters bee past, than ye may examine them at laysure. And His Highnes pleasure is, ye shal send for my Lord of Cantorburie to bee with His Grace, on Monday, at Windsore. And His Grace wolled me to shewe your letters unto my Lord of Duresme, and Mr Comptroller, who have not yet red them over; but to morowe I shal shewe the same unto them, and then not fayle to remit and send them unto your Lordshippe, by the next convenient messaunger that goeth betweene.

Post scriptum. The Kinges Highnes sent unto me, by Maistre Denny, your letters of the 20th of Septembre; and aftre I had red them, I repaired

to

to His Highnes to knowe his pleasour, whidre I sholde write to you any thing concerning those letters, or no; and His Majestie wolled me to signifie unto you, that he takes your letter in mervelouse good parte, beeing wondreful glad of the contentes therof, and, specially, that the Duque of Cleves men have commission aparte; most hertelie desireng you to put all ooder maters ought of your hed, saving only thies his greate waightie causes [1], and sharpe your witt to attend only unto the same. And I assure your Lordshipp he said these wordes, "I wold for no good his mynd shold bee so trobled, "that it shold cast him in to any disease"; whiche wordes, to here him speake them so hartelie, I assure you did my harte good. Sir, he eftsones desireth you, that he may here from you, from tyme to tyme. Thus the Holie Trinitie have Your Lordshippe in his blessed keeping. From the More, this Friday [2], at almost ten of the clok in the night, the twentie of Septembre.

Your good Lordeshippes
assured,
(*Signed*) W. SouthM̃pton.

(*Superscribed*)
To my special good Lord, my Lord Privie Seale his good Lordshippe.

CXXX. Pollard and Others *to* Crumwell. [3]

Pleasithe hytt Your Lordeshippe to be advertised, that sithen our letters [4] last dyrectide unto yow from Glastoñ, we have dayly fownde and tryede oute bothe money, and plate, hyde and muryde up in wallis, vauttis, and other secrette placis, as well by thAbbott [5], as other of the Coventt, and also convaide to diverse placis in the countrye. And in case we shoulde here tarry this fortnigthe, we do suppose daily to increase in plate, and other goodis, by false knaves convayde. And emonge other petty bryberies, we have founde the twoo thresorers of the churche, monkis, with the 2 clarkis of the vestry, temporall men, in so arraunte and manifeste robery, that we have commyttide the same to the jayle. At our first entree into the threser house,

[1] His marriage with Anne of Cleves was settled at this time.

[2] In 1539, to which year this letter clearly belongs, the 20th of Sept. was not Friday, but Saturday.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle P.

[4] Their letter of the 22d of Sept. is printed by Burnet, in the Collection subjoined to the third volume of his History of the Reformation, p. 160.

[5] Richard Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, was another of the attainted Abbots. The Abbot of Reading was the third.

and vestre also, we nether fownde jewellis, plate, nor ornamenttis sufficient to serve a pour parishe churche, wherof we colde not a litell marvill; and therupon ymmediatly made so diligent enquirye and serche, that, with vigilante labour, we muche improvide the same; and have recoveride agayne into our handes bothe money, plate, and adornamenttis of the churche. How muche plate we knowe not, for we hade no leysure yet to wey the same; but we thinke hit of a greate valewe, and we increase itt more every day; and shall doo, as we suppois, for our tyme here beinge. We assure your Lordeshippe, that thAbbot, and the monkis forsaide, hade ymbecelyde and stollyne asmuche plate and adornamentes, as wolde have sufficide to have begone a new Abbay; what they mentte therby, we leve itt to your judgmentt. Whether the Kyngis pleasur shalbe to execute his lawis upon the saide 4 persones, and to mynister them justice, according to their desertes, or to extende his mercy towardes them, and what His Majesties pleasur is, hitt may please your Lordeshipp to advertise us therof. The house is greate, goodly, and so pryncely, as we have not sene the lyke, with 4 parkes adjoynynge, the furthermoste of them but 4 myles distaunte from the house; a grete mere, whiche ys 5 miles cumpas, being a myle and a halfe distante from the house, well replenished with greate pykis, bremes, perche, and roche; 4 faire manour placis, belonginge to the late Abbott, the furthermost but 3 myles distante, beynge goodly mansions; and also one in Dorsettshire, 20 myles distante from the late Monastery. We have dispachyde the servauntes, with their halfe yeres wagies, gevinge humble thankis to the Kingis Majestie for the same; the monkes, also, withe the Kingis benevolence and rewarde, and have assigned them pentyons. We fynde them very glade to departe, most humbly thankinge the Kyngis Majestie of his grete goodnes, moste graciously showyde unto them, at this tyme, aswell for His Gracis rewarde, as also for their pentyons. Cattell we intende to sell for redy money; and to let owte the pastures and demeynes, now from Mighelmas forthe, quarterly, untill the Kingis pleasure therin be further knowyne; to thentente His Grace shall lease no rente, for thAbbott had muche pasture grounde in his hande. Other newys we knowe none, but that Almighty God have you in his tuytion. From Glastoñ, this 28 day of September.

Youres to command,

(*Signed*) RYCHARD POLLARD.
(*Signed*) THOMAS MOYLE.
(*Signed*) RIC: LAYTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Prevy Seale.

CXXXI. POLLARD AND OTHERS *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASYTH hytt Youre good Lordshyp to be advertysed, that sythens the dyrection of oure laste letters unto youre Lordshypp, we have come to knowlege of dyvers and sundrye treasons commytted and done by the Abbot of Glastonbury; the certentye wherof shall appeyre unto youre Lordeshyppe in a boke herein inclosyd, and the accusers names putto the same, wych we thyngke to be verye haut and ranke treasons.[2] And thus Jesu preserve youre good Lordshypp. Frome Glastonbury, the second daye of Octobre.

Yours to command,

(*Signed*) RYCHARD POLLARD.
(*Signed*) THOMAS MOYLE.
(*Signed*) RIC: LAYTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable and theare synguler good Lord, my Lord Pryvye Seale, thys be delivered.

CXXXII. POLLARD AND OTHERS *to* CRUMWELL.[3]

PLEASITH Your Lordship to be advertised, that this Saturdaye, in the mornyng, aboutes thre of the clok, we made an ende of the shryne here, at Wynchestre. There was in it no pece of gold, ne oon ring, or true stone,

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle P.

[2] This book probably laid the foundation of the charges against Abbot Whiting, upon which he was tried and convicted at Wells, 14 Nov. 1539, and on the next day hanged on Glastonbury Tor, and quartered. An account of his execution is given by Pollard, in a letter to Lord Crumwell. Cleopatra, E. IV. leaf 133 b. Lord Russell's letter on the same subject, which is published by Ellis, First Series, vol. 2. p. 98, would lead to the supposition that this attainder took place in the preceding year; for he mentions that the Abbot was arraigned "on Thursday the xiiijth day "of this present moneth" (his letter being dated in November). The 14th of Nov. fell on Thursday in 1538, but on Friday in 1539; Lord Russell was therefore mistaken in the day of the week. If there were any doubt of the year, it would be entirely removed by the Abbot's letter, published in p. 607, which necessarily applies to the year 1539, for no Parliament was held in 1538.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle P. This Correspondence contains a very large mass of undigested information, respecting the dissolution of the Monasteries, and connected with that subject; of which a few letters are here given, by way of specimen. It is contained, for the most part, in the form of letters from the several Visitors to the Vicegerent. The volume in the Cottonian Library, Cleopatra, E. IV., from which some excerpts have been published, appears to consist principally of letters of this description, abstracted, probably, from the mass in the Chapter House; which is destitute of all arrangement, except that it is thrown into bundles, marked with the letters of the alphabet; and in each bundle will usually be found the communications received from those persons, whose surname, or title, commenced with the initial letter assigned to the bundle.

but

but al greate counterfaictes. Nevertheles we thinke the sylver alone thereof woll amounte nere to twoo thousande markes. We have also receyved in to our possession the crosse of emeraudes, the crosse called Hierusalem, an other crosse of gold, 2 chalices of gold, with some sylver plate, parcel of the portion of the vestrye; but thold Prior made the plate of the house soo thynne, that we can diminish non of it, and leave the Prior any thing furnished. We found the Prior, and all the Convent, very conformable; having assistentes with us, at the openyng of our charge to the same, the Mayre, with 8 or 9 of the best of his brethern, the Bisshops Chauncelour, Mr Doctour Craiforde, with a good apparaunce of honest personages besides; who, with oon voyce, most hartely gave lawde and prayse to God, and to the Kinges Majestye, thinking verily, that they doo all asmoch rejoise of His Majestes godly and most christian purpose herin, as canne be devised. We have, also, this mornyng, going to our beddes warde, vieued thaulter; whiche we purpose to bring with us. It wolbe worthe the taking downe, and nothing therof seen; but suche a pece of work it is, that we thinke we shal not rid it, doing our best, befor Monday night, or Tuesdaye mornyng. Which doon, we entende, both at Hide, and St Maryes, to swepe awaye all the roten bones, that be called reliques; whiche we may not omytt, lest it shuld be thought we cam more for the treasure, thenne for avoiding of thabomynation of ydolatry. Other thinges, asferre as we canne lerne, there be none for us in those places; whiche thinges doon, and our thinges set out warde, we shall attende uppon your Lordship with diligence.

I, Thomas Wriothesley, humbly beseche your good Lordship to pardon the rudenes of this letter, writen in hast in the churche, whenne I was wery; and, in like maner, I beseche your Lordship to be good lorde to the poore man, the berer of this letter. It is the same, of whom I told your Lordship concernyng the ferme, whiche Sir Wm Kempe wold have from him. He affirmethe constantly, that he is utterly undon, if he shuld forgo either thole, or that half, that Mr Kempe wold have. Forty acres of his best lande he wold be content to let him have, at reasonable rent, for his favour; whiche, in my poore opinion, is more thenne reasonable. Thus having certain affiance that your Lordships goodnes woll pardon this my boldnes, we shall pray to God to kepe Your Lordship in healthe. From St Swythines in Winchestre, this Saturdaye mornyng.

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

(*Signed*) Rychard Pollard.
(*Signed*) Thoms Wriothesley.
(*Signed*) John Williams.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our singular good Lord, my Lorde Privye Seale.

CXXXIII. WARRANT *for the* APPOINTMENT *of* TWO SECRETARIES OF STATE. [1]

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

FIRST, that Thomas Wriothesley and Raf Sadler, and every of them, shall have the name and office of the Kinges Majesties Principal Secretaryes during His Hieghnes pleasure; and shall receyve, to be equally divided betwene them, all suche fees, droictes, dieuties, and commodities, not hereafter specially lymyted, as have, doo, or ought to belong to thoffice of His Majesties Principal Secretarye.

Item, His Hieghnes hathe resolved, that every of the said Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, shall, for the tyme of their being in the said office, have and kepe twoo His Graces Seales, called his Signetes; and with the same, seale al suche thinges, warrauntes, and writinges, bothe for inwarde and outwarde parties, as have been accustumed to be passed heretofore by the same; every of the sayd Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, nevertheles, to kepe a booke, conteynyng al suche thinges, as shall passe by either of their handes, and thone to be made ever pryve to thothers registre.

Item, His Majestie ys contented, that every of the saide Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, shall have an ordynary chambre or lodging within the gates of His Graces house, in al places where the same maye be, conveniently furnished; and every of them to have lyke bouge of courte [2], in al thinges, as is appointed to the Secretarye.

Item, His Majestie is pleased, and ordeyneth, that al suche tymes a the Lorde Pryve Seale shalbe present in the Courte, the said Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, shall accompany him at his table; and whenne he shalbe abscent oute of the Courte, thenne they to have his diet for themselfes, and suche other as be appointed to that table.

Item, His Majestie ordeyneth, that in all Counseilles, aswel in His Majesties Houshold, as in the Sterre Chambre, and elleswhere, all Lordes, bothe

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[1] This is published from the original Warrant, which is without date; but from the mention made of the Statute of Precedence, 31 H. VIII. cap. 10., it must have issued after the passing of that Act, which received the Royal Assent 28 June 1539; and as Crumwell's letter of 14 April 1540, (page 627.) is addressed to Sadleyr as *one* of the King's *two* Principal Secretaries, his appointment must have taken place before that date.

[2] Among the "Household Ordinances," published in 1790, p. 162. is "A declaration of Bouche "of Courte, of everie particular thing to be served to everie person being of the Ordinary of the "Kings Honourable House, everie one of them according to their degrees." This document immediately follows the Ordinances made at Eltham, 18 Henry VIII., and the Editor has assigned to it the same date, but the names of the officers subjoined prove that it can not be of earlier date than 1544.

of

of the Temporaltie and Clergie, shall sit above them; and lykewise the Threasourer, Comptroller, Maister of the Horsse, and Vicechambrelane of His Highnes Housholde; thenne next aftre to be placed the said Principal Secretaries, and soo, aftre them, all suche other Counseillours, as shal reasorte and have place in any of the said Counseilles. And albeit that by a Statute, lately made, thoffice of the Principal Secretarye shuld be and sit contynuelly in the Upper House of the Parliament, uppon oon of the woll sackes, yet His Hieghnes, considering the good service that the said Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, maye doo him in the Neyther House, where they have nowe places, dothe ordeyn that, during his pleasur, they shal use themselfes as hereaftre ensueth; that is to saye, on al suche dayes as the Speker shalbe presente, or that the Kinges Majeste shalbe presente, in personne, they shall attende on His Hieghnes, and shal bothe have their places upon the said wol sacke, according to the said Statute; and, at al other tymes, thone of them to be oon weake in the Hiegh House, and thother in the Lowe House, and soo he that was in the Lower House, to be the next weake in the Higher House; chaunging their places by cours, oneles yt be upon some special daye for matiers to be treated in the Neyther House; at which tyme they shal maye bothe be present there together, accordingly; and in all other places within His Graces Houshold, and elleswhere, his pleasur is, that they, and every of them, shall have, enjoye, and use the place of the Principal Secretary, as heretofore hathe been accustomed.

CXXXIV. Sadleyr *to* Crumwell.[1]

Please it Your Lordship to understonde, that the Kinges Majestie hathe seen these letters of M[r] Wyates[2], the advertisementes wherein His Grace lyketh well. After the reding of the same, His Majestie commaunded me to remytte, and sende them agayn to your Lordeship; sayeng that, forasmoche as theye were directed to you, it is best that they be answered by you. His Grace seeth nothing in them answerable, saving to the repayre hither of the Prynce of Salerne, and touching Legh. To the first, His Majeste thinketh, that it should be well don, that M[r] Wyat shoulde accompanye the

[1] From the Museum, Titus, B. I., leaf 375.

[2] This must be Sir Thomas Wiat's letter of 5 April 1540, of which the draft is in the Harleian Collection, No. 282, leaf 243.

saide

saide Prince hither; and, for that purpose, seeing there is no likelihod nor apparence of the Conestables repayre thither, the Kynges Majeste thinketh, that Mr Wyat may com home, and accompanye the saide Prynce, and that Mr Pate (who, as the Kyng sayeth, is redy to go uppon half a dayes warnyng) should fourthwith be depeched thither; and in case that this can not be accomplisshed in tyme, before the saide Prynce of Salerne shall addresse his jorney hitherwardes, whiche he sayeth shalbe within 14 or 15 dayes; yet the Kynges Majeste thinketh, that som convenyent and honest meanes may be made by Mr Wyate, to staye the sayde Prynce, till he may be redy to accompanye and conducte him hither. This His Majeste thinketh mete to be answered in that poynte.

And touching Legh, His Highnes prayeth you to devise, with the rest of his Counsaile there, what is best to be answered thereto, for His Grace considereth the long absence of the saide Legh, and his contempte in the same; nevertheles His Majestie sayed that, if he wolde com home with Mr Wyat, it should not be amysse. Thus the Kynges Majeste remytteth these answers to be made to Mr Wyat by your Lordeshippes proper letters; prayeng you, nevertheles, after your Lordship hathe conceyved the same, to sende the mynute thereof to His Highnes, before the post be depeched, to thintent that His Majeste (if it be not according to his mynde) may alter and refourme the same, as shall stonde with his gracious pleasure. And thus Our Lorde preserve your long lif and good helth, with thincrease of honour. Scribbled hastely, with the rude hande of Your Lordeshippes olde servaunte and daylie bedisman,

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and his singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvye Seale, be this yeven.
In hast.

CXXXV. CRUMWELL *to* SADLEYR.[1]

MAISTER Secretary. Aftre my right harty commendations. By your letters, addressed unto me by this berer, I doo perceyve the Kinges Majesties pleasure touching thaunswer to Mr Wyattes letters, which I receyved as I rode hither, and be nowe remytted unto me. I requyre youe to signifie to His Majestie, that I shal, according to my most bounden dieuty, cause Mr Pate

[1] From the Museum, Royal MSS. 7 C. XVI.

to put himself in ordre, and give advertisement to Mr Wyat accordingly, immediatly uppon the receipt of your answer to thise letters; whiche dispeche to Mr Wyat I shal staye tyl that tyme, uppon the purpose folowing. First, where His Majestie thinketh, that Mr Pate might arryve in suche season, as Mr Wyat might wel accompany the Prince of Salern hither, surely I thinke the same. But wither Mr Wyat shuld have his oportunytie to departe soo sone aftre Mr Pates cummyng, as he might well accompany the said Prince, or no, I doubte moche; the tyme of the taking of his leave, and the receipt of suche letters, and matier as he shuld bring with him, not being in his arbitre or appointement. And yet, as I thinke, it wer not mete that he made to moche haste, even at his departure, lest therby he shuld lose summe knowleage, worthie to be related aftre to the Kinges Majestie. Again, undre His Majesties correction, I thinke it more mete, that Mr Wyat shuld anymate the said Prince, of himself to com hither, as thoughe he had gyven no signification of it, thenne that he shuld accompany him; being there His Highnes Ambassadour. The world, whiche knoweth that an Ambassadour dare not conducte suche a man, without his masters knowleage, may thinke otherwise of it, thenne there is cause; seing it shalbe, no doubt of it, opened, that neither he hathe desired licence to come, ne yet shalbe recommended by thEmperour. In my poore opinion, it shuld be well doon, that summe warnyng were sent to Calays, for his entreteynement, if he com, and summe ordre for the like, at Dover, &c, for his money, aftre he shalbe here arryved, without making any further sutes unto him in this bihaulf. Wherin, nevertheles, I referre me holly to His Majesties pleasure, as my bounden dieuty requireth; and shal, uppon your answer, make the dispech accordingly.

Touching Leighe, I thinke the opinion good, for his cummyng home with Mr Wyat, whiche I trust shalbe compassed in suche wise, as he shal not styck at it; and thenne His Majestie may objecte to him his contemptuous absence, at his pleasure. And if his gracious pleasure be, that I shal sende the mynute, aftre it shalbe divised, I shall accomplishe his pleasure therin, as shal appertayn.

Sithens the begyning of this letter, I am enformed that Mr Pate is there [1]. I pray youe sende for him, and helpe him to take his leave, that he may repair hither with diligence, and, in the meane season, his letters of credence shalbe prepared; but as for instructions, I thinke he shall bettre take them at Mr Wyates hande, as to lerne the state of thinges, thenne we canne

[1] That is, at Hampton Court, where the King then resided.

advise

advise him here, onles it shall please the Kinges Majestie to commytt any other secret matier unto him, thenne I knowe of. Thus most hartely fare you well. From London, this Wednesday night.[1]

Your assuryd freend,

(*Signed*) THOMS CRUMWELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To myn assured loving freende,
Mr Sadler, Esquier, oon of the
Kinges Majesties two Principal
Secretaryes.

CXXXVI. SADLEYR *to* THE EARL OF ESSEX.[2]

PLEASE it Your Lordeship to understonde, that after I declared to the Kinge's Majestee, how the Bisshop of Chichester[3] was commytted to warde to the Tower, and what answer he made to suche thinges, as were layed to his charge, which, in effecte, was a playne denyall of the chief poyntes that touched him; His Majestee sayed litle therto, but that he liked both him and the matier moche the wourse, because he denyed it; seeing that, as His Majestee perceyved by thexamynacions, there were wytnesses sufficient to condempne him, in that poynte. Touching Latymer[4], His Majestee wolde have him yet to remayne in the Bisshoppes house, till he may speke with you, and devise what is best to do with him; sayeng, that he was sure ye wolde not yet dissolve the Busshoppes house. I answered, that your Lordeship had sent Mr Pollarde to set order in the same, and to put thinges in saufetie, by inventary, in suche sorte as nothing shuld be embesiled, but His Highnes trewly answered of the hole, as aperteyneth; wherewith His Majestee was well contented. His Majestee is also contented, that my

[1] As it appears from Wiat's letter of the 16th of April 1540 (Harleian Collection, No. 282. leaf 130,) that Pate arrived at Ghent on the 14th of April, which was Wednesday, the date of this letter must have been the preceding Wednesday, the 7th of April. So that Wiat's despatch of the 5th must have reached Crumwell, been forwarded by him to Hampton Court, and returned from thence to him, with such expedition as to have enabled him to write this letter on the 7th. [2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

[3] Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, was sent to the Tower, under a suspicion of adhering to the Roman Catholic doctrines; but, after remaining there some time, was released. A letter from him to Lord Essex, dated in the Tower, on the 7th of June, is printed by Strype, in the Appendix to the First Volume of his Memorials, p. 257.

[4] Latimer resigned his Bishoprick on the 1st of July 1539, and was soon afterwards imprisoned for speaking against the Six Articles, and continued in confinement till Henry VIII.'s death.

Lorde Gret Maister[1] shall have the use and keping of the Busshoppes mule, for the tyme; and if it shall so com to passe, that the Busshoppes goodes shalbe confiscate, then His Majestee is content that my saide Lorde Gret Maister shall have the saide mule, of His Highnes gyfte. Thus the Holie Trynyte sende your Lordship long lif and helth, with thincrease of honour. From the Courte, with the rude hande of

Your Lordeshippes olde servaunt
and daylie Bedesman,

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and his singuler good Lorde, the Erle of Essex[2], and Lorde Prevy Seale.

CXXXVII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE EARL OF ESSEX.[3]

(*Signed by Stamp*[4].)

HENRY R. By the King.

RIGHT trustye and right welbiloved Cousin, We grete you well; signifying unto youe our pleasour and commaundement ys, that forthwith, and uppon the recept of thiese our letters, setting all other affaires a part, ye doo repaier unto Us, for the treatye of suche greate and weightie mattres, as whereupon dothe consiste the suertie of our person, the preservation of our honour,

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[1] Charles Duke of Suffolk succeeded the Earl of Shrewsbury, as Lord Steward of the Household, with the appellation of Lord Great Master, which was adopted by Henry VIII. from the French Court, but afterwards discontinued.

[2] Crumwell was created Earl of Essex, 17th April 1540, not quite two months before his disgrace. Most of the books of reference place his elevation in the peerage in the preceding year, 1539.

[3] This letter is from the Museum, Titus B. I. leaf 406.

[4] This is the first instance, in the course of this publication, of the King having affixed his Sign Manual by means of a Stamp; but it was a practice to which he had recourse, at various times during his reign, although not incapacitated by sickness. When the rebellion broke out in the North of England, in 1536, of which we have seen much in the foregoing pages, Henry VIII. issued circular letters, requiring the parties to whom they were addressed, either to supply money, or to furnish troops. Many of these letters are still extant, and they are all stamped with the King's Name. On this emergency, the pressure of time may have been a reason for resorting, for the sake of expedition, to a mechanical process; but the same reason does not apply to the case immediately before us. Perhaps it may have been intended as an indignity to Crumwell, who must have incurred the King's displeasure at the time of this formal letter, differing so entirely from the tone of the Royal commands to him, from the time he became Secretary of State.

Towards the close of Henry's Reign, Sir Anthony Denny, one of his personal attendants, was entrusted by the King to sign official documents with His Majesty's Name. But some doubts

honour, and the tranquilytie and quietnes of youe, and all other our loving and faytheful subgiettes, like as, at your aryval here, ye shall more playnely perceyve and undrestande. And that ye fayle not herof, as We specially trust youe. Yeven undre our Signet, at our manour of Westmynstre, the 9th day of Maye.

(*Superscribed*)
To our right trustie and right welbiloved
Cousyn, thErle of Essex. [1]

CXXXVIII. The Clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York to King Henry VIII. [2]

Excellentissimo, Illustrissimo, et Potentissimo in Christo Principi, et Domino nostro, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei gracia, Anglie et Francie Regi, Fidei Defensori, et Domino Hybernie, ac in terra, immediate sub Christo, Supremo Capiti Ecclesie Anglicane, Thomas Cantuariensis et Edowardus Eboracensis,

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doubts having occurred, either to Sir Anthony himself, or to others about the Court, of the legality of this practice, a special pardon was granted to Denny for all acts thus done by him by the King's command. It is printed in Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 100., and pardons all treasons by him committed, in counterfeiting, making, impressing, or writing the King's Sign Manual, between the 20th of September 1545, and the date of the patent, viz. the 31st of August 1546. On the same day a commission was issued, (printed in the same page,) authorizing Sir A. Denny, John Gate, Esq. and William Clerc, Gent., to sign all bills, warrants, grants, &c. by Stamp, in the name and on the behalf of the King; and particularly specifying the mode in which this authority was to be executed, viz., that two of the Commissioners should affix the King's signature, without ink, with a dry stamp, and that one of them should fill up and blacken with ink the impression so made, and thus complete the Sign Manual. This commission further directed, that schedules should be prepared, containing lists of all instruments which should thus pass the stamp, and that those lists should, every month, be signed by the King's own hand. These schedules, as well before as after the commission, were prepared, in duplicate; one part, on paper, received the King's signature, and another, on parchment, was preserved without it. The whole of the latter, 17 in number, attested by Clerc, who was one of the Clerks of the Council, and two of the former, one of which is signed by the King himself, remain in the State Paper Office.

In the schedule of instruments stamped in January 1547 is the King's last Will, dated December 30, 1546.

[1] The Earl of Essex was arrested at the Council Board in June 1540, and soon afterwards attainted and beheaded. Burnet has published a letter from him to the King, after his arrest. Vol. 3. Coll. No. 68.

[2] This document is here printed from the original in the State Paper Office. By letters from the Council, of 19th January 1541, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were required to enter it on their respective Registers. From the former of these Registers it was published by Burnet, in the Collection of Records subjoined to the first volume of his History of the Reformation; but there are some verbal inaccuracies in his publication, and the signatures are entirely wanting.

Archiepiscopi,

Archiepiscopi, ceterique Episcopi, ac reliquus vestri Regni Clerus, auctoritate literarum commissionalium Vestre Majestatis congregati, et Synodum universalem representantes, cum obsequio, reverentia, et honore debitis, Salutem et Felicitatem. Quum nos, humillimi, et Majestatis Vestre devotissimi subditi, convocati et congregati sumus, virtute commissionis vestre Magno Sigillo consignate, date sexto die Julij anno felicissimi Regni vestri tricesimo secundo, quam accepimus in hec, que sequuntur, verba: " Henricus Octavus, Dei " gratia, Rex Anglie et Francie, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hibernie, ac in " terris, immediate sub Christo, Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicane, " Archiepiscopis Cantuariensi et Eboracensi, ac ceteris Regni nostri Anglie " Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et universo Clero, Salutem. Egerunt " apud Nos Regni nostri proceres et populus, ut cum nuper quedam emer- " serint, que, ut illi putant, ad Nos Regnique nostri successionem pertineant; " inter que precipua est causa et condicio matrimonij, quod cum Illustri et " Nobili Femina, Domina Anna Clevensi, propter externam quidem conjugij " speciem, perplexum, alioqui etiam multis ac varijs modis ambiguum vident; " Nos ad ejusdem matrimonij disquisicionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut " opinionem vestram, qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam Verbi Dei " et Doctrinam profitemini, exquiramus; vobisque discutiendi auctoritatem ita " demandemus, ut si animis vestris fuerit persuasum, matrimonium cum prefata " Domina Anna minime consistere aut coherere debere, Nos ad matrimonium " contrahendum cum alia liberos esse, vestro primum, ac relique deinde " Ecclesie suffragio, pronuncietur et confirmetur. Nos autem, qui vestrum, " in reliquis Ecclesie hujus Anglicane negocijs gravioribus, que ecclesiasticam " œconomiam et religionem spectent, judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis " explicande testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus, cause hujus matri- " monialis seriem et circumstantias vobis exponi et communicari curare, ut " quod vos per Dei leges licere decreveritis, id demum, tocius Ecclesie " nostre authoritate innixi, licite facere et exequi publice audeamus. Vos, " itaque, convocari, et in Synodum universalem nostra auctoritate convenire, " volentes, vobis, conjunctim et divisim, committimus atque mandamus, ut " inspecta hujus negocij veritate, ac solum Deum pre oculis habentes, quod " verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis, de " communi concilio, scripto authentico, renuncietis, et de communi con- " sensu licere diffiniatis. Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro jure postulamus, " ut, tanquam fida et proba Ecclesie membra, cause huic ecclesiastice, que " maxima est, in justitia et veritate adesse velitis, et eam maturrime, juxta " commissionem vobis in hac parte factam, absolvere et expedire. In cujus " rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Meipso

" apud

" apud Westmonasterium, sexto die Julij, anno Regni nostri tricesimo secundo." Nos, tenorem et effectum ejusdem vestre commissionis per omnia sequentes, postquam matura deliberacione perpendimus et consideravimus omnes matrimonij pretensi inter Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam, et Nobilem Feminam, Dominam Annam Clevensem, circumstancias, nobis multis modis expositas cognitas et perspectas, tandem ad diffinitionem et determinationem sequentem, quam communi omnium consensu, justoque animorum nostrorum judicio, ac recto consciencie dictamine, protulimus, processimus in hunc modum, et, (quod tenor commissionis predicte exigit) Vestre Nobilissime Majestati in hoc presenti scripto referendam duximus, ac significamus, prout sequitur.

Primum itaque comperimus et consideravimus matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram, et Nobilem Feminam, Dominam Annam Clevensem, pretensum, precontractu quodam, sive sponsaliorum, sive matrimonij, inter dictam Dominam Annam et Marchionem Lotharingie concluso, ambiguum, plane impeditum, et perplexum reddi.

Animadvertimus, enim, quod quamvis Vestra Majestas, in prima hujus pretensi matrimonij tractacione, precontractus predicti, de quo tum sermo multus habebatur, discussionem et declaracionem, ante solemnizandum cum predicta Anna matrimonium, tanta instantia exegerit, ut pro condicione contrahendi deinde matrimonij fuisse, merito existimari possit; qua condicione defecta, nihil ageretur: atque hec cum ita se haberent, tamen neque ante solemnizacionem, illa de precontractu ambiguitas expedita et declarata est, cum id ipsum, tum temporis, Majestas Vestra denuo exposceret et efflagitaret, cui clara jam et expedita esse omnia falso renunciabatur; neque postea quicquam efficax, ut promissum ab Oratoribus fuerat, huc transmissum est, quo scrupulus ille, ex precontractu natus, eximeretur, tolleretur, aut amoveretur; adeo quidem, ut pretensum matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram, et Dominam Annam predictam, non modo, ex condicionis defectu, corruerit, sed si nulla condicio hujusmodi omnino fuisset, certe quidem matrimonium hujusmodi pretensum, ex sola precontractus illius causa non explicata, in suspenso manserit; in eum etiam casum, nullius omnino vigoris ac valoris pronunciandum, quo precontractum illum verbis de presenti factum fuisse constiterit, id quod, multis de causis, est verisimilius, et merito suspectum haberi potest.

Consideravimus, preterea, ex his que allegata, affirmata, et probata nobis fuerunt, quod pretensum matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram, et Dominam Annam predictam, internum, purum, perfectum, et integrum consensum non habuit; immo contra, quemadmodum inter ipsa tractationis initia, cum de hoc matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus est, et magnus laudacionum,

laudacionum acervus, supra fidem cumulatus, ut huc perduceretur et obtruderetur ignota, ita solemnizacionis actus, qui instabat, a Majestate Vestra, animo reluctante et dissentiente, extortus est, causis maximis et gravissimis urgentibus et prementibus, que animum invitum et alienum perpellere merito possent.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem copulam inter Majestatem Vestram, et predictam Dominam Annam, minime secutam esse, nec cum ea, justo intercedente impedimento, consequi deinde posse. Que omnia, ex his, quas audivimus, probacionibus, vera et certa esse existimamus.

Postremo, illud quoque consideravimus, quod et nobis ab alijs propositum, etiam nos verum esse fatemur, agnoscimus, et approbamus; videlicet, ut si Majestas Vestra, modo ne fiat divine jussioni prejudicium, in libertate contrahendi cum alia matrimonij esse declararetur, maximo tocius hujus regni beneficio id futurum; cujus quidem regni felicitas omnis et conservacio, tum in Regia Vestra Persona, ad Dei honorem, et Divinarum legum executionem, conservanda consistit; tum in vitandis etiam sinistris omnibus opinionibus et scandalis, que de Majestatis Vestre progenie, post natam nobis ex pretenso matrimonio sobolem, suborirentur, si precontractus ille, de quo diximus, et cujus declaracio nulla secuta est, predicte Domine Anne objiceretur.

His itaque de causis, et consideracionibus alijs quam multis, non necessarijs que exprimantur, cum seperatim singulis, tum conjunctim omnibus, consideratis et perpensis; Nos, Archiepiscopi, et Episcopi, cum Decanis, Archidiaconis, ac reliquo hujus regni Clero, nunc congregato, circumstantias facti, ejusque veritatem, ut ante dictum est, considerantes, tum vero quid Ecclesia in ejusmodi casibus et possit facere, et sepenumero antehac fecerit, perpendentes, tenore presentium declaramus et difinimus, Majestatem Vestram predicto matrimonio pretenso, utpote nullo et invalido, non alligari, sed alio desuper judicio non expectato, Ecclesie sue auctoritate fretam, posse, arbitrio suo, ad contrahendum et consummandum matrimonium cum quavis femina, Divino jure Vobiscum matrimonium contrahere non prohibita, procedere, pretenso illo cum Domina Anna predicta matrimonio non obstante: similiter etiam Dominam Annam predictam, non obstante matrimonio pretenso cum Majestate Vestra, quod nullo pacto obstare debere decernimus, posse, arbitrio suo, cum quavis alia persona, Divino jure non prohibita, matrimonium contrahere. Hec Nos, Clerum, et doctam hujus Ecclesie Anglicane partem representantes, cum vera, justa, honesta et sancta esse affirmamus, tum ijsdem quam perfectissime, integerrime, et efficacissime, ad omnem intencionem, propositum, et effectum, a nobis exigi potest, consentimus et assentimur, per presentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium, hec scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione

subscriptione communivimus, utriusque etiam Archiepiscopi Sigillo apposito. Datum Westmonasterij, nono die mensis Julij, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo ; presentibus tunc et ibidem, ac premisse declaracioni et diffinicioni consentientibus, Magistris Joanne Tregunwell, Willielmo Peter, Joanne Hughes, et Willielmo Coke, Legum Doctoribus, unacum Notarijs inferius subscribentibus.

(*Signatur.*)

T. Cantuarien'.

Edmundus London'.
Ste. Winton'.
Thomas Elien'.
Wilhelm^{s} Norwicen', p ꝓcuratorē.
W. Meneven'.
Robertus Landavēs'.
Robertus Karliolen'.
Joannes Hereforden'.
Nicholaus Roffen'.

Richardus Gwent, Archi^{s} London', et Cleri Cant' ꝓloquutor.
Jo. Incent, Leg. Doctor, Decanus Londoñ.
Petrus Vannes, Decanus Saꝛ et Arch^{s} Wigorn'.
Joannes Tayler, Decan^{s} Lincolñ.
Henricus Willm̃s, Decan^{s} Licĥ.
Simon Heynes, Decanus Exon'.
Johannes Thetforden', Decanus Norwic', per Procuratorē.
John Carvanell, Decan^{s} Warwic', p Procurator'.
Johannes London, Decan^{s} Walinfordie.
Willm̃us Frankeleyn, Decan^{s} Windesore, p ꝓcuratorem.
Johañes Olyver, Decan^{s} Eccl̃ie Collegiate Regal' Oxoñ.
Gamaliel Clyfton, Decanus Herefordeñ, p ꝓcuratorē.
Will's Fleshmong^{r}, Decan^{s} Ecc̃e Cicest^{r}, p ꝓc̃.
Joh's Chambr̃, Regie Capell̃ Sc̃i Ste' Westm̃ Decanus, & Arch^{s} Bedf.

(*Signatur.*)

Edouardus Ebor̃.

Cuthbertus Dunelmēsis.
Jo. Lincoll', P^{r}c̃ns, et Procurator Jo. Exoñ Epc̃i.
Rolandus Co' & Lich', p ꝓcuratorē.
Robertus Assaphen'.
Johañes Saꝛ, p Procuratorē.
Johannes Wigornien'.
Joañes Bangoren'.
Thom̃s electus Westmon'.

Edmũdus Cranm^{r}, Archidiaconus Cant̃.
Ricardus Coren, Arch^{s} Colchest^{r} & Oxoñ.
Willm̃s Knyght, Archidiaconus Cestrie & Huntyngton, per ꝓcuratorem.
Ricardus Rawson, Archidiaconus Esse$\tilde{x}$.
Thomas Baghe, Archid^{s} Surr̃.
Edouardus Leyghtō, Archī Sarū.
Georgius Hennage, Archi^{s} Taunton'.
Mauriti^{s} Greffyth, Arch^{s} Roffeñ.
Joñes Worthiall, Arch^{s} Cicestreñ.
Polydorus Vergilius, Archidiaconus Welleñ.
Ric'us Strete, Arch' Derbie.
David Poole, Arch^{s} Salopie.
Thomas Wynterus, Archideaconus Cornubiæ.
Griffin^{s} Leyson, Arch̃n^{s} Carm^{r}dine.
Thomas Rũcornus, Archidiacon^{s} Bangor̃.
Georgius Wyndame, Archidiacon^{s} Norwiceñ, per Procuratorē.

(*Signatur.*)

Nicholaus Wotton, Archidiacon^{9} Glocestrẽ.
Thomas Breyrwode, Archidiacon^{9} Berstoñ.
Georgius Carewe, Arch^{9} Tottoñ.
Robertus Audley, Arch' Berk.
Robertus Newton, Arch' Norfolke.
Ricũs Edon, Arch^{9} Mydd, per Procuratorem.
Johannes Blyth, Arch^{9} Coveñ, p ꝑcuratorẽ.
John Bothe, Arch^{9} Herford'.
Johañes Luntley, Archin^{9} Cardiganie.
Richard^{9} Sparchfurthe, Arch^{9} Salaꝑ, p ꝑcuř.
Edoard^{9} Darby, Archin^{9} Stowie, p ꝑcurať.
Walter^{9} Cretyng, Archidiac̃ Bathoñ p ꝑcuratorẽ.
Joañes Reston', ꝑcurator Caꝑli Eccłie Sc̃i Pauli Lõdon'.
Mathe^{9} Wotton.
Roger^{9} Edgeworth, Theologꝫ Doctꝰ.
Johẽs Worthiall.
Georgius Hennage.
Radulph^{9} Sneyde.
Griffin^{9} Leyson.
Joannes Broxolme.
Christopherus Neyvynson.
Simon Matthew.
Willm^{9} Ryvett.
Mauriti^{9} Greffyth.
Robertus Jonson.
Joannes Incent.
Griffin^{9} Leyson.
Thom̃s Benett.
Richard^{9} Arche.
Rolandus Taylꝰ.
Henricus Joliff.
Willm^{9} Busby.
Johẽs Panayge.
Anthoni^{9} Draycot.
Thomas Robertson.
Thom̃s Thyrleby, ꝑcuř Elieñ.
Gulielmus Aley.

(*Signatur.*)

Ric'us Strete.
David Poole.
Mauritius Birchinsha.
Arthur^{9} Bulkeley.
Henricus Morgã.
Anthoni^{9} Belassis.
Joannes Crayforde.
Antoni^{9} Barker.
Joannes Cockys.
Ricardus Wade.
Edward^{9} Sapĥm.
Johẽs Pilkyngton.
Joannes Browne.
Ricard^{9} Roberds.
Paulus Bushe.
Hugo Glasyer.
Willm^{9} Burges.
Joañes Hood.
Ricardus Thorndẽ.
Willm^{9} Marshall.
Willm^{9} Grene.
Ricdus Marsche.
Hugo Raulins.
Ricardus Cox.
Willmus Tresĥm.
Johẽs Barbar.
Joannes Palsgrave.
Johannes Whytwell.
Stephan^{9} Sagar.
Thomas Wakefelde.
Philippus Brode.
Johẽs Rudd.
Gilbꝰt^{9} Sanky.
Thomas Bowthe.
Thomas Byrkhed.
Hẽry Markham.
Thomas Barfot.
Georgius Hovy.
Willm̃s Haynys.
Thomas Whyt'.
Edwarde Cromo.
Robertus Talbot.
Gerard^{9} Carleton.
Hugo Ap'ce, Legũ Doctꝰ.
Joannes Brikynden.

(*Signatur.*)
Egidi^{9} Eyre.
Hũfridus Pkeins.
Thomas Baxter.
Willm^{9} Bẽson, D.
Dionisius Dolyon.
Willm. Gwyn.
Thoms Talley.
Gulielmus Petre.
Johañes Rokeby.
Richardus Liell.
Jo. Tregonwell.
Jo. Hughes.
W. Cooke.

Richardus Layton, Decan^{9} Eboz.
Thomas Westbe, Archidiaconus Eboz.
T. Magnus, Archediaconus Estriding.
Willm^{9} Knyght, Arc^{9} Riche.
Richardus Langgrische, Archi^{9} Cliflandie.

(*Signatur.*)
Cudbartus Marshal, Archideaconus Notyngam.
Gwillm^{9} Frãklyñe, Archidiac^{9} Dunelm̃.
Robertus Dawell, Archid^{9} Northũb'.
Wilm^{9} Holgyll, Archid^{9} Karlñ.
Galfridus Downes, Cancellari^{9} Eccl̃ie Eboz.
Thomas Wynterus, Prepositus Beverlaceñ.
Joannes Brandishe.
Willm^{9} Howghton.
Joannes Redmayn.

[*Then follow the Attestations of the Notaries.*]

[*The Seals of the two Archbishops are appended.*]

CXXXIX. King Henry VIII.'s Declaration of the Causes of His Separation from Anne of Cleves.

The Kynges Grace, from the begynnyng, ever intreatyng with the frendes of the Lady Anne of Cleves, and debatynge with the Orators treatyng the same mater, desyred that the precontracte, made with the eldeste sonne of Lorayn, fyrst myght be cleryd. Wherunto sure promyse was made by the Oratours, that, at the traduction of the Ladye, sufficient dyscharge shulde be brought with hyr; which thinge the Kinges Hyghnes so loked for, that yf he had knowne noon such thinge to have comyn with her, she shold never have bene traductyd into Englond, nor accepted into the Kinges Realme.

At her arryvall at Grenwych, the Kinges Hyghnes demaunded forthewith for the dyscharge theroff, in wrytinge, as was promysed; which they said they had not brougth; wherby what dyffyculties were made, Oslyger doth well knowe, howe the hole mater was at a staye, for lakke therof; for amovynge of which dyffyculty, eftsonys new promysys were made, that within a breffe tyme, as soon as they shold retorne home, a sufficient discharge shold be sente, for cleringe of that mater. And of that newe promyse, instrumentes were made by a notary, which ye have sene,

so that the King ever reservyd hys fyrst condicion, that he wolde not contracte matrymonye "cum aliena sponsa, seu uxore". And yf it shalbe objected, "quod per solemnisationem recessum sit a conditione", the instrument made immediatly before doth testyfye "condicionem, immediate ante "adjectam, etiam in ipso actu solemnisationis fuisse tacite repetitam, cum "dies implende condicionis, videlicet, quam primum post reditum fieri "potuit, adhuc restaret". And also Oslyger, and the Offtmayster, offeryd to lye, as in hostage, unto the cleringe therof were sent. For expectation wherof the Kinges Majestie abstenyd always a copula carnali, ne se implicaret, knowing the sainge of the Gospell, "Quod Deus conjunxit, homo "non separet", not to have any place, but where matrimonium esset consummatum, as ye do knowe. Wherfor, abstenynge from carnall knowlege, and seinge affter nothinge sente that discharged the said precontracte, but oonly such an instrumente[1], as radyr dyd intrike it more; and not dobtyng, but affter so moche stykkynge made, from the begynnyng of the treaty, for clering of that mater, and renuyng, also, after her comynge, efftsones, the same promyse, so offte made and repetyd, they had sent the beste discharge, that they had for that purpose, and better wolde have sent, yf they had had any better; which, after it was vewed, and no thinge effectuall for that purpose founde in the said instrument; consyderynge, also, the condicion put for cleringe of the espousals to have had a daie prefyxed, within which they shulde bene cleryd, and the daie paste, and nothinge sufficient to that purpose to have bene sente hyder, as it was promysed; the Kinge, after it was commytted to the Clergy, by the requeste of the Realme, was jugyd by the Churche to be acquytyd of his promyse, made in the solemnysation; seing the condition put in the same fayled by them, that by a daie shold have cleryd it, and not by hym, who taryd the daie of cleringe therof, reservynge to hym hys libertie, by conteynyng hym self from knowing of the Ladye.

Nor any longer tyme was to be taryd therfor; for so mygth the succession of this Realme be callyd in dobte ever affter, whedyr it were lawfull or no, when so ever the soon of Loreyn wolde make his clame by hys precontracte; so that if it were founde to be a precontracte, it shuld breke the Kinges maryage, etiam post prolem suscitatam, by the Bysshop of Rome lawes; which Bysshop of Rome, beinge mortall enemy to the Kinge, and the Realme, wolde soon have gyffen eare hereunto, to sclaunder the succession of this Realme. For avoydynge of which peryll, the hole Church of Englonde,

[1] A copy exists, but in a very mutilated state.

fynding

fynding the Kinge, by fayling of the condicion, at his libertie, and the Ladye also, put them frely to the same to mary with any other person, not prohybyted by Goddes lawe, whom they lyst. Whiche thinge the hole Realme, for tranquyllyte of the same, and for avoydinge of effusion of blode hereafter, hath approvyd[1], leste any unlawfulnes shuld be allegyd hereafter against the Kinges succession.

Yff any shall allege that the Kinges Majestie consentyd in the solemnysation, it is to be aunsweryd, that a consent condicionall is no consente, onelesse the condicion be fulfylled; but this condicion, having a daie prefyxyd, within which it shuld be fulfylled, within that daie faylyd, and was not fulfylled; so that the Kinge is at lybertye, bycause a condicionall consent is no consente wher the condition faylyth, as it hath doon here.

Moreover matrymonye, non consummate, is undir the disposition of the Church, as ye do knowe; so that the Churche therof maie dispose, opon groundes that it shall not bynde, but be at libertye, as ye knowe, per ingressum religionis; so that a contrary lawe to that, that the Bysshop of Rome usyth, maie be made, that the secunde matrimony, consummate, shall take awaye the fyrst, not consummate; as the Bysshops of Rome themselfes, diverse tymes, when it made for ther purpose, have jugyd, Cap. "Licet de sponsa duorum".

Many odyr causes, grete, and not to be publysshed to the worlde, the Churche of Englonde hath folowyd, and groundyd them opon; which only were sufficient, yf the odyr, before expressyd, were not at all.

The Ladye hirself both was contente, that the Church of Englonde sholde juge hir cause; and now, also, affter jugemente, understanding that the Church hath jugyd her to be at libertie, aswell as the Kinges Grace, hath approvyd the same, well contente to use hir libertie, when she shall se tyme convenient therunto.

CXL. Anne of Cleves *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith it Your Most Excellent Majeste tunderstande, that where, at sundry tymes heretofore, I have been enfourmed and perceyved, by certeyn Lordes and others of Your Graces Counsaill, of the doubtes and questions, which have been moved and founde in our mariage, and howe peticion hath therupon

[1] By Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 25.

[1] This is printed from a contemporary copy, intituled, in Wriothesley's hand, "Copye of the Lady Annes first letter to the Kinges Majeste", and is probably the copy referred to in the declaration of the Duke of Suffolk and his fellows, which is published in page 643.

been

been made to Your Hieghnes, by your Nobles and Commens, that the same might be examined and determyned by the hole Clergie of this Realme; to testifie to Your Highnes, by my writeng, that which I have before promised by my worde and will, that is to saye, that the matyer shuld be examyned and determined by the sayde Clergie, it maye please Your Majestie to knowe, that though this case must nedes be most harde and sorowful unto me, for the great love which I beare to Your most noble Personne, yet, having more regarde to God, and his trouthe, thenne to any worldely affeccion, as it beseamed me, at the begynneng, to submit me to such examinacion and determinacion of the sayde Clergie, whom I have and doo accepte for juges competent in that behalf, soo here nowe being ascertained, howe the same Clergie hath therin gyven ther jugement and sentence, I knoweledge myself hereby taccept and approve the same, hoolly and entyerly putting myself, for my state and condicion, to Your Hieghnes goodnes and pleasure; most humbly beseching Your Majestie, that though it be determyned, that the pretended matrymonye betwen us is voyd, and of none effect, wherby I neyther canne, ne will, repute myself for Your Graces wief, considering this sentence wherunto I stande, and Your Majesties clene and pure lyving with me, yet it will please You to take me for one of your most humble servauntes, and so to determyn of me, as I may summetymes have the fruicion of Your most noble Presence; which, as I shall esteame for a great benefite, soo my Lordes, and others of Your Majesties Counsaill, nowe being with me, have put me in comforth therof, and that Your Hieghnes woll take me for your Suster, for the which I most humbly thank You accordingly. Thus, most gratiouse Prynce, I beseche Our Lorde God to sende Your Majestie long lief and good health, to Goddes glorye, your oune honor, and the wealth of this noble Realme. From Richemont, the 11th. daye of Julye, the 32d yere of Your Majesties most noble Reign.

Your Majesties most humble
Suster and Servaunt,
ANNE Dochtter the CLEYFFYS.

CXLI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK, &c.

(*Signed*) HENRY R. By the King.

RIGHT trustie and right welbeloved Cousins, and trustie and right welbeloved, We grete you well. And have, with our Counsaile, debated the contentes of your letters sent unto Us yesternight; at whiche tyme We coulde not have suche oportunytee to make answer unto you, as We desired; but now

now ye shall understonde, that conferring with our Counsaile, at good length, uppon that poynte, whether ye shoulde further presse the Lady Anne, to wryte to her brother, or no, We have resolved, for divers consideracions, that it is expedient and requysite ye shoulde now, before your departure thens, procure both the wryting of suche a letter to her brother, and also the letter before written to Us, in English, subscribed with her hande, to be by hyr written, in Duche, to thintente all thing might the more clerely appere. To presse her whereunto, considering she is now com to her strength, and in good tempre of her body, so as she may well write, ye shall have very good grounde and cause; first, as concerning the letter subscribed by her, wrytten to Us, being the matier in Englisshe, ye may, for your own discharge, desire and require of her, that considering she did then willingly freely and wittingly do that acte, and in dede understode the contentes of the letter, she will now, for the satisfaction of other, who percase presently, or hereafter, wolde say she did it ignorantly, not understonding whereunto she did subscribe, and whereunto she did agree, be content to write the same again, in her tong, which might be a good declaracion for you, and an evydent demonstracion of playne and syncere dealing on every behalf; where as, by the contrary, and her refusall so to do, suspicyon might be gathered by Us, that she meaneth not so uprightly, as ye have reported. And thus, pretending that poynte chiefely to touche you, who, having travailed herein, wolde gladly discharge yourself substauncyally, ye shall, of yourself, make instaunce to have the letter before subscribed by her, being wrytten in English, to be now by her wrytten agayn, in her owne tong, after the same sentence; which We doubte not, but, by your good handeling and dexteryte, ye shall facylle bring to passe. And as concerning her letters to her brother, how well soever she speketh, now, with promyses to abandon the condycion of a woman, and evermore to remayne constant in her procedinges, We thinke good, nevertheles, rather by good wayes and meanes, to prevent, that she shuld not play the woman, thoughe she wold, then to depende onely uppon her promyse; and after she hathe felt, at our hande, all gratuyte and kyndenes, and knowen our lyberalite towardes her in that she requyreth, to leve her at libertee, uppon receipte of her brothers letters, to gather more stomake and stubbornes then were expedient. So as if her brother, uppon desperacion of Us, falling into thEmperor, and theruppon conceyving more courage in the case, then otherwise he wolde, shuld wryte unto her in suche wise, as she might fondely take harte and fansye to swarve from her conformytee, all our gentill handeling of her shuld, in such case, be frustrat, and onely serve her for mayntenaunce

mayntenaunce of suche conceyte, as she might take in that behalf. For which respectes and causes, We, with thadvise of our Counsaile, have concluded, that, setting aparte all suche conjectures and suspicions of feare, as other wolde gather in your opynyon, We shuld take oportunytee to requyre of her that which might effectually conferre and helpe to the establishement of our purpose, and whereby her swarving might be empeched and letted, that she shulde not play the woman, though she wolde. And therfore it shalbe very well don, and our pleasure is, that ye travaile with her to wryte a letter to her brother[1], incontynently, and therein to signefie unto him, how she is intreated, with other sentences agreably to the mynute, which We sende unto you herewith, as nere as you can. For persuading her whereunto, ye may saye, that considering she hathe so honourably and vertuouslie proceded hitherto, whereby she hath procured her self moche love, favor and reputacion, to agree to the truth, it shalbe well don, for respecte of her brothers affaires, and to entreteigne thamyte betwen him and Us, whiche shuld be moche to his commodyte and advauntage, to advertise him of all thing, in suche sorte as he may use himself wysely, temperatly, and moderatly in the matier; not gyving eare to tales and brutes, but beleving the advertisement from her, to conforme himself therunto accordinglie, with suche other reasons and mocyons as ye can, of your wisedom, adde unto the same. Amonges which ye may saye, that if she shuld differre to wryte, untill her brother had wrytten unto her, there shulde moche tyme passe unfrutefully; wherein might chaunce meny thinges for ignoraunce, that afterwardes could not so well be refourmed by such letters, as she shuld thenne wryte. And by suche wayes and meanes, wherein We nothing mistrust your dexteryte, to obteyn of her, before your departure thens, these letters to her brother, to be delyvered unto you, and, by our post, to be sent to her saide brother. And thus doing, your labor and travaile with her shall have a perfite and assured ende. And otherwise, whatsoever your good myndes and endevors hath ben, which We knowe to have ben of the best sorte, and accompte you hitherto to have don, aswell as We coulde desire, yet oneles these letters be obteyned, all shall remayn uncerteyn uppon a womans promise, that she wilbe no woman; the accomplisshement whereof, on her behalf, is as difficile in the refrayning of a womans will, upon occasion, as in chaunging of her womannyssh nature, which is impossible.

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[1] See a letter published by Burnet, in the Collections at the end of his first Volume, p. 200., form Otho, C. X.

As

As touching the later clause of the mynute, which We sende to you herewith, ye may say unto her, for her comforte, that howsoever her Brother doth use himself, or other her frendes, she, contynuyng in her conformyte, shall fare never the worse, ne fynde any alteracion in Us towardes her, for the defaulte of any of them. Yeven under our Signet, at our Palace at Westminster, the 13th day of Julie, the 32d yere of our reigne.

(*Superscribed*)
To Our right trustie and right welbeloved Cousins and Counsailors, the Duke of Suffolk, Gret Maister of Our Houshold, the Erle of Suthampton, Keper of Our Privy Seale, and to Our trustie and right welbeloved Counsailour, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Knight, oon of Our Principal Secretaries.

CXLII. ANNE OF CLEVES *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

MOOST excellent and noble Prince, and my moost benigne and good Brodre. I do most humbly thank Youe for your greate goodnes, favor, and liberalitie, whiche, aswell by Your Majesties oune letters, as by the reaport and declaration of your Counsailours, the Lorde Greate Maister, the Lorde Privie Seale, and Your Graces Secreatary, I perceyve it hathe pleasid Youe to determyne towardes me; wherunto I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remaigne Your Majesties moost humble Suster and servaunte, according to such letters as I have writen to Your Highnes, and to suche advertisment as I have given unto Your Grace, by your said Counsailours, which ys correspondent and agreable to my first mynde and answer, made at the first opening of this mater unto me; from the whiche, as I neither have varied from the beginning, ne wool vary heraftre, soo if any man have said the contrarie, I assure Your Grace, that he hath doon it withoute my consent or commission. Thus I besech Our Lord to sende Your Majestie long lief, withe good healthe and perpetuall felicitie. From Richmounte, the 16th of Julye.

Your Majesties humble Suster
and Servaunt,

[1] This letter is printed from a paper, headed by Wriothesley, "Copye of the Lady Annes seconde letters to the Kinges Majeste". No signature is given. It is probably the copy referred to in the Duke of Suffolk's declaration.

CXLIII. ESSEX *to* THE COUNCIL.[1]

PLEASYTHIT Your good Lordeshippis to understande, that I have redde the letter sent to the Kinges Magestye, sent from the Frenche Kyng, touching Monsr de Rochepote, in which it appereth that Frenche supposyth that, by my meanys, the sayd matyer hathe not be justlye orderyd, and that I sholde have a gret parte of that pryce. My Lordes, fyrst, as I shall answer to God, I never barre favour in the matyer, otherwise then to justyce appertaynyth; which was, that Esterlinges, whiche sayd thay wer, being in leage with the Frenche Kyng, robbed by his subjectes; desyring, that forasmoche as ther goodes were save within the Kynges portes, that they myght have justyce here. Wheruppon the matyer was commyttyd to the heryng of the Judge of the Amyraltie; and ther the proctour of Monsr de Roche agreed and consentyd to the jurysdiccyon of the Courte; and so the Frenche partye, aswell as the Esterlinges, contendyd uppon the matyer, whether it sholde be tryed in Fraunce or Englande: and theruppon, as I remember, a centens was govyn, that the matyer sholde be tryed in England. Wheruppon the Frenche partye departyd, and after sent hether an advocatte of Fraunce, who toke hym self to be satysfyed with the order takyn, and also departyd. And after, the Ambassadour, now present here, made sute to the Kyng, for to have the matyer remyttyd to be determynyd in Fraunce; at whiche tyme a consultacyon of lernyd men, befor the Kynges Honorable Counsayle, was hadde at Gylforde. And thayr it was thought that the Kynges Magestye myght, with his honour, remytt the matyer into Fraunce; but it was agreed, on the Kynges partye, that yff the Frenche Kynge woold send his comyssarye tyll a place indyfferent, that then His Magestye woolde the lyke, and what soever sholde be determynyd ther, sholde be performyd. My Lorde of Norfolke, my Lorde Prevy Seale, my Lorde of Durham, and my Lorde of Wynchester, wer at that Counsayle, and my Lorde of London was, at that tyme, being the Kynges Ambassadour, fullye instructyd of the hole matyer[2]. But that ever I hade any partte of that pryse, or that I wer promysyd any part theroff, my Lordes, assure your selffes I was not, as God shall and may helpe me. And this, my good Lordes, I pray the Eternall Redemer to preserve yow all in long lyffe, good helth, with long prosperyte. At the Towre, the 24th of July, with the trymblyng hande of your Bedman,

THOM̃S CRUMWELL.

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[1] This letter is wholly in Essex's handwriting, and is dated only four days before his execution.

[2] This affair was the subject of a correspondence between the English and French Courts, in June and July 1539, which remains in the State Paper Office.

CXLIV. THE Declaration of the Right Honorable the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Greate Maister of the Kinges Majestes Houshold, of thErle of Southampton, Lorde Privye Seale, and of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, oon of His Graces Principal Secretaryes, touching certain their procedinges with the Lady Anne of Cleves.[1]

FIRST, after that the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, had been with the said Lady Anne, at Richmonde, the 11th day of July, having thenne in company with them, Sir Richard Riche, Knight, Chaunceler of thAugmentacions, at whiche tyme she wrote a letter[2] to the Kinges Majeste, conteyning her hole mynde, declaracion, and determynacion, touching the matiers then moved and determined betwene His Highnes and her, wherof there is already an instrument made aparte, with this subscription, "Your Majestes "most humble Suster and Servant, Anne, doughter of Cleves"; which worde "Suster" she was anymated to write by the said Duke, Erle, and others befor named, uppon the Kinges Majestes former determynacion soo to use and accept her: it pleased His Majeste, eftsones, to addresse the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, unto her, being styll at Richmont aforesaid, the 14th of July, with His Graces token, as to his derest suster by adoption, and also with His Highnes letters of the 12th of the same, the tenor wherof herafter ensueth. At whose arryval there, with the said letters and token, after declaration made unto her, howe the Kinges Majesty toke her discreate, just, and honorable procedinges in this matier, in good parte, and for a correspondence on His Majestes behaulf, had not only sent unto her, as to his suster, and non otherwise, a token, but also His Graces oune letters, wherby she shuld perceyve howe His Majesty was affected, and what His Highnes had determyned towardes her; the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, delyvered both the said token, being 500 markes sterling in gold, and also the forsaid letters, whiche she bothe receyved most humbly and thankfully, with the same condition they were sent unto her, according to her former determynacion in that bihaulf; and having red her letters, gave most humble thankes to His Majeste for the same. And, of herself, eftsones made declaration to the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, that she was utterly mynded, in all thinges, to ensue and contynue the purporte of her said former letters and determynacion, aswel in the mayntenaunce of the trouthe of the matier, whiche touchethe the integritie and clenenes of her body, as for all the rest

[1] Published from a draft in the handwriting of Wriothesley.

[2] See before, page 637.

conteyned

conteyned in the same. And for a further testimony therof, she did not only send His Highnes a ring, for a token, but also wrote a letter to His Majeste, in her oune tong and langage, the tenor wherof, truly and justely translated in to Englishe, heraftre ensuethe [1]. Uppon the delyvrey of whiche her letters, and token, to the Kinges Majeste, hit pleased His Highnes eftsones to sende to Richmont the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, the 17th of July, to discharge such officers and servantes, as attended on her as Quene, and to appointe and swere suche others, as, by her consent, were assigned to wayte uppon her, and to serve her as her oune domestyques [2], in the state of the Kinges Majestes suster, which it hathe pleased him nowe to yeve unto her. At whiche tyme, she bothe toke her leave, openly, of suche as departed, and welcomed very gently her oune servantes, thenne by the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, presented unto her; declaring, of herself, how moch she was bounde to the Kinges Majeste, and howe resolutely she was determyned holly to repose herself in his goodnes, according to her former writing and signification made unto His Highnes; sayeng that she wold be founde no woman, by inconstancy and mutabilite, thoughe all the worlde shuld move her to the contrary, neither for mother, brother, nor non other personne living; adding further, that she wold receyve no letters nor message from her brother, her mother, nor non of her kynne, or freendes, but she wold sende them to the Kinges Majeste, and theruppon make suche answer as shuld be ever consonante to the truthe, and her for [3] determinacion expressed in her letters to His Majeste. Whiche thinges being declared to His Highnes by the said Duke, the said Erle, and Sir Thomas, it pleased His Majeste yet, eftsones, to addresse them unto her, the [4] day of July, aswel to see her houshold fully establyshed, as, on His Graces bihaulf, to present unto her certain thinges of greate value and richesse, whiche His Grace thenne gave unto her; and also to shewe unto her certain letters, whiche His Majeste had receyved from the Duke, her brother, and also from the Bishop of Bath, His Highnes Ambassador resident with the said Duke. Whiche letters being opened, red, and declared unto her, she gave most humble thankes to the Kinges Majeste, that it pleased him to participate the same unto her. And forasmoche as by a pece of the said Bishop of Bathes letters, wherin it apperid that Osleger, Vicechaunceler to her brother,

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1 This is probably the letter printed in page 641.

2 A draft of the King's Warrant, for payment of the salaries, quarterly, to the servants of "his dearest Sister, the Lady Anne of Cleves", remains in the State Paper Office.

3 Sic.

4 Blank in the Original.

semed

semed to feare she were not well entreated, she perceyved they doubted her to be in other condition, thenne in dede she is, she wrote a letter, in her oune langage, to her brother, the tenor wherof herafter[1] foloweth. Whiche letter being soo writen, she, having knowleage that it shuld be conveyed by a nepheu of Oslegers, being servaunt to the Kinges Majeste, caused him to be called in, and required him, in the presence of the said Duke, the said Erle, and Sir Thomas, to make her harty commendacions to her brother, and to signifie that she was mery, and honorably entreated, and had writen her full and hole mynde in all thinges, unto him; whiche she did with suche alacritie, pleasant gesture, and countenaunce, as he, whiche sawe it, may well testifie that he founde her not miscontented. And aftre she had dyned, for a further declaracion, that she neither wold, nor justely might heraftre repute herself as His Graces wife, or in any wise

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[1] " MY dere and welbiloved Brother. Aftre my most harty commendacions. Where, by " your letters of the 13th of this moneth, whiche I have seen, writen to the Kinges Majeste " of Englande, my most dere and most kynde Brother, I do perceyve that you take the " matier lately moved and determyned betwen him and me, sumwhat to harte; forasmoche as " I had rather you knewe the truthe, by myn advertisement, then, for want therof, ye shuld " be deceyved by vayne reapportes, I thought mete to write these present letters unto you, " by the which it shall please you tunderstande, that, beyng substantially advertised how the " Nobles and Commons of this Realme desired the Kinges Highnes to commytte thexamina- " cion of the matier of mariage betwen His Majeste and mee, to thexaminacon and determi- " nacion of the hole Clergie of this Realm, I did then willingly consent thereunto; and, sinnes " the determinacion made, have, also, upon intimation of their procedinges, allowed, approved, " and agreed unto the same: wherein I had more respecte, as beseamed me, to truthe, then " to any worldly affeccion, that might move me to the contrary; and did the rather conde- " scende therunto, for that my bodye remaynethe in the integritie, whiche I brought into " this Realme. And beyng the matier thus finished, thadvertise you how I am used, surely " the Kinges Highnes, whom I cannot now justly have, ne will repute, as my husband, hathe " nevertheles taken and adopted me for his sustre; and, as a most kynde loving and freendly " brother, useth me with asmoche or more humanitie and liberalitie, as you, I myself, or any " of our kynne or allye could well wishe or desire; wherewith I am, for myn own parte, so " well satisfyed, that I moche desire that my good mother, and you, shuld knowe this my " state and condicion; not doubtyng, but when you shall throughly waye all thinges, you " woll so use yourself towardes this noble and good Prince, as he may contynewe his frend- " ship towardes you, which, on His Highnes bihalf, shall nothing be empaired or altered for " this matier, onles the fault shulde be in yourself, whereof I wold be most sorye. For so " it hath pleased His Highnes to signifie unto me, which I have thought necessarie to write " unto you, and also, that, God willyng, I purpose to leade my life in this Realme, having " His Grace so good lorde as he is towardes me; lest, for want of trewe knowlege of my " mynd and condicion, ye might otherwise take this matier, then ye ought, and in other sorte " care for me, then ye have cause. Thus, &c.

" (*Thus subscribed*)" " ANNA, Duchesse born of Cleves, Gulyk,
" Geldre, and Berge, your loving Suster."

The substance of this letter is printed by Burnet, from a paper in the Cottonian Library, differing materially from the above.

vary

vary from that, whiche she hathe writen and said, as befor is expressed, she sent unto His Majeste the ring, delyvered unto her at the pretensed mariage, with her most humble commendacions, and like message for her conformytie and good contentacion, as befor is writen in the discours of the 17th of July. And the 24th of the same moneth, she having receyved a letter from the Duke, her brother, writen with his oune hande, uppon knowleage of this matier, sent the same to the Kinges Majeste, which His Grace perused, and sent again unto her accordingly. All and singuler whiche thinges to be most just and true, with many moo good wordes, touching her contentacion with this matier, and her constant determinacion in the same, spoken to sundry other personnes, in thabsence of the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, and by the same personnes declared unto them, the said Duke, Erle, and Sir Thomas, doo, uppon their faithes to God Almighty, doo declare by their affirme, as they will answer befor God, at the most dreadfull day of Jugement.

CXLV. Appointment of Clerk of the Council.

The tenth day of August, in the 32 yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord, King Henry the Eight, King of England and of Fraunce, Defendor of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth Supreame Heade imediately under God, of the Church of England, an order was taken and determined by His Majesty, by thadvice of His Highnes Privy Counsell, whose names herunder ensue.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Lord Audley of Walden, Lord Chauncellor of England.
Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Thresorer of England.
Charles Duke of Suffolk, Great Master of the Kinges Howse, & President of the Consell.
William Erle of Southampton, Lord Privy Seale.
Robert Erle of Sussex, Great Chamberlaine of England.
Edward Erle of Hartford.
John Lord Russell, Great Admirall of England.
Cuthbert, Bishop of Duresme.
Steephen, Bishop of Winchester.
William Lord Sands, the Kings Chamberlaine.

Sir

Sir Thomas Cheiney, Knight, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Threasorer of the Kings Howsehowld.
Sir William Kingstone, Knight, Comptroller of the Kings Household.
Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Kings Horse.
Sir Anthony Wingfeeld, Knight, the Kings Vice Chamberlaine.
Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Knight, the Kings Secretary.
Sir Ralph Sadlier, Knight, the Kings Secretary.
Sir Richard Rich, Knight, Chauncellor of the Augmentations.
Sir John Baker, Knight, Chancellor of the First Fruites and Tenthes.

That ther shold be a Clerke, attendant uppon the sayde Counsell, to write, enter, and regester all such decrees, determinations, letters, and other such things as he should be appointed to enter in a booke, to remaine alwaies as a leeger, aswell for discharging of the said Counsellors, touching such things as the shold pass, from tyme to tyme, as also for a memoriall unto them, of theire owne proceedings. Unto the which office William Paget, late the Qucenes Secretary, was appointed by the Kings Highnes, and sworne, in the presence of the said Counsell, the day and yeare abovesaide[1].

CXLVI. Sussex, &c. *to* The Council.[2]

After our most harty commendations to Your good Lordshippes. Forasmoch as after certain comunication and conference had, this daye, with thAmbassadour of Fraunce, upon sute and request made by him to reparte unto us, where we wer assembled for thexecution of the Kinges Highnes commission for thActe of Subsidie in the Citie of London, the same Ambassadour, by his servaunt, advertised me, thErle of Sussex, that he wold tomorowe repare to the Kinges Majesties presence[3]; for this consideration, we have thought requisite to prevent him with thadvertisement unto youe of such communication as we had with him, to thintent the Kinges Majestie maye, by youe, knowe what hath been said on his, and answered on our bihaulf unto him.

[1] The Register of the Privy Council commences on this 10 August 1540, with an entry, the same in substance as this memorandum, but not an exact copy.
[2] In the writing of Gardyner.
[3] The King was at the Moore.

And

And ye shal understand, that, albeit we, assembled here in commission for an other purpose, wer soo ernest, as our dutie is, in thexecution of this our special charge, as of ourself we wer very loth to be interrupted with any other impertinent matier; yet the said Ambassadour of Fraunce pressed us soo soore, that we coulde not, with good facion, refuse to speke with him: wherupon he, reparyng to us, and placed, proponed unto us foure diverse articles, as folowith:

First, he said that the Acte[1] of Subsidie could not be executed upon the King his Masters subjectes, without violacion of the treatie, wherby noo newe imposition might be made to the grief of his Masters subjectes; which matier he dilated with many wordes, adding therunto the maner of his procedinges for conservation of the amitie, in reparing to the Kinges Highnes, our Master, upon knowlege of thActes passed, and soo forth, to small purpose.

The second article was, howe thActe[2] of Ordinaunce against Straungers for ther abyding or departing this Realme, might not, by the treatie, be executed against the French Kinges subjettes, bicause it was a newe ordinaunce, contrary, as he said, to the treatie.

The thirde article was a complaynt against the custumers, for deteyning of such money, as the French men had payde for the shipping of certain led; wherin he said, that albeit the Kinges Majeste, with his Counsail, had determyned restitution to be made, yet the custumers regarded it not.

The fourthe article conteyned a supplication for a poore Breton, who, after long sute, canne obteyne nothing, but must be enforced, for despayre, to retourne in to Fraunce, to make exclamation.

When we had harde thiese matiers, we withdrewe ourselfes aparte to consulte togither, what answer we shulde make unto him; and although a fewe wordes might have served, in signifying unto him that we wer here assembled in a speciall commission, and therfor wold not intermedle with thiese matiers, yet forasmoch as the two first articles conteyned such matier, as being soo lately resolved in the Courte of Parliament, it wer not convenient to make any staye in them, but soo clere, on the contrary parte, to that he affermed; we therfor concluded among us, to make answer incontinently, in forme ensuyng. And soo retournyng unto him, as touching the first article, we said, that as he had proponed it, the consequence was of an high nature to afferme, that the Kinges Majestie, our Master, in his High

[1] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 50.

[2] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

Courte

Courte of Parliament, shuld conclude an Acte contrary to such treaties, as had passed bitwene His Highnes and other Princes; and, at this pointe, we advised him to considre, what matier he moved: wherunto he answerd, and therwith shewed forth a wryting, signed with the French Kinges hand; and without reding the wryting unto us, said "Herin is my warrant to saye, as I "have said"; and therwith wold have provoked disputation in the matier: wherunto we saide, it was a matier of to high importaunce for us to dispute upon the wordes of the lege, without a special commaundement of the Kinges Majestie, for our parte; and therfor dispute we wold not, but playnly afferme unto him, that is truth, howe this Acte of Subsidie contraryeth in noo parte the treatie; and we said, howe the truth herof he might perceyve, without argument, in that soo many subsidies have, synnes the treaties made, and bifore, more thenne fyfte yere, passed, and been executed, without any contradiction or allegation made to withstande the same; and if the Kinges Highnes, we said, wold suffre it to be disputed and reasoned, we coulde easely, and in fewe wordes, declare the matier, soo as thActe shal appere agreable with the treatie, and nothing repugnant to the same: and like answer we made to the second article, defending thActe to be agreable with the treatie, always noting unto him, by the waye, howe it is not convenient for ministres of Princes to dispute and cal in doubte the treatises, without ther special knowlege and commaundement; wherunto he said, that he had special commission to alledge thiese Actes of Subsidie, and Ordinaunce for abyding or departing of Straungiers, to be against the treatie; and said he wold therfor repare to the Kinges Highnes. To the thirde article we said, that the custumers shuld, in al thinges, doo as the Kinges Majestie had determyned; and with this answer he was content. To the fourth article we said, howe the Bretons sute coulde not contravayle soo many gret and sundry sutes, as the Kinges Highnes subgettes have in Fraunce, and, in this point, were many wordes to and fro; he bosting a restitution made by the French King, on his owne purse, and taking the Bishop of London to witnesse; and we, on the other parte, rekonyng and namyng many, that have spent gret summes of money in prosecution of ther just and evident rightes, in vayne, and without recovery. Nevertheles we said, "The Kinges Majestie is, for his "parte, soo addicte to thadministration of justice, that as truth maye appere, "soo shal ordre be taken agreable to the same". And thus we ended, without any other effectual wordes, thenne we have wryten. And after his departure from us, we moch noted that he drewe out a wryting, signed with the French Kinges hand, and red it not, and therfor reputed it a bragge. But

nowe, upon his repare to the Courte[1], we dowte whither he hath such commission in dede; and therfor we have made the more hast to signifie this communication, which we most hartely desire youe to signifie to the Kinges Majestie; and that we, here, deputid by His Highnes in this commission, have this daye sitten in the Guylde Hal, and see as good apparaunce of a due successe, to the Kinges Majesties contentation, as we coulde wishe or desire, which we trust in God shal folowe, who sende youe hartely wel to fair. At London, the 13th of Octobre, late in the evenyng.

Your loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) RoB̃T SUSSEX. (*Signed*) J. RUSSELL. (*Signed*) CUTH̃ DURESME.
(*Signed*) RYCHARD RYCHE. (*Signed*) STE. WINTON'.
(*Signed*) JOHN BAKER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes of the Kinges
Pryve Counsayl.

CXLVII. DUKE OF NORFOLK *to* THE COUNCIL.

MY veray good Lordes, withe hertie recommendations. Thiese shalbe tadvertise youe of the receipte of your letter, dated at the More, the 12th of this instant; by the wiche I perceive that George Whelpeley hath put uppe a bill, conteynyng very fowle matier against many of the Kinges customers, comptrollers, and serchers, and that His Majestie dothe take the same very ernestely; and that ye have sent, by His Highnes commaundement, for diverse of them: and also ye wolde I sholde advertise you what I have herde, in the examination of suche matiers, in tymes past, wherin ye wolde, also, I sholde advertise you what I knowe.

My good Lordes, if the saide Whelpeley can dewly prove suche ill demeanour in any of those persones, no man living shalbe more yoifull of ther extreme ponysshement, than I; ne to my litle powre shall more effectually procede to the same. But to saie that I do knowe any offences proved against any of them, unto this day, of trouthe I do not; for if I had, ye may be sure His Majestie and his Cownsaill sholde have knowen it, or nowe. If I sholde have concealed any suche matiers, I had ben worthye

[1] From the Privy Council Register it appears that the French Ambassadour had an audience of the King, at the Moore, on the 15th of October; when he seems to have altered some of his grounds of complaint, for the King is stated to have answered him to the effect which is detailed in the following letter, p. 653.

to

to have had asmoche ponysshement as thoffendours, considering I am Treasorour of Inglande; and if any person do judge me to bere suche favour to any of them, as I wolde hyde ther offences, they that so do, of trouthe do me moche wrong; and, for my parte, none of them ever gave me cause, why I sholde bere them suche favour; for I am sure, of all those that have had any offices of customer or comptroller, sithe I was Treasorour, I never had any giftes or rewardes, though all other my predecessours in that office have had right largely: I thank God I have kepte my handes clene therefrom, ne never, sithe I was Treasorour, any servant of myne had any office of customer, or comptroller by any sewte, saulf only Andrewe Dudley and Edwarde Belingeham, nowe His Highnes servauntes; but all suche officers have ben namyd to me by His Majestie at the sewt of others, and not of me; so that if any of them be fownde faultie, and have offended, those that have labored for them ar to be blamed, and not I. Of trouthe, sithe twoo or three yeres past, His Highnes, being sewed unto for suche offices, did commawnde me to make serche, whither they were hable persones for the saide rowmes, wherin I have alwaies made reporte, as I have herde, withoute favour or displeasour to any person, as God be my helpe; so that, the premisses well ponderid, I trust that ther offences can torne me to no displeasure. Reason woll that every man sholde bere his owne burdon; and I am sure never Treasorour hath bownde those officers in so large sommes as I have don, as the prouf woll trye. And as towching the sending to His Highnes a breviate of the names of thoffices, being under the Treasorour of Englonde, with the names of them that have them, and that my Lorde Chauncelour, with others, is writen unto to do the like in ther offices; surely, for my parte, it is not possible for me to do the same, unto my commyng to London, that I may cause serche to be made therfore, aswell in thExchequer, as in the Chauncerie, wher doth remayne thinrolment of ther patentes. My saide Lorde Chauncelour, and thothers, wiche have ther offices as largely as any others ever had, and do make all thofficers, peradventure can so do, and yet I thinke it woll ask them some leisour. And with Goddes grace I entende, within five or six daies, to departe from hens towardes the Courte; and shall, in the meane tyme, cause asmoche diligence to be used for the making of a boke therof, as I can do, trusting at my commyng to His Highnes to bring the same with me. I wolde have ben with His Majestie, or nowe, but as yet all the busynes for the subsidie is not perfected in Suffolk. My Lordes, of trouthe I do not mervaile that Whelpeley hath sought some occasion to geite some favour; for, of late, his demeanour hath ben suche, that if it be trewe, wherof I am informed (as it is likelie to be) I am sure none of

us, of His Majesties Counsaill, wolde have attempted the like, for right great sommes.

Finally, my Lordes, this daie is arrived here, with me, five of the principall offendours, of every surname one, of Tyndall, desiring me to yeve them myne advise, after what most humble and best sorte they myght use themselffes in submitting them to His Majestie; saing that they knowe ther offences to be so great, as no grevouse ponysshement can be to sore for them. Wheruppon I have advised them, with halters abowtes ther neckes, to comme to His Highnes, to aske his most gratiouse pardon, wiche I perceive they ar as willing to do, as I tadvise them therunto, and so were determined to do, before ther commyng to me. My Lordes, one of them, called John Robson of the Fawstone, is very sicke, and though he hath ben a principall offendour, if His Highnes shalbe content to pardon them, it shall not be ill don ye cause hym, with one other of his fellowghes, called of the Latherborne, the oldest man of the sorte, not to departe home, unto my commyng; and I doubt not that by ther tarieng unto that tyme, moche hidde matier shall comme to light, worthye the hering; and doubte ye not, by them a great parte of moche falshed shall comme to knowleage; wiche, peradventure, for acqueintaunce, they woll soner open, when I am present than absent; being men, as ye shall well perceive, of a very rude fasshion, and yet of ther sorte right experte and wise men. Thus most hertely fare ye well. From Kenynghall, this 16th of Octobre.

Yours assewredly,
(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray good Lordes, my Lordes and other my loving frendes and felloughes of the Kinges Highnes most honorable Cownsaill.

CXLVIII. The Council with the King *to* The Council in London.[1]

After our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordships. Yesterday, the Frenche Ambassadour cam hither to the Kinges Majeste, and had good audience at lenght; after whose departure from the Kinges Majeste, it pleasid the same to participate unto us suche conference and communicacion[2]

[1] From a minute, written by Sadleyr.

[2] The Council Register of the 15th of October 1540, contains a memorandum of the conversation reported in this letter; the whole of which was, on the 18th of October, communicated also to Sir John Wallop, Ambassador in France.

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as passed betwixt them, whiche was in suche sorte, as herafter is brieflie declarid. First, the saide Ambassadour, begynnyng with the matier of the traytour, that namyth himselfe Blanche Rose, alledged that the Frenche King, uppon the Kinges Highnes requisicion and demaunde of the saide traytour, committed unto certain of his Counsail thexaminacion and tryall, whither the saide traytour were Frenshe or Englishe borne; and that his saide Counsail, uppon the tryall therof, reaported to him, that he was his subject, and a Frensh man, borne in Orleance; wheruppon his delyverie is yet suspendid; offering, nevertheles, that in case it coulde be proved that he were the Kinges Majestes subject, then woolde the King, his Master, delyver him, according to the treatie. And if the Kinges Majestie woolde further require and demaunde him, as his subject, he woolde write therof to the King, his Master, indelayedlie; wherunto the Kinges Majestie aunswered, that in deade the said traitour was his subject, borne of a lowe and verie basse parentage, and so vile a person that His Highnes neither carith nor estemyth his delyveraunce, but rather requieryd and demaunded him, to prove thinclinacion and zeale of the Frenche King towardes His Majestie, and thobservacion of his treatie, then for anye other respect. And lyke as His Majeste had requierid and demaunded the saide traytour to be delyveryd, according to the purporte of the treatie, in the refusell wherof His Majeste doubted not, but they coulde consider that His Highnes did well note and perceyve, howe lyttle they estemyd the breache and violacion of the same treatie, on their parte; soo His Highnes, weyeng theire procedinges with His Majeste, and again considering howe basse and vyle a person the saide traytour is, neither woolde, ne coulde, vouchesaufe to make anye further requisicion or demaunde of him; but, if they woolde, they mighte delyver him, according to the demaunde that His Highnes had made alreadie, and if not, it shulde the bettre appere, what regarde they had to the observacion of theire treatie. Here the saide Ambassadour broughte in the deteyning of Modena from the Frenche King, his Master; wherin the Kinges Majeste aunswerid him at full, sayeng that His Highnes had doon more in that bihaulfe, then he was bounde to doo by treatie, or otherwise. For His Majeste, withoute letters requisitorie from the French King, was content to delyver the saide Modena to his Ambassadours handes here resident, who afterwardes delyverid and set him agayne at lybertie. And nowe His Majeste is not bounde, no more then he was at that tyme, to delyver him; forasmoche as he is not the Frenche Kinges subject, but a Millenoys, borne within the Duchie of Millayne, being in thEmperours handes. And so His Majeste tolde him, directelie, that when the

the King, his Master, shulde be Duke of Millain (if then he woolde demaunde the said Modena, as his subject) His Majestie woolde accomplishe and observe his treaties, in that parte, accordinglie.

Secondlie, the saide Ambassadour brought in the matier of Cowbridge[1] at Calays; alledging that the King, our Masters, subjectes have broken a bridge and passage there, stonding uppon the King, his Maysters, grounde, contrarie to the treatie, whiche mighte give occasion of contencion and breache of thamitie betwixte them; wherunto the Kinges Majestie aunswerid, that he had doon nothing therin, but that he mighte lawfullie doo. And that albeit the one haulfe of the saide bridge stoode uppon his grounde, soo that His Majeste mighte lawfullie breake it, if he so woolde, yet His Highnes had not broken the same, but, as he myghte lawfullie, had cutt certain ditches and trenches within his owne grounde, whiche His Majeste woolde defend and kepe, aswell as they shulde theires; and that, notwithstanding their highe woordes, they shulde well knowe, that His Majeste woolde be as lothe to suffer his ditches and trenches to be fylled by them, as they woolde to have their bridge, stonding on their grounde, to be broken by us. And where as His Majeste, not devising to seeke occasion of any pyke or quarrell to the King, his Master, for any small matier, hathe ben content raythe to suffre at their handes, when they injustelie deteyned and kepte certain grounde there, called the Couswade, whiche of right belongith to His Majeste, and lyeth within his grownde, and wherof His Majestes subjectes have, of long tyme hertofore, taken the profettes withoute interruption, then His Majestie woolde seme ingrate, or provoke unkyndnes or breache, for so small a matier; His Majeste coulde not but marvail, that they woolde nowe, withoute cause, fynde themselfes greavyd, for a lesse matier a greate deale, with so greate a freende, as His Highnes hathe been to them, if they doo consider it well.

Thirdlie, the saide Ambassadour alledged to the Kinges Majeste, that aswell thActe of Subsidie, as also the Acte for the avoyding of Straungiers, being executed uppon the King, his Maysters, subjectes, shulde tende to the breache and violacion of the treaties: in whiche parte the Kinges Majeste aunswerid him roundlie; first to the Acte of the Subsidie, that either they

[1] Much of this matter will be found in the Calais Correspondence. The King appears, by the Council Register, to have received, on the day of the date of this letter, advice that the French had rebuilt the passage at Cowbridge, and that the English had again broken it down. And orders were, on the 18th of October, given to the Deputy of Calais to demolish this passage, as often as the French should restore it.

understoode

understoode not well their treaties, as in deade the Kinge, his Master, had suche a Counsaile, as not knowyng what Princes affaires, or treaties betwixte Princes, doo meane or extend unto, doo, percase, mysenfourme him, alledging the treaties to be violate and broken, where they are not touched; in whiche case, aswell they were to be blamed for their wrong informacion, as also the Kyng, their Maister, for that he also giveth to lyghte belefe, and credence unto them, or ells they dispose themselfes, nowe a dayes, to seke mo occasions of pyke and quarrells then hertofore they were accustumed; whiche, if they woolde, His Majeste advised them to declare it playnelie, and not to seke a byrde in a busshe, where none was. For His Highnes coulde not but marvaile, whie they shulde fynde themselfes more greved nowe, then a fore tyme, when other lyke subsidies have been graunted, to the whiche all straungers have been contributorie, aswell as they now be, and yet no leage nor treatie touched by the same.

Then to the Acte for the avoyding of the Straungers, His Majeste aunswerid, that the same in nowise extendid to anye merchant strangers, having recourse hither, or abode here, abowtes their marchandises, but that they mighte doo the same frelie, as afore the making of the saide Acte; wythe whiche aunswer the saide Ambassadour, sayeng that all his Counsail coulde not tell him so moche, seamyd to be well satisfied.

Nowe have we writen unto yow the hole discourse of the saide conference betwixt the Kinges Majeste, and the saide Ambassadour, in suche sorte as His Highnes declarid it unto us, as nere as we can remembre. And forasmoche as the Kinges Majeste wool have the saide Ambassadour fullie aunsweryd to his allegacion of breache of treatie, in thexecucion of the saide twoo Statutes, His Highnes hathe commaunded us to advertise yow, that His Majestes pleasour is, that yow shall consulte togyther, and debate amonges yourselfes, howe the saide Ambassadour, and all others, whiche shall fynde themselfes grevid or touched in that bihaulfe, maye be fullie aunswerid and satisfied. And forasmoche as ye, my Lordes of Duresme[1] and Wynchestre[2], are well learnyd in the lawes cyvile and canon, and well experte in the treaties, and also ye, Mr Chauncelour of thAugmentacions[3], and Mr Chauncelour of the Tenthes and First Fructes[4], well learnyd in the lawes and statutes of the realme; the Kinges Majestes pleasour is, therefore, that ye, joynyng with the rest of my Lordes of the Privie Counsail there, shall

[1] Tunstall. [2] Gardyner.
[3] Sir Richard Ryche had been Solicitor General in 1531, 2, and 3.
[4] Sir John Baker, lately promoted from the office of Attorney General.

peruse

peruse and conferre the treaties and statutes togither, and so procede to the consultacion and debatement of the same amongst yourselfes, in suche sorte as yow maye be ripe, and well armed in all poyntes, to aunswer the saide Ambassadour, and all others, that shall alleadge any violacion of treatie for executing of the saide Estatutes: and when ye have maturelie delyberated, advised, and consulted uppon the same, as is aforsaide, that then yow shall, with all convenient celeritie, advertise His Highnes of your procedinges and opinions in that bihaulfe; to thintent His Majeste, and suche other as be here of his Privie Counsail, maye either joyne and concurre with yow in the same, or elles declare our further advises and opinions therein, as shall apperteyne. We have also sent unto yow, here inclosed, the last letters addressid to the Kinges Majesty from Mr Wallop, to the intent ye may be privey to suche occurrauntes and advertisementes as he hathe wrytten in the same; requering your Lordeshippes, that when ye have perused and over redde them, ye woll remytte them agayn unto us with convenyent spede.

Furthermore the Kinges Majeste, being infourmid of the good and acceptable servyce, whiche Sir Roger Cholmely [1], Knight, Recorder of London, hathe now don to His Majeste, both within the Cytie, and within the shire of Middlesex, in and aboutes thexecution of the commission for the Subsidie, and of his towardnes, and willing mynde to serve His Majeste, aswell in the same, as in all other thinges, to thextremyte of his power, hath commanded us to signefie unto you, that His Majestes pleasure is, that ye shall therefore call the saide Recorder afore you, and encouraging him still to applie himself to serve the Kynges Majeste, in all thinges that to his duetie and charge aperteyneth, to gyve unto him most hertye thankes, on His Highnes behalf. And thus Our Lorde sende you well to fare. From the More, the 16th day of October.

CXLIX. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

After our most harty commendations to Your good Lordshippes. Upon Sonday, in the mornyng, we receyved your letters, conteyning at large such answer as the Kinges Majestie, by his wisedom, made to the Ambassadour of

[1] He was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1545, and promoted by King Edward VI. in 1552 to the King's Bench.

Fraunce,

Fraunce, which we esteme to be of suche sorte as the Ambassadour ought to take himself satisfied and confounded, and it excedith our divise to counsail, or adde any thing unto the same. And as concernyng our opinions, which the Kinges pleasour is we shuld signifie unto youe, we ar determyned, with mature deliberation, to consulte upon the matier, and with diligence to signifie the same unto youe accordingly. This daye we have sytten in the Yeldehal, where we have charged such as shalbe cessours for the wardes, and see very gret lightlywode that al thing shal passe here, quietly and benevolently, with a gret and not a litle avauncement of the Kinges Majesties proufit, wherwith we trust the Kinges Highnes wylbe wel satisfied and contented; which we most hartely desire youe to signifie to His Majestie, on our bihaulf.

This daye wer delyvered unto us letters by oon Husey, dyrected to thAmbassadour of Cleves, sent from Master Wotton to his factour here, with special charge not to delyver the same letters to thAmbassadour, without the knowlege and advise of oon of the Kinges Majesties Pryve Counsail, which letters we sende unto youe herwith. We sende unto youe, also, Master Walloppes letters, according as in your letters ye wylled us to doo, and as soone as we conveniently maye, shal advertise youe, at lenght, our resolution in the matier of the treaties, by the grace of Almighty God, who send youe hartely wel to fare. At London, the 18th of Octobre.

Your loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) RoB̃T. SUSSEX. J. RUSSELL. CUTH̃. DURESME. STE. WINTON'.
(*Signed*) RYCHARD RYCHE. JOHN BAKER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majesties Pryve Counsail.

CL. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

AFTRE our right harty commendations to Your Lordships. Herwith you shal receive the Kinges Majesties warrant for £4000 to be sent to Calays, to be employed upon His Graces fortifications there, at Risbanke, and Guisnez, whiche His Highnes wolde have dispeched with al celeritie. And bicause here is no man mete to be sent therwith, His Majestes pleasure is, that your Lordships shall appointe summe suche person, or persons, to receive and see

[1] From a Minute in Wriothesley's handwriting.

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the money transported and delyvered, according to the warrant, as you shall thinke mete; whose charges shalbe allowed, at their return, by an ordinary warrant, as your Lordships shall lymyt and signifie the same, and for that purpose the voyde space in the warrant is left, as that you may inserte the name or names of them, whiche shall have the charge of the receipt and conveyance of the same money. You shall also receive, herwith, a paquet of letters to Calays, whiche we require your Lordships to see sent thither by him or them, whiche shal cary the said money thither; eftsones requiring you to see it dispeched with all diligence, for it woll doo litle more then him or them, tyl the tyme it shall arryve. And until they shal make a newe certificat of the state of the workes, and the nomber of men, and other thinges occupied in the same, they get no more; and what tyme shall passe, or this advise can arryve where the Kinges Majeste shalbe, and a newe assignment made, your Lordships can, of your wisedomes, considre. And yet ordre must be taken in tyme, for the payment of workmen, or elles they shal worke but shrewdly.

As touching thentaile of the Lord Dacres landes, His Majeste thinkethe the will of the grandfather shuld not be soo perfite as it is signified; or at the least, that thoughe summe of the lande be entailed, the hole is not soo; wherby His Majeste thinketh he might take thadvauntage of that, wherof he died seased in fee, being holden of His Majeste, and yet have the wardship for the rest by reason of thentayle, whiche entayle shuld also avoyde all other exchetes. And therfor having His Majeste nowe sent for Mr Chauncelour of thAugmentations and Mr Pollarde to repaire hither, not without cause, to yeve attendance uppon him in this progresse, His Highnes hathe referred his resolution, in that parte, tyl their arryval, and then it shalbe signified unto you; His Grace not doubting, but in the meane tyme you woll see, that all those thinges shalbe put in suche good ordre that appertayneth.

And further your Lordships shal undrestand, that there hathe been a bill presented to the Kinges Majeste, on the behaulf of M^{res} Mantel, towardes whom His Grace being moved with pitie, hathe commanded us to sende the bill to you, to thintent you shuld, assone as you may conveniently, peruse suche thinges as may be shewed for her; wherupon making your certificat unto us, what you shal thinke therin, His Highnes woll take suche ordre for her relief, as justice shal require, or as his clemency shal thinke convenient.

We sende to your Lordships the Proclamation for Holy dayes &c., whiche His Majestes pleasure is, you, my Lord Chauncelour, shall cause to be signi-

fied

fied to all Ordinaryes, and likewise proclaymed in all shires and places accustumed of His Highnes realmes accordingly.

Furthermore, where your Lordships desire to knowe the Kinges Majestes pleasure and resolution touching His Graces Stile, His Highnes thinketh it expedient, that befor the same be altered be reason of thActe passed in Irlande [1], the wordes of the said Acte be well wayed and considered. For if the same be couched, as thoughe they gave this thing unto His Highnes by a commen consent of themselfes, it might be an argument heraftre, that it proceded of their election, whiche might be derogatyve to His Graces just title, whiche he hathe already, bothe by inheritaunce and conquest, to the same. Wherfor, befor any thing be doon in that bihaulf, His Majestes pleasure is, that you, my Lord Chauncelour, shall cause a copye of the said Acte, as it was sent hither, and remitted again unto them under the Greate Seale, to be sent with diligence to the Courte, to thintent it may be considered; and therupon His Majeste woll either make a finall determynation of the same, or sende it again to Irlande to be amended [2], in cace it be not conceived already as it shuld be, and, in the meane season, all thinges to passe, as in the stile accustumed.

The Kinges Majeste hathe received newes out of Germany, wherby it apperethe that thEmperour takethe His Majestes answer made to thEmperours Ambassadour in good parte. And as for the matiers of religion, we see not by any thing yet writen, that they be at any other pointe then befor had been signified. His Majeste, the Quenes Grace, and all the trayne be mery, and in healthe. And thus we shal pray God to sende you most hartely well to fare.

CLI. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

Aftre our right hertie commendacions unto Your good Lordeships, these shalbe to signefie unto the same, that we have receyved your letters, of the 21th of Julie, with also a paket of letters addressed to Calais, and suche other writinges as were addressed unto us with the same. Whereupon, assembling our selffes togither, and considering, for the first parte, what dili-

[1] By the first Act passed in the Session of the Irish Parliament, which began 13 June 1541, Henry VIII. and his Successors were declared to be Kings of Ireland.

[2] This course was taken by a despatch from the King to the Irish Council, on the 8th of September 1541.

gence was requisite in the sending of the saide paket of letters to Calais with the foure thousande poundes, whiche ye wryte the Kinges pleasure is we shoulde see conveyed thither, for the charges of His Majesties fortificacions there and at Guysnes, to be delyvered to thandes of those persons specefied in the warraunte, which we receyved with your saide letters; we did ymmediatelie, forasmoche as the saide warraunte was not dyrected to any of the Kinges Majesties Thesaurers here, supposing the same to be lefte to our arbytre and discression, to directe it eyther to the Treasurer of the Augmentacions, the Treasurer of the Tenthes, or Master Tuke, where we shulde perceyve the saide some might beste be furnisshed, send for Master North, having knowledge that Master Gostwike was gon home to his house in the countrey. So that having no tyme to sende for him, the matier requyring suche diligence, and perceyving by the relacion of Alen Hawte, that Master Tuke was scant able to furnisshe the fourth parte of the saide some, we requyred the saide Master North to prepare and make redy the same, who answered, that as in dede all warrauntes be addressed and dyrectid unto him, by meane whereof almost litle tresure of the Kinges Majesties remayned with him, so he had not, at this tyme, so moche in his handes, as shulde fully furnysshe the saide somme of foure thousande poundes. Nevertheles he hathe right honestlie endevoured himself in this behalf, and with his owne money, and otherwise, hathe made shifte, out of hande, to supplie the lacke, which was at the lest one thousande poundes; wherwith, and with 3000*£* remaining in his handes of the Kinges Majesties treasure, he hathe made the saide some of foure thousande poundes complete. Which is alredy delyvered unto thandes of Master Marten, a gentilman of myn, the Lorde Chauncelors, and one Willyam Burnell, one of Master Northes clerkes, a right honest person, to be fourthwith conveyed to Calais, to be payed there in suche sorte as the warraunte purporteth. And this day they be dispeched thitherwardes with the same. Trusting that the Kynges Majeste shall shortely here from thens agayne, and receyve answere of suche thinges as His Majestie loketh to be advertised of from them, whiche, if it be addressed unto our handes, we shall not faile to use suche diligence in the conveyance of the same to the Courte, as apperteyneth. If the Kynges Majeste shall, uppon answer from Calais, make any new assignement of money to be conveyed thither, it may like you to have good regarde, to whom the warraunt for the same shalbe dyrectid, for we perceyve by Master North, that, at this present, he hathe no money at all, but was fayne to make shifte as is aforsaide. And Master Tuke hathe not past one thousande poundes in his handes, as he sayeth. What Master Gostwike hathe, we can not tell, because he

he is not here. Not doubting but your Lordeshippes will consider the same accordynglye.

I, the Chauncelor of Englonde, have herewith sent unto your Lordeshippes, according to the contynue of your letters, the Acte passed in Irelande for the Kynges Majesties Stile to be King of the same, aswell in suche sorte, as it was sente hither under the Seale of Irelande, as also as it was here refourmyd by the Kynges Majesties lerned counsaile, and remytted thither under the Gret Seale of Englonde, in whiche fourme we take it now passed as an Acte in Ireland. And untill the Kynges Majesties pleasure shalbe determyned in that behalf, we shall use His Highnes Stile accustomed, accordyng to His Majesties commaundement to us, signefied by your Lordeshippes.

Touching the matier of the Lord Dacres, forasmoche as it hathe pleased the Kynges Majestie to suspende his high pleasure therein, till the arrivall there of Master Chancelour of the Augmentacions and Master Pollarde, wherein His Majestie hathe don wyselye, not to be over hastie in the same, till the certentie and trouth of every thing may appere, we shall, in the meane season, see that all thinges concerning the same shalbe kepte in suche staye and order, as apperteynethe; as men that can procede no further in the same, till we shall knowe the Kinges Highnes further pleasure, whiche we shall not faile to accomplisshe according to our dueties; praying your good Lordeshippes to helpe, that the same may be answerid, assone as convenyentlie may be, for suche respectes and causes as your Lordeshippes can facyllie conceyve.

The Proclamacions, sent hither by your Lordeshippes for Holy dayes and Fasting dayes, we shall cause to be set fourth and proclaymed with diligence, according to the Kynges Majesties pleasure and commaundement, to us addressed by your Lordeshippes for the same.

Semblably we shall not faile to examyn and peruse, with suche diligence as we can, M^res^ Mantelles title and cause commytted unto us by the Kynges Majeste, and suche matier as we shall fynde in the same, with our opynyons in the justice and equyte thereof, we shall likewise signefie unto your Lordeshippes, to be declared unto the Kynges Highnes accordynglie, and so to be further ordered, as shall stonde with his high pleasure.

Fynally, having none other matiers to advertise you of, saving that, Our Lorde be thanked, all thinges in these parties are in good order and quyetnes, giving also our right hertie thankes unto your Lordeshippes for the newes out of Germanye, which it liked you to participate unto us; we comytte you to the tuycyon of Almightie God, whom we most hertely beseche

beseche to preserve the Kynges Majestie, and sende His Highnes with all his trayne a merye and pleasunt progresse. At London, the 24ti day of Julie.

Your Lordeshippes assurid loving frendes,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELO. E. HERTFORD.
(*Signed*) ANDREW WYNDESORE. WILLIAM SENT JOHN.
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR. ROBERT SOWTHWELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes of the Kinges
Majesties most honorable Counsaile,
attending uppon his Royall Person,
at the Courte.
In hast, post,
hast.

CLII. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.

AFTER our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordships. Yesterdaye, we receyved lettres from the Bisshop of Sarum, with certain other writinges, the copies wherof we sende herwith unto your Lordships, deteynyng the originalls here: by the contentes wherof it shall appeare unto yow, that 2 Spanyardes, whiche of late landed at Dertmowthe, were taken and apprehended at the [*City*] of Sarum, as personnes suspected, and so brought before [*the*] said Bisshop and Mr Bulkeley; which, after they h[*ad*] discretelie examyned, ministred interrogatories unto them, and taken theire deposicions and aunswers to the same, they sent them unto us in safe custodie, to be further examyned and ordred here, as shulde be thoughte convenyent. Wheruppon we have called them afore us, and oone of them, named Petrus Latronensis, Presbyter de Sancto Romano, whome we take to be a religious person, thoughe himselfe denye the same, sayeng he hathe onelie professed thordre of presthoode, we doo fynde to be a stowte champion for the Bisshop of Rome, and an open impugnatour and depraver of the Kinges Majesties title of Supremitie, and the lawes and statutes of the realme, made aswell touching the same, as the abolition of the usurped auctoritie of the said Bisshop, who he sayeth is the Supreme Hed of the Universall Churche of Christendom; and he saithe he was sent hither by God, to whome, at suche tyme as he tooke shipping in Spayne, he made his prayers to direct his voyage; and so, beyng driven by wether to land in England, he presumeth to be sent hither by God; and the good spirite so induced him to arryve here,

here, to perswade the heddes of this countrey to leve theire error, and adhere to the truthe. In whiche parte, we thArchbishop of Canterbury, the Bisshops of London, and Westminster, reasoned with him to and fro, and fynde him utterlie unlearnyd, grownding his argumentes onelie uppon olde errors and the lawe canon, whiche, it appearith by his owne confession, he hathe onelie stoodied, and that, not past fowre yeres. And after many reasons and persuasions by us used unto him, to persuade him from his folie, blyndenes, and error, wherin we coulde nothing prevaile , it was thoughte good amongst us to declare p[*lainly*] unto him what daunger and perill he stoode in, if he woolde so stonde and persiste in the mayntenaunce of his opinions; whiche was accordinglie doone by the mouthe of me, thArchbisshop of Canterbury, whoo declared unto him, that, forasmuche as he was a straynger, and myght percase be ignorant of our lawes, not knowyng what daunger he myght incurre by offending of the same, in whiche parte we woolde use with him thorder of charitie, we woolde him tunderstand, that in case he woolde so remayne in the defence and mayntenaunce of the saide Bisshop of Romes auctoritie, and still deprave, as he dydd, the Kinges Majestes Supremetie of this Churche of England, he beyng nowe in the Kinges handes, and subjecte to His Majestes lawes and ordenaunces of this realme, for the tyme of his beyng here, must nedes suffre suche paynes of deathe for the same, as by our lawes be lymyted; and what kinde of deathe it is, was also playnelie declaird unto him: whiche, neverthelesse, he semyd lyttle or nothing to regarde, but aunswered that our lawes were yvell, and that he woolde rather suffre ten deathes, then he woolde forsake the truthe.

Thother Spanyard, his companion, called John Abbott, who is also a preest, semyth to us a verie simple person, and cam with the same Peter, as he saythe, onelie for companye, as an olde famyliar of his; and beyng examyned of his opinion touching the Bisshop of Romes primacie, he aunswered wiselie, that he was unlernyd, and woolde not medle therwith, soo that in him we finde little matier in that parte.

Finallie, we canne gett nothing of them, but that they were addressed hither by God and fortune. Wherfore, to have them more seriously examyned, to thintent we maye, if it woolbe, fyshe oute of them, whither they were procured or sent hither by any maner of meanes, or have any other aydours or fautors in this parte, we have committed thone of them to the warde and custodie of the Bisshop of London, and thother to the Bishop of Westminster; and for the better examinacion and tryall of the premisses, we have devised sundrie interrogatories to be ministred unto them. And

suche

suche matier, as we shall pike oute of them, we shall not fayle to advertise your Lordships. In the meane season, we have thoughte good to signefie unto yow so muche as we knowe therof at this present, to thintent ye maye declare the same to the Kinges Majeste, and that we maye knowe His Highnes pleasour, what we shall doo further therin; whiche we shall not fayle taccomplishe according to our most bounden duties. And thus, having none other matier to advertise yow of at this tyme, but that thankes be to God all thinges, aswell in these parties, as in sundrie other partes of the realme, as we have daylie advertisement by letters, be in good order and quietnes; we committ your Lordships to Almyghtie God, who send Your Lordships healthe. From Westminster, the 29th of Julie.

Your Lordshppes
loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) T. Cantuarien'. T. Audeley, Chauncell'. E. Hertford.
(*Signed*) Edmond London'. Thom̃s Westm'. Andrew Wyndesore.
(*Signed*) Rauf Sadleyr. John Baker.
(*Signed*) Robert Sowthwell.

Post Scripta — Arryved here Edmond Marten and William Burnell, whom we sent to Calais with the Kinges money; and brought letters to me, the Chauncellour of Englonde, from Mr Wallop, Mr , and Mr Lee, mencyoning the receipte of saide money, with other advertisements conteyned in the same letters, which we have sent unto your good Lordshippes, herein closid, to thintent ye may the better understonde the same.

(*Superscribed*)
To our verie good Lordes of the Kinges Majesties Privie Counsaile, attending on His Highnes Person, at the Courte.
In hast,
hast.

CLIII. The Council with the King *to* The Council in London.[1]

After our right harty commendacions to Your good Lordships. It shall like the same tundrestande, that the Kinges Majeste hath been lately advertised from His Graces servaunt John Osburne, who hath the provision of certeyn thinges for His Hieghnes oune use, as yow knowe, in thEmperours Lowe Partyes, that notwithstanding His Majestes sundrye requestes m
by his Ambassadours there to the Regent and Counsail of the same, for the transportacion of the said thinges, the said Osburn can in no wise prevaile, or obteyn lycence for the conveyaunce hither of the same. And further the said Osburn hath signefied to His Majeste, that albeit the said Regent and Counsail doo thus extremely and unfrendely stande in termes with His Hieghnes, for 200000 weight of copper, and a fewe other thinges of smal moment, there by him provyded for His Hieghnes oune use, as is aforesaid, yet the King of Portugale hath even nowe bought and shipped thens 1400000 weight of copper, and the Frenche King hath bargayned with certeyn
at Andewarp
1000000 weight of copper. Which considered, with the libertye, which every merchaunt hath, or ought to have, by vertue of the Treatye of thEntrecours, His Highnes cannot alitle mervail, what this ungentle dealing shuld meane; remembring therwith, aswel the wordes of Grandevele, touching the validitie of all the treates with thEmperour, that is to saye, his affyrmation of the same on thEmperours behalf, to be fyrme and perfyte, as the sayeng of the said Grandevele, that he wolde write to them of Flaunders to procede frendeley with His Majeste in al thinges, as thamytye betwen him and thEmperour requireth. Wherfore His Hieghnes pleasour is, that with convenyent diligence
you shal s[*en*]de [*for the Emperors Ambassador,*] and at his repayre unto yow, yow shall explayne and declare unto him, how unfrendly and straytely His Majeste is used in thise thinges, and what libertie other princes, and, in maner, every merchaunt hath to conveye thens greate quantities of all suche thinges as His Majeste desireth; inferring theruppon, howmoche this kynde of proceding varieth from the apparaunce and towardnes of the amitie, which is pretended to

[1] The centre of each leaf of this letter has perished from wet. It is published from the minute, indorsed with the date 1st August 1541, when the King was on his progress to York. The answer shews that the letter was not dispatched till the 2d of August, on which day the King appears, by the Council Register, to have moved from Luddington in Huntingdonshire to Colyweston in Northamptonshire.

be

be betwen His Majeste and thEmperour, and howe the same, thus contynued, shall not only shewe to the world a kinde of demonstration [*of enm*]itie rather thenne frendship, but also shal
that all the comodities of his Realm shalbe likewise restrayned agayn from them; wherof what maye further ensue to their incommoditie, his wisdome can consider: requyreng him therfor, as oon that sheweth himself of a good affection to this amitie, to considre this matyer by his discreacion, and to write therin to the Regent and Counsail ther, and not only to geve them advise, howe His Majeste taketh their procedinges herin to harte, but also to exhorte them, not, thus lightely and unfriendly, to use His Majeste in thiese trifles, being provyded for His Graces oune use; considering aswel that the leagges permit the transportation of them to

Grandevele affyrmed, on thEmperours behaulf, to stande firme and perfite; as that all other prynces, and others, have liberty, and bee not stayed to convey thens moche greater thinges, like as they maye be assured His Majeste maye have the semblable right shortly provided for him, and brought even hither by thandes of merchauntes, though they wolde still saye naye unto it: but what maye arise of this extremitie, let themselfes forsee and considre. And what aunswere he shall make unto yow herin, His Hieghnes pleasour is, yow shall advertise. And if the said Ambassadour shall demaunde, [*whether there have been*] yet any aunswere made to the sute of the King of Romaynes for his ayde against the Turke, you shal saye yow cannot certeynly tel him; but yow may saye unto him, that if he well waye and considre thiese doinges of Flaundres, you thinke himself must nedes confesse, that they be no meanes either to get newe aydes, or to contynue old frendships; and thus with a generalitie, and an uncerteyntie of knoweledge, you shal put over that matyer accordingly.

Further, your Lordships shall understande, that in the last letters, which the Kinges Majeste receyved
other thinges of suche landes as His Majeste shal gyve to any of the wild Yrishe, as by the copy of the said letters, which you shal receive herwith, yow shal perceyve; in which matyer, what is written by the Deputy and Counsail of Irland, your Lordships shall perceyve by the said copy. But forasmuch as that article, amonges the rest, appereth to be of importaunce, it is thought a thing mete to be wel debated and considered, or it be aunswered and determyned. For first, if the Kinges Majeste shuld gyve his landes, and his inheritaunce to his rebelles and disobeysauntes, besides the [*respect of his honour,*] it wolde be [*to be considered,*] whither it mighte be a meane to gyve them, and others heraftre,

heraftre, courage to lyve in their obedyence, or rather eftsones to rebelle, as the tyme served them; considering aswell the benefite, which they shall nowe receyve uppon their rebellion, that ys to saye, to have a good title gyven them to that, which before they usurped uppon His Highnes, as the disposicion of the peple to untruth and mutabilitie.

Seconde, yf they shuld declyne heraftre from their obedyence, having His Majestes graunte of their landes, thoughe indede they shuld therin offende, and so worthely forfaicte their estates, yet what allegation they might get by meane of the said grauntes, as to all[*edge*] th[*at quarelles be piked to them without cause*[1]], or such like.

Thirde, if His Majeste, or his heires, shulde heraftre entreprise a conquest, and a general extirpation of those traytours, it wolde be wayed what a losse it shuld be to His Highnes, and his heires, to have thus before departed with the substaunce of their inheritaunce there, and specially to those, whiche nowe usurpe uppon him, and be his traytours and unfaythful people. Nowe, yf your Lordships woll waye the discours of the said letters, and this together, with such other thinges as your wisdomes shal adde therunto, the same shall the bettre judge what is to be followed. Your opinions wherin His Majeste m[*uch*] desireth to knowe, and requireth yow to [*advertise him thereof with*] all diligence.

[*He*] hath also hard the tenour of thActe touching his Stile, and hath added a worde or two to it, for His Graces more surety, and the playn setting fourth of His Hieghnes old right and enheritaunce; as your Lordships shall perceyve by the copye therof herinclosed. It maye like yow, my Lorde Chauncelour, to cause it to be writen and sealed, and sent hither, that with the next dispeche in to Irland it maye be sent thither, to be passed, as it is nowe conceyved, accordingly.

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[1] This chasm, and the one preceding, are filled up from the answer.

CLIV. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[1]

AFTER our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordships. Wee have receyved your letters of the second of August; and endevoring ourselfes taccomplishe the teanour and purporte of the same, after consultacion theruppon had amonges ourselves, we invited the Emperours Ambassadour to dynner with us at Lambehith, in the house of me, the Archebisshop of Canterburie; where, after dynner, it was declarid unto him, first by the mouthe of me, the saide Archebisshop, howe ungentillie and unfrendelie the Kinges Majeste was handelid by the Regent and Counsaile of thEmperours Lowe Parties, in the restraynt and staye of suche thinges, beyng of no greate moment, as were provided there for His Majestes owne use; whiche was explained unto him in suche fourme, and according to suche instruccions, as were yoven unto us by your saide letters, woorde for woorde, as nere as coulde be expressed; wherof, to avoyde prolixitie, we make here no repeticion. The saide Ambassadour, after he had advisedlie harde the same, aunswerid that he well understoode, what I, the saide Archebisshop, had saide unto him, and sorie he was, that, uppon suche small matiers, any occasion shulde growe of ingratitude, whiche he was sure that thEmperour, who he knewe well was of a sincere and perfite inclination towardes the establisshement and continuance of thamitie, woolde, for his parte, by all meanes excheue; but he saide, the Quenes Grace, who was Gubernatrix of the Lowe Parties under thEmperour, albeit she is of no lesse good disposicion to the preservation of the saide amytie, yet mynding to execute her office and charge soo indifferentlie, as myght bothe stande with thEmperours contentacion, and please all parties besides, hathe been induced to procede, as she hathe doone, towardes the Kinges Majeste, by meanes of continuall complayntes and exclamations of the subjectes of the Lowe Parties, whiche doo complayne them selfes daylie of the continuall restrayntes made here, aswell of sundrie kynde of victuall, as other thinges, wherof they were woonte to have greate commoditie, and liefullie might transporte the same withoute forfaiture: and latelie he saied, we have made here an Acte[2] tending greatelie to theire detriment, for the provocacion of straungiers to shipp in Englishe bottomes;

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[1] In the handwriting of Sadleyr.

[2] The Act alluded to is 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 14., "For the Maintenance of the Navy." It provided, that aliens, permitted by the King to import and export goods on the like customs as natives, should ship them in English bottoms, and that goods exported by aliens in foreign ships, should pay aliens' customs.

whiche is, not without cause, verie displeasantlie taken in the saide Lowe Partes; and at such tyme as the same was first complayned of by him, he had aunswer of the Bisshop of Wynchestre, that as the Kinges Majeste was King and Emperour in his owne Realme, and myght make lawes within the same, for the commoditie of his subjectes, soo thEmperour myght doo the semblable in his domynions; and heruppon hathe, sythens, an Edicte been put fourthe, on theire parte, for the commoditie of theire countrey; by whiche meanes hathe growed some difference and contencion on bothe sides, whiche he trusted shulde be nowe well pacefied, and shortelie componed, in suche sorte as bothe Prynces growyng in amytie, theire countreys and domynions beyng the oone soo necessarie for thother, shulde be to the greate benefite and commoditie of them bothe. It was aunswered unto him, for the first parte, that touching the restrayntes he spake of, victualls, and diverse other thinges, whiche they were woonte to transporte withoute daungier of forfaicture, there were none other restrayntes made nowe, but that they myght lawfullie doo, as in tymes past it hathe been liefull for them by the Treatie of thEntrecourse; and as for victualls, and suche other necessarie commodities of the Realme, have alwayes, by olde lawes and statutes, been prohibited, whiche they coulde never transporte withoute licence: and as for the Acte passed here, whiche they take to be so greatelie to theire dammage, we thought rather that therbie they had a greate libertie, not beyng by the same restrayned to shippe, at theire libertie, either in Englishe or straunge bottom, payeng the custome therfore lymited; as we doubted nott he well understoode the same to be no innovacion, ne in anywise contrarie to the treaties; where as theire Edict, beyng absolute, was merelie repugnant to the same. To that poynte he aunswerid, that they had regarde rather to the meanyng, then to the woordes of our Acte; for though the woordes semyd not to restrayne any straunger to shipp in any other bottom, then bifore the making of the saide Acte they myght doo, yet the meanyng therof tendith to that ende, that by reason of the alleviacion of the custume, and for the gayne they shall have in that parte, no man wyll shipp, but in an Englishe bottom, to theire no lyttell domage, and greate decaye of theire navie: "But", quod he, "we shall not neade to make any disputacion of this matier": and therwith he shewid unto us suche letters as he had receyved from the Regent of Flaunders, whiche conteyned at lenght suche discourses, as had been bitwene the Kinges Majestes Ambassadour there, and the Commissioners on that parte named, the Duke of Arscott, Skipperus, and Score. And aftre those letters redd, he wished that there myght be a newe Treatie of Entrecourse; whiche he saied, tholde beyng voide and expired, as it was soo pronounced at Burboroughe,

Burboroughe[1], both by Hackett, and Doctour Knyght, nowe Bisshopp of Bathe, as he understoode, shoulde greatelie tende to the benefite and commoditie of bothe realmes and dominions, and bring us to an amitie in those thinges whiche nowe were in question betwixt us. It was aunswered, that it appearid unto us, the saide Treatie of Entrecourse to remayne in force; and, by Grandeveles woordes, the same is affirmed; who playnelie, in conference with the Bisshopp of Wynchestre, told him, that all leages and treaties betwixt the Kinges Majeste and thEmperour, theire countreis, and dominions, stoode firme and perfite. He saied agayne, if Grandevele soo saide, his woordes, he thoughte, had relacion onelie to the treaties of amytie, and not of thentercourse; but verie expedient it was to have a newe, wherby all doubtes myght be cleryd, and the subjectes and merchauntes, on bothe partes, shulde the better use their traffique, and knowe what commodities they myght lawfullie conveye oute of oone realme to an other. Wherunto we aunswerid, that it were convenient for them to observe the olde, whiche we tooke to remayne in force; and in case there myght appeare any cause or matier requyering a newe Treatie of Entercourse, we doubtid not, uppon theire reasonable mocion to be made in that parte, the Kinges Majeste is a Prince of suche honor, as woolde facillie agree to what soever shulde stand with reason. And then I, thErle of Hertford, mynding to breke of this matier, and to retourne where we began, requyerid him to consider, by his wisedome, what inconveniencie myght ensue, if they this unfrendelie persisted in the deteynyng of those thinges, whiche were provided for the Kinges Highnes owne use, as it was bifore declarid unto him; and as it was not convenient, ne, as we trusted, they woolde compare the Kinges owne matier, and the merchantes togither, soo we thoughte theire procedinges, in this bihaulfe, in the Lowe Partes, to be nothing agreable, ne correspondent to the good woordes, whiche the Kinges Majeste hathe latelie had of thEmperour, ne the greate lykelihoode and apparence of a straighter amytie, wherof latelie hathe been demonstracion and pretence, on bothe partes; whiche we doubted not his wisedom boothe coulde and woolde consider, as apperteyneth. He aunswerid agayne, that he did consider the same, and asmoche as coulde be saied unto him in that parte, verie well; and sorie he was, that suche occasion of ingratitude was ministred unto the Kinges Majeste, whiche, as he harde of the same before his repaire unto us, soo had he theruppon determined to sende oone of his owne servauntes to the Regent for the redresse therof; who, in deade, had been alreadie gon in his journey, if he had not sodaynelie fallen sycke; "and now",

[1] Hackett, Tregonwell, and Knighte were at Burburgh, in the spring of 1529.

quod

quod he, "that I have had this conference with yow, if my saide servaunt doo "fourthwith recover, I shall send him with diligence; and in case he recover "not, I wyll send an other, and I shall write ernestlie in this matier; moche "more", quod he, "then I wyll tell yow; not doubting, but good successe shall "folowe, to the satisfaction of the Kinges Majeste; and", quod he, "I woolde I "were but twoo howres with the saide Regent"; sayeng he woolde rather renounce his ambassade, and requyer thEmperour to revoke him home, then he woolde abyde here, if she shulde leave the Kinges Majeste unsatisfied in this parte. Wherin, to declare our opinion to your good Lordshipps, it semed unto us he spake verie honestlie, and as a man not onelie in apparaunce verie soorie in dede, that they shulde thus stycke with the Kinges Majeste in trifles, but also, for his parte, verie desierous bothe to have the same redubbed, and also to doo all, that in him is, for the preservacion and encrease of thamitie bitwene the Kinges Majeste, and his Master, thEmperour, as to thoffice of a good minister, in his place, apperteyneth. And thus, aftre this conference endid and passed over, in fourme bifore expressed, with other frendelie communications, he tooke his leave of us, and departid withoute speaking any woorde to us, of any aunswer to the King of Romanes sute for his ayde against the Turke; wherof lykewise we made no maner of mencion unto him, but passed it over with silence accordinglie.

Nowe to signefie unto your Lordships our opinions in the Irish matiers, whiche ye write the Kinges Majestes pleasour is, we shulde advertise; albeit we be no men of suche experience and judgement, as in suche matiers of weight and importance is requierid, yet, for the declaracion of our duties in thaccomplisshement of the Kinges Majestes pleasour, to us intimate by your saide letters, we have, according to the contynew of the same, conferred them, and the letters addressed to the Kinges Majeste oute of Ireland, togithers; whiche we have wayed, debated, and considerid, asfarre as our poure wyttes can arreche. And to the first article of your letter touching that matier, wherin yow saye it is to be considerid if the Kinges Majeste shulde give his landes and inheritaunce to his rebells and disobeisauntes, whither, besides the respect of his honour, it myght be a meane to gyve them, and others herafter, courage to lyve in obedience, or to rebell, as the tyme served; to shewe our opinion therin brieflie, we thinke, that albeit the Kinges Majeste hathe alwayes had a just title of inheritaunce to those landes, whiche his rebelles and disobeisauntes hathe soo usurped, the possession of long season, withoute knowleaging to holde the same of the Kinges Majeste, or confessing any obedience or dutie of allegeaunce, but rather remaynyng as rebells, and no perfite subjectes; considering therwith, what

what infenyte and greate charges the Kinges Majeste hathe been at for the reducing of them to civilitie and obedience, which, of long tyme hathe not been in suche a towardnes as it nowe is, we thinke, therfore, that it cannot be but honorable, if the Kinges Majeste, uppon theire submission, liberallie, uppon honest condicions, doo give them theire landes, wherof His Majeste hathe had neyther profite ne possession; and the same, as we take it, must nedes be a greate justification and inforcement of his title, whiche long by theire rebellion hathe been obscured; soo that therbie we thinke His Majeste shall not onelie wynne them, and make them perfyte subjectes, and in the acceptacion of theire landes of His Majeste, cause them to knowleage and confesse his title, whiche they have ever refused; but also, in our opinions, shall rather encourage them, and all other lyke disobeisauntes, to come to lyke conformytie and submission, then eftesones to rebell; whiche if they doo, the Kynges Majeste, as we take it, canne be in no woorse case, but rather in better then before.

To the second poynte, wherin yow saye it is to be considered, if they shulde declyne from theire obedience, having His Majestes graunte of their londes, thoughe in dede they shulde offende, and so woorthelie forfaicte their estates, yet what allegacion they myght gett, by meane of the saide grauntes, as to alledge that quarells be piked to them withoute cause, or suche lyke; we thinke, in suche cases, that none untrue suggestion can take place, or prevayle agayne trowthe; for if they declyne from theire obedience, it must nedes be so manifest and apparent, that, notwithstanding any allegacion to be made by them, all men maye facillie judge that the same canne, ne oughte, in anywise to be avayleable to anye suche offender, for theire offence; and conviction therof, shalbe a playne demonstracion to the worlde, for discharge of suche vayne allegacions.

To the thridde article, whiche is the chief and greatist matier, where your Lordships saye, that if His Majeste, or his heires, shulde herafter enterprise a conquest, and a generall extirpacion of those traytours, it woolde be wayed, what a losse it shulde be to His Highnes, and his heires, to have thus before departed with the substaunce of theire inheritaunce there, and speciallie to those whiche nowe usurpe uppon him, and be his traytours and unfaythfull people; we thinke, that if the Kinges Majeste purpose, or doo intend shortelie, any suche conquest, that then it were convenient, His Highnes to absteyne from the making of the saide grauntes, and kepe styll the lybertie of the same in His Highnes arbitrement; but in case His Majeste shulde protracte the saide conquest by any long tyme, then we thinke, considering the charges His Majeste shalbe at, for the defence and garde of the countrey in the meane

meane season, and also that, uppon the conquest, it is lyke His Majeste wool distribute and give a greate parte of the saide possessions, soo as lyttell or no profett therof shall then come to His Highnes owne use; that it were better, therfore, to assaye this experiment, and therbie to have a conquest by his wisedom and pollicie, to his greate honour, then to suffre them, beyng nowe wylling to submytt themselfes, for lacke of His Majestes grace and lyberalitie, to fall into desperacion, and so to continewe still in theire olde rebellion. And in case that, aftre this liberalitie extended towardes them by His Majeste, they shulde happen to relapse, it shall not onelie redounde to theire greate shame and reproche, but also His Highnes shalbe at libertie to represse them by his lawes or conquest at his pleasour, whiche, in our opinion, maye be then more facillie doone, then at this present. Thus we conclude, under His Majestes pardon, that it cannott be but honorable for His Majeste liberallie to graunte them theire londes in fourme afore expressed; and a better conquest cannot be, in our poure judgementes, then this theire owne humble submission to the Kinges Majeste, and acceptacion of theire londes at His Highnes handes. Furthermore, as we remembre, the passing of those grauntes was ones concluded in the hole Counsaile, and soo certefied into Irland, uppon the late beyng here of Tirlogh Othole [1], who (as we take it) had for his parte a promisse of suche a lyke graunte, bothe by all your Lordships, and the rest of the Privie Counsaile then present. Wheruppon, if any further promisse hathe been made sithens by the Deputie and Counsaile in Irland to any other wylde Yrishe, it is to be considerid, in case the same be nowe sodaynlie stayed, what maye folowe of the same; the further consideracion and debatement wherof, and of all the rest depending uppon the same, we remytt to your good Lordshippes, beyng in place, where having the commoditie that we want, that is, the fruicion of the presence of the Kinges Majeste, the onelie prudent and sage director of his owne affaires, besides all other his most excellent vertues, ye maye, in all doubtes, ambiguities, and questions, aswell in thiese matiers as all other, fetche lyght and clerenes of His Majeste, whose wise hed, with the assistaunce of yow, his membres and Counsailours, will, with moche lesse payne taking in consultacion and debatement herof, then we have doon here, facillie judge and determyne, what is most necessarie and expedient to be doon in the premisses. [2]

Herwith your Lordships shall receive thActe touching the Kinges Majestes Style, whiche I, the Chauncelour of England, have caused to be

[1] In December, 1540, and January, 1541.

[2] The King's pleasure on these matters was communicated to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland in a despatch of the 8th of September 1541.

writen and sealed, in suche sorte as was to me directid, accordinglie. Nevertheles, forasmuche as the woordes of the same doo purporte, that before the first daye of Julie proclamations shulde be made in all sheires of Irland, of the teanour and contentes of the same Acte, as ye shall perceyve by the same, whiche daye is nowe past and expired; I, the said Chauncelour, have therfore thought good to remembre yow therof, to thintent ye maye rase oute that date, and putt in suche an other, as to your wisedomes shalbe thoughte most expedient. Thus fare Your good Lordships most hartelie well. From Westminster, the 11th of August.

Your good Lordshippes assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELO?. E. HERTFORD.
(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.
(*Signed*) JOHN BAKER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our verie good Lordes and others our loving freendes of the Kinges Majestes Privie Counsaile, attending uppon His Highnes Person, at the Courte.

CLV. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[1]

AFTER our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordships. It maye lyke the same tundrestand, that sithens the dispeche of our last letters unto yow, thEmperours Ambassadour here resident sent unto me, the Chauncelour of England, and signefied unto me, that he had received letters from the Regent of the Lowe Partes of Flaunders; requyering to conferre with us uppon the same. Wheruppon I, the saide Chauncelour, did appointe him the next daye after to com to my house in London to dynner, where we did all assemble at that tyme; and after our meeting bifore dynner, we went togither with the saide Ambassadour; and assone as we had placed ourselfes readie to here what he had to saye, he first declarid unto us, that lyke as he promised us, at our last conference bifore, to write unto the saide Regent for the relaxacion of those thinges, whiche she stayed beyng boughte for the Kinges Majestes owne use, soo he had writen accordinglie, in suche ernest facion, as he doubted not but His Majeste shulde shortelie be satisfied in that bihaulfe. Then he made us a long discourse of the

[1] Written by Sadleyr.

procedinges

procedinges and conferences betwixt Mr Kerne and Mr Vaughan, the Kinges Majestes Orators in the saide Lowe Partes, and the saide Regent, and her Comissaries, the Duke of Arscott, Score the President, and Skipperus, conteynyng, in effecte, not onelie howe that the Kinges Majestes saide Orators stoode in the justification of thActe[1] passed here for the mayntenaunce and increace of our navie, and that the same was none innovation, ne contrarie to the treaties, but also that their Edict was merelie repugnant to the same, and therfore of reason ought to be abolisshed; and also that they muche pressed and requierid the release of those thinges whiche were bought and provided for the Kinges Majeste, as is aforsaide. In the treatie of whiche matiers, he saide there arose many questions, argumentes, and persuasions on bothe sides; either partie alledging what they coulde, for the confutacion of thothers grounde and opinion, farr from the contentacion of bothe parties: wheruppon he saide, that the saide Regent, beyng onelie Gubernatrix, and not Princeps of the Lowe Countreys of Flaunders, having theire a Counsaile for the better direction of thaffaires of the saide Lowe Partes, and beyng by them counselid and advised not to abolishe the saide Edict, but that it was as lawfull for them to putt fourthe the same, as it was for us to make our saide Acte, with suche others as latelie have passed here for the restraynt of victualls, woode, and other thinges, contrarie (as they saye) to the treaties; she, therfore, perceyving the varietie on bothe sides, aswell for the difference what the merchantes myght doo by vertue of the treaties, as also for that the treaties of entrecourse seamed to be frustrate and revoked, as it was alleadged by thone partie, and denyed by thother, lyke a wooman well disposed to thentertaynement and increase of thamitie bitwene the Kinges Majeste and thEmperour, requierid, for the clearing of all doubtes, and utter abolishing of all variances and contencions, that a newe Treatie of Entrecourse myghte be had, whiche myght bring bothe partes in to an unytie. And here, by the waye, the saide Ambassadour brought in an argument, wherbie he thought the rather to make it appeare unto us, that the Treatie of Entrecourse shulde be voyde and adnichillate; alleadging that the same was first[2] made bitwene the most noble Prince, of famous memorie, King Henrie the Seventh, and Philip King of Castile, at suche tyme as the same King Philipp was in England, driven in to the same by tempest and rage of wether; and afterward, bicause it was soo made rather by feare and compulsion, then of free wyll or consent of the saide King Philip, not onelie the States of his countreys, after he arrived

[1] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

[2] This Treaty, which was concluded 9 Feb. 1506, will be found in Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 123.

there, woolde not confirme the same, butt tooke and reputed it rather as voyde, of no force, and imperfaicte; but also, when the Treatie[1] of Cambraye was past and concluded, it was then declared to be of no better force then bifore; and finallie, at Burboroughe, clerelie revoked, and pronounced to be frustrate, by the Bisshop of Bathe that nowe is, and also, as he thought, by Mr Hacquett, whiche were then bothe the Kinges Majestes Ambassadors there. This we thought not mete to leave unaunswerid; but saied that we were not certayne that any suche treatie was made in England, but if it were, we thoughte it straunge that it shulde be taken of the lesse validitie: for when the saide King of Castile arrived in this Realme, in fourme bifore expressed, there was at that tyme perfaicte love, greate amitie, and frendship betwixt thies twoo Realmes and the Princes of the same; and for the time of his abode here, he was no otherwise entreated but as a perfaicte freend, and departed hence in greate freendship, honour, and reputacion; soo that it cannot be justelie conceyved, ne undrestand, that he then passed the saide treatie for feare, or by compulsion; for after his retourne home, and ever synnes, the merchauntes of bothe countreys hathe had and used theire traffique by force of the saide Treatie of Entrecourse, and never any matier or question therof moved, tyll nowe of late, uppon the setting fourthe of theire Edict, whiche, by sufficient reasons, we proved to be merelie repugnant to the treaties: lyke as he, for his parte, wolde fayne have justefied, that it was as lawfull for them to putt fourthe theire Edict, as it was for us to make our saide Acte; whiche he saide had suche a meanyng in it, as it had been all oone to have prohibited, by expresse woordes, that no straunger shulde lade in none other but Englishe botomes, and to make it in suche sorte as it is; for the alleviation, he saide, of the custome causeth all men to have suche regarde to theire owne gayne and lucre, that none but fooles wyll shipp in any other then Englishe bottoms. But of thies thinges he saide he woolde make no disputations, trusting shortelie to see the same, and all other matters in question betwixt us, frendelie and amycablie componed; nor it was not, he saide, the chief cause of his repaire to us at this tyme; sayeng that he had receyved letters from the saide Regent, and therewyth Letters Credentiall unto the Kinges Majeste, whiche, if he were able to labour withe the commoditie of his healthe, he woolde himselfe ride withall to the Courte, bothe to delyver the same, and also to declare his credence unto the Kinges Majeste. But, forasmoche as he was not able so to doo, he woolde addresse his servaunt to the Courte, bothe wythe the

[1] 5 Aug. 1529. See Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 326.

letters,

letters, and also his credence in writing; and yet before his soo dooyng, he thought good to have summe conference with us theruppon; trusting that we, lyke good ministres, woolde employe ourselfes to the furtheraunce of suche thinges, as shulde tende to the conservacion and encrease of amytie betwixt the Kinges Majeste and thEmperour, theire countries and dominions. And thus he said he undrestoode, by the letters from the saide Regent, that the Kinges Majestes saide Orators resident with her, after theire sundrie conferences with the Commissaries bifore named, latelie repayred to her owne person, and declarid unto her, that the Kinges Majeste not a lyttell mervayled, aswell to perceyve the good woordes, whiche continuallie she utterith in the declaracion of her affection to the continuance and encrease of amytie, and to considre howe contrarie her dooynges be to the same; as also that they shulde seme playnelie to declare, that thEmperour woolde stonde to none entercourse alreadie made; considering that Grandevele affirmed unto the Kinges Majestes Ambassadors, resident in thEmperours Courte, that thEmperour reputed all leages and treaties with us to stonde firme and perfaicte: wherby, they sayed, if she thus procedid with His Majeste, His Highnes myght well thinke, that eyther she had not that regarde to the conservacion of the amytie, that of reason she oughte to have, or ells, if it so be that thEmperour wool not stande to the saide Treatie of Entrecourse, bothe he must declare himselfe to be levem et inconstantem, and also Grandevele, who affirmed the contrarie, if he shulde nowe denye the same, shall therbie shewe himselfe not to have procedid so directelie with the Kinges Majeste as apperteyned. "Wheras in dede", quod he, "I knowe "that Grandevele is a man of suche circumspection and trouthe, yea", quod he, "and therwith deditissimus Regie Majestatis, that he woolde not onelie "saye nothing but trouthe, and advisedlie, but also, for his parte, omytt "nothing, by his wyll, that shulde tend to the corroboracion and encrease of "amytie betwixt the Emperour and the Kinges Majeste; but surelie", quod he, "if Grandevele spake any suche woordes to my Lorde of Winchestre, he "ment onelie the treaties of amytie, and not of thentercourse; as", quod he, "I myselfe have manye tymes, in conference with the Kinges Majeste of the "treaties, onelie meante the treaties of amitie, thoughe I have spooken gene-"rallie this woorde, treaties, when", quod he, "I have not thoughte of any "treatie of entercourse; and soo peradventure myght Grandevele doo; but", quod he, "lett this passe", and soo proceded in his tale; sayeng that after the Kinges Majestes saide Oratours had declarid theire charge to the saide Regent, to whome it semed that the saide woordes, by the whiche they noted that thEmperour shulde be levis et inconstans, with other their allegations, that she shulde onelie give faire woordes, and doo mere contrarie, didd sumwhat

touche

touche bothe thEmperours honour, and hers; wherwith nowe in dede, as it appearid unto us by the saide Ambassadours utteraunce, they were sumwhatt offendid; and, for his parte, in telling the tale to us, he semed verie sorie that suche woordes shulde escape, or any thing happen, that myght be otherwise then well taken. "The saide Regent", quod he, "requierid them "to make repeticion of theire saide charge bifore her Counsaile; in whiche re- "peticion they denyed the saide woordes, touching the Emperour and her, to "have byne spoken by them in suche sorte as the same were taken. Never- "theless the saide Regent", he saied, "to thintent all thinges myght procede "the more directelie, and no altercation founde in defaulte of well understonding "one an other, requyerid the saide Oratours to putt theire sayenges in writing, "lyke as she and her Commissaries, for theire parte, woolde doo the semblable; "whiche", quod he, "the saide Oratours promised at the first, and after- "wardes saied they had no commission so to doo: wherfore", quod he, "to "make an ende, as I tolde yow bifore, the saide Regent hathe addressed her "letters unto me, with letters of credence to the Kinges Majeste, wherwith, if "I were able, I woolde goo myselfe to the Courte: but for that", quod he, "I cannot with the commoditie of my healthe, having declarid my credence "unto yow, I shall lykewise sende the same by my servaunte to the Courte "in writing; prayeng yow", quod he, "to use thoffice of good ministers, "and to write, also, in suche sorte, as suche requestes, as be made for the "weale of bothe Princes and theire countreys, maye the rather, by your good "meanes, be furtherid and obteyned. And this", quod he, "is the chief parte "of my credence, not onelie to require the Kinges Majeste, on the bihaulfe "of the saide Regent, to give commission to his saide Oratours to treate in "writing, but also chieflie to declare unto His Majeste, that the saide Regent, "like a wooman most given and propice, what so ever be saide of the con- "trarie, to the increase and establishement of thamitie betwixt His Majeste "and thEmperour, bothe for the better conducing therof, and also for the "utter abolition of all doubtes, varieties, and contencions, being nowe in ques- "tion betwixt bothe Princes and their countreis, requyreth that it maye like "His Majeste to give auctoritie and commission for a newe Treatie of Enter- "course; whiche", quod he, "beyng ones had, shall facillie take awaye all "occasions of ingratitude, and bring us to an unitie in all the rest. And", quod he, "this muche I will saye of my selfe, that it maye be at the Kinges Majestes "arbitre, whither he wyll fourthwith entre any suche treatie, or ells differre "the same till further communication shalbe had betwixt His Majeste and "thEmperour uppon straighter amities; wherof", quod he, "I trust we shall "here sumwhat within thies three monethes." And beyng asked, by the waye, by me, the Chauncelour of England, howe thiese thinges in question betwixt us shulde

shulde procede in the meane season, he aunswerid, that the Kinges Majeste shulde have all his thinges provided for His Highnes in the Lowe Partes, whiche be yet stayed; and if it myght lyke His Majeste to suspende our Acte here for the tyme, they woolde lykewise suspend their Edict, and further doo and use all thinges freendelie in the meane season. And here he redde unto us the saide Regentes letters, addressed to him, wherof he saide he woolde give us a minute, conteynyng theffect of his credence; whiche afterwardes he sent unto us, as we nowe sende the same to your good Lordshippes herinclosed. And then he besought us agayne, verie instantlie, with his capp in his hand, that we woolde use thoffice of good ministers and counsailours, and to helpe to the furtherance of thiese thinges, whiche myght aswell engendre perfite love and amitie, on bothe sides, betwixt the Princes and their subjectes, as also be to the greate commoditie of theire countreys. It was then aunswerid unto him, that where he had declarid unto us, that the Regent seamed to be sumwhat offendid withe suche woordes, whiche, as it was taken, shulde be utterid and spoken to her by the Kinges Majestes saide Oratours, sounding sumwhat to touche thEmperours honour and hers, we knewe not certaynelie what commission they had; but sure we were, that neyther the Kinges Majeste, beyng a Prince of honour and vertue, woolde give them any other commission, then myght stonde with reason, ne that we tooke them to be men of any other sorte then of suche honestie, wisedom, and good governaunce, as woolde not excede the limites of theire commission, ne yet use themselfes in woordes, or other theire procedinges, contrarie to the Kinges honour, and suche trust as it hathe pleased His Majeste to committe unto them. "Oh", quod he, "verum est"; sayeng it was no matier. Finallie we saide, that touching his requestes, on the Regents bihaulf, for the newe Treatie of Entercourse, the same remayned onelie in tharbitrement of the Kinges Majeste, wherin we coulde doo nothing, but write as we woolde doo in suche sorte as becam us, and lyke men that no lesse intended, then he didd, to kepe all amities entier, and further to use all honest office that we coulde devise, for the entreteignement, encrease and perfection of the same; wherwith he was excedinglie well satisfied, and gave us thankes, sayeng that good ministers myght bring fourthe manye good effectes, chieflie good ministers aboute Princes. And soo fynishing this conference, we arose, and went to dynner; whiche doone, passing over a lyttell tyme with frendelie communication of generall matiers, amongst the whiche he saide, that he hard saye that my Lorde of Winchestre and Monsieur de Prat were comyng togither; wherof we thought good to advertise your Lordships. Uppon his so sayeng, he tooke his leve of us, sayeng he woolde use diligence in the dispeche of his letters to the Courte; and so he departed;

departed. Wheruppon we have thoughte mete to make this dispeche unto yow, to thintent your Lordshipps myghte the better knowe and understond, what conference and discourses were betwixte him and us, and make relation therof unto the Kinges Majeste accordinglie.

Other matiers we have not nowe to write, saving that, Our Lorde be thanked, all partes of this Realme, as farre as we can here, be in good quyetnes. And thus farre Your good Lordshippes most hartelie well. From London, the 14th of August. Your good Lordshippes assured loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) T. Audeley Chauncelo[r]. (*Signed*) E. Hertford.

(*Signed*) Rafe Sadleyr.

(*Superscribed*)

To our verie good Lordes and others our loving freendes of the Kinges Majestes Privie Counsaile, attending uppon His Highnes Person, at the Courte.

CLVI. King Henry VIII. *to* The Lord Chancellor.[1]

Right trusty and welbiloved, We grete you wel. Lating you wit, that, sithens our repair towardes thise parties, ther hathe been made an overture unto Us by oon of the Kinges of Scottes most secrete Counsailors, sent unto Us for that purpose, for a meting to be had betweene Us, before our return in to those parties. Wherunto We have made suche an answer, as it is not unlikely but the same may take effecte. Wherfor, considering that in cace the same shulde succede, it is like that he woll not only desire our saulve conducte for himself, but also that he woll sende befor somme of his noble men, or counsailors, to conclude uppon the same, and all other thinges mete to be remembred in so weighty a matier, for whom he woll percase also desire conducte; We have thought mete to have it, in all eventes, in suche aredynes, as ther ensue no lacke or protraction, by reason of the default of the same. Wherfor our pleasure and commandement is, that, by warrant herof, you shall cause a large and ample salveconducte to be made and sealed with our Greate Seale for the said King himself; leaving therin voyde spaces for the tyme of hys abode, for the nomber of his trayne, and for his horses; and likewise that you shal make and seal with

[1] On the 29th of August 1541, which appears, by an indorsement, to have been the date of the warrant, of which this is the minute, the King was at Pontefract, on his progress to York. This minute was written by Wriothesley.

our

our Greate Seale thre other salveconductes for his Counsailors, leaving spaces for their names, their tyme of abode, their horses and servauntes, and the same to sende to Us with all possible diligence. And forasmoche as this matier is yet incertain, our pleasure is, that you shal in no wise disclose it to any of our Counsail there, ne that you make any mo privy to the writing and sealing of them, then very necessitie shal requier; the same to be first sworne, that they shal disclose it to no living creature, as they woll answer to God, and to Us, at their uttermost perill.

CLVII. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.[1]

After our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordshippes. Albeit we have no matiers of any grete importaunce to advertise yow of, at this tyme, yet to thentent you maye knowe what we doo here, and allsoo the rather to induce and move your good Lordshippes to lett us here from you againe, aswell of the good health of the Kinges Majestie, the Quenes Grace, and their holl trayn, wherof we desire muche to be advertised, as allso of suche other newes and occurrentes ther, as your Lordshippes maye convenyently perticipate unto us, the knowleage wherof we had lever lerne by your letters, thenne by commen brutes and rumours, which be sunderly spred here, booth of the Kinges Majesties lenger abode in those parties, then was appoyncted by his first jestes, and allso of the King of Scottes repaire to His Majestie at Yorke, and suche other; we have therfor thought good to addresse these our letters unto your good Lorshippes, not oonly to require the same to remembre us sometymes with your letters, and suche newes as you make us partakers of, but allsoo to signifie unto you that we have, according to your letters lately addressed unto us, depeched 4600£ to Calays, and 400£, which maketh the complement of 5000£, we have payed here to the Maiour of the Staple of Calays, with thankes for their gentle lone therof, according to the contynew of your said letters; and the said 4600£ was payd and delyvered at Calays aforesaid, to suche handes as was appoynted by your said letters, and the warrant directed to Maister Gostwyke for the same. We have allso, according to the continew of your other letters, depeched the thre hundreth labourers to Calays aforesaid; and by thadvise

[1] Written by Sadleyr.

of Mr Marten, Comptroller of the Kinges Majesties Workes, we have advaunced 40£ for their conduct and transportation thither accordingly. Your Lordshippes shall allsoo understande, that wher you addressed unto us, by your letters, a complaynt of a Frencheman, named Marten Vydall, exhibited unto your Lordshipps by the Frenche Ambassadour ther, who alledged the said Marten to be evyll entreated touching his first payment to the Subsidye; we have, according to the purporte of the saide letters addressed unto us in that parte, taken such ordre, as the Frenche man hath his goodes delyvered unto him again, and is well satisfied; which nevertheles we might not well doo withowt taking suretie of him, that he shall aunswere the Kinges Majestie suche sommes of money, as justely he oweth to paye by force of the Acte of the Subsidie graunted unto His Hieghnes; which he hath doon.

We have allsoo sent unto your Lordshippes, herinclosed, a letter, which was sent unto us from the Bysshop of Excester, addressed unto him from certayne Englishe marchauntes; by the which letter you shall perceve, how unkyndely Englishmen be delt with all by the French men, and specyally by the capitayn of Brest, as shall appere unto you by the said letter, wherin your Lordshippes may comen with the Frenche Ambassadour ther, and take suche further order in the same, as shall stande with the Kinges Majesties pleasour.

Finally, wheras heretofore[1] we advertised youi Lordshippes of thapprehension of two Spanyardes, sent unto us by the Bisshop of Sarum, we have syns proceded to their examynacion by all meanes and wayes we coulde, and yet in effect we canne gett nothing of them, more then maye appere unto your Lordshippes by our letters and depositions sent unto you at that tyme. Thoon of the said Spanyardes, named Peter, contynueth still in the defence of his opinion, and not oonly maynteyneth the usurped power of the Bisshopp of Rome, but allso impugneth the Kinges Majesties Supremitie, like an errande traytour; wherfor we have committed him to the Towre. Thother Spanyard is a very simple person, utterly unlerned, and maynteyneth non opinion at all, but sayth he came oonly with thother for company; wherfor he remayneth in the garde and custody of me, the Bisshopp of Canterbury. Requiring your Lordshippes, at your convenyent oportunitie, to knowe the Kinges Majesties pleasour, what we shall doo further in that behalf, which we shall not faile, uppon your advertisement of the same, to accomplishe with diligence, according to our bounden deuties. And thus, having non other matier to advertise yow of, but that, thankes be to Our

[1] 29th July, p. 662.

Lorde

Lorde, all is here in good quietnes, we commytt yow to the tuition of the Blessed Trynitie. From Westminster, the seconde of September.

Your Lordshippes loving frendes,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEN'. T. AUDELEY CHAUNCELO^{R}. E. HERTFORD.

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honourable and our very good Lordes and others of the Kinges Majestes Pryvey Counsaile, attendant uppon his most Royall Person.

CLVIII. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

AFTER our right harty commendacions to Your good Lordshippe. We have receyved your letters, with suche thinges as yow addressed unto us, by Adam, the messenger, and have enformed the Kinges Majeste of the same. And where your Lordshippe seameth to be resolved, that in cace any further daunger shulde ensue uppon the death of the late Lady Marques[1], yow wolde for a season goo to your house at Terling; His Majeste willed us to signefye unto yow, that, forasmuch as yow be the hed of his Counsaill there, His Grace wolde not gladly have yow so farre from London, till his return towardes those parties. And therfor, albeit there shulde ensue any suche danger, as we trust in God there shall not, yet seing your Lordship hath an house of His Graces, and an other of Mr Crumwelles theraboutes, to reasorte to at your pleasour, our advises shalbe, that your Lordshippe shall, in any wise, use the same, and not to departe soo farre from the City. And thus we shall praye God to sende your Lordshippe health. From Wresel[2], the 7th of September.

CLIX. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.

AFTER our right harty commendacions to Your good Lordshippes. It shall like yow tundrestande, that we have receyved your letters of the 7th daye of this present, and have enformed the Kinges Majeste of the contentes of the same. And albeit His Majeste doth take in good parte the procedinges

[1] The Marchioness Dowager of Dorset, whose daughter married Lord Audeley.

[2] The King, on his progress to York, was at Wressel Castle from the 6th to the 8th of September 1541. This coincides with the indorsement on this minute, viz. 7th Sept. 1541.

of yow, my Lorde of Hertford, specified in your sayde letters, yet His Hieghnes hath commaunded us to signefie unto you, that he doth moche marveill, both that you write so slenderlye in it, without sending hither thexamynacions, and that you have committed the theves to commune prysonnes, as though you made noo difference betwixt thentrepryse of the robbing of His Majeste, and the attempting of a like acte towardes any his meane subject. His Majeste thinketh they shulde rather have been committed to the Tower, there to have remayned uppon further examynacion, though percace you thinke you have goten out the botom of their purpose. Signefieng unto your Lordships, that His Majeste was the rather induced to will us, on his behalf, to gyve thys playne advertysement unto you, bycause he was enformed that Elles, oon of the pryncypalles, is executed, which we beleave not. And his pleasour is, that you shall not only sende hither the copye of all suche examynacions, as you have taken touching this matyer, but also that you shall, imediatly uppon the receipt herof, cause all suche, as be apprehended for the same, to be removed from Newgate, the Kinges Benche, and the Marshalsey, unto the Tower of London, there to remayn till they maye be further examyned. And His Majeste wolde, further, that your Lordships shulde use all your wisdomes to trye out the makers of their toles and instrumentes prepared for this purpose, and from whens this conventicle and determynacion had his begynneng; wherof His Hieghnes thinketh you have not yet the full and true knoweledge.

Your Lordships shall also undrestande, that by suche vieues, as have lately been sent hither from Calays and Guisnez, the Kinges Majeste is enformed that, with all diligence, thiese sommes of money following must be sent thither, for the defrayeng of the wages of workemen and others, and of the necessaryes of His Graces workes there; that is to saye, to Anthony Rous, Treasourour of his workes at Guisnez, for the payement of wages there, oon thowsande fowre hundreth poundes; to the same Anthony, for the conducte of the Northen Men, and suche other as shall nowe departe, oon hundreth poundes; to Richard Lee, Surveyour for empcions and provisions for the same workes, and for the workes at Calays and Risbanke, seven hundreth poundes; to the same Richard, for the payement of the wages of the three hundreth dikers, lately sent into the marhes, three hundreth poundes; to Sir Edward Wotton [1], Knight, for the payement of the wages of the workemen at Calays and Risbanke, six hundreth and fortye poundes; to the same Sir Edward, for the full contentacion of the wages

[1] Treasurer of Calais.

of

of the garryson at Calays, &c. oon thousand poundes sterlinges; which sommes amount in thole to fowre thousande oon hundreth and fortye poundes sterlinges: for the payement wherof, His Majeste wolde that your Lordships shulde, immediatlye uppon the receipt herof, call unto you all the Tellers of the Receipt, and also Mr Northe, and Mr Gostwick; and lerning of them what money they have in their handes, or can presently shift for, you shall, amonges them, amasse the somme of fowre thousande oon hundreth and fortye poundes specified, or asmuche therof as they shall be hable to make; and the same being soo receyved you shall sende by som trusty men to Calays, to be there delyvered, as is before mencioned; or for lak of receipt of thole, to appoint to every of the personnes before named, to receyve of the same their just portions for the quantitie to be sent, according to the sommes allotted unto them; doing nevertheles what you can, to see the hole, by your good wisdomes and dexterityes, dispeched together. And your Lordships sending hither warrauntes, directed to suche His Graces Treasourours and Tellers that shall paye the sayd money, His Majeste woll signe them, and cause them to be remitted unto yow with diligence. Wee sende unto your Lordships, also, herwith, a letter to the Commissioners[1] at Calays, an other to my Lorde Deputye[2], a thirde to the Treasourour[3] of Calays, a fourth to Mr Wallop[4], a fifthe to Anthony Rous and the Surveyour; which we desire Your Lordships to see conveyed unto them, by those which shall have the conveyaunce of the money, accordingly.[5]

CLX. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[6]

AFTER our right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lorshippes. We have receyved your letters of the tenth of this present, and well considered the contentes of the same. For aunswere wher unto, it maye like you tunderstande; first, that touching the theves which entreprised to robbe the Kinges Majesties Castell at Wyndesor, we be moost sorye that our proceedinges, in the scrutyne and examinacion of that mattier, hath not ben suche as might have geven just cause of contentacion; assuring your Lordshippes, that though percace good policie, witt, and discretion might faile us, good

[1] Sir Robert Sowthwell and Sir John Baker.
[2] Henry Lord Maltravers.
[3] Sir Edward Wotton.
[4] Captain of Guisnes.
[5] The minute, from which this letter is published, is endorsed "10 Oct. 1541," at which time the King was at Kettleby in Lincolnshire, on his return from York.
[6] Written by Sadleyr.

will

will and diligence hath not wanted, in any of us, to fysshe owt and trye the botom of this mattier, and whens the same had the beginning. For as sone as the first knowleage of the theves entended purpose was brought unto me, thErle of Hertford, by the baylif of the Clynk, as we wrote unto your Lordeshippes in our last letters, I used such policie, and had such secrete espiall uppon them, that I knewe the hower, daye, and tyme whan they appointed to [*go*] aboute their entreprise; and handeled the matter soo secretely, that they were not lette to followe th[*eir*] p[*urpose*][1] but were apprehended, and taken by suche watches [*as I*] had layd for them, in their retourne from doing of their attemptate, which they coulde not perfourme, by reason of the strengh of the Castle gate, as we wrote unto you in our said last letters. And in cace they had achyved that parte of their purpose, and had entred within the Castell, I had likewise layed a convenient nomber, in secrete wise, within the Castell, which shuld have taken them with the maner, in doing of their entreprise. This ordre toke I for their apprehension, so that they coulde not escape me by any maner of meanes. And after my folkes had apprehended them, they were brought before us, and examyned severally, in our presence; uppon which examinacion, being generall bifore us all, we committed them to the Tower, and caused them afterwardes to be ther specially examyned, every oon of them aparte, aswell by me, thErle of Hertford, as by me, the Lord S[t] John, threatening them with tortures, and soo toke their examinacions in writing. Which had, supposing that more was not to be goten of them, and again partely at the request of the Lieutenant of the Towre, bicause he coulde not, as he said, conveniently lodge them severally within the Tower, we therfor removed them from thens, and committed them to Newgate, and other prisons, wher they might be kept asonder, which we dyd for the best, though we woll not stande in the defence of our soo doing; intending furthwith to remove them again to the Tower, according to His Hieghnes pleasour and commaundement. And whosoever hath enfourmed His Majestie that Elles shuld be executed, hath sayed more thenne truth in that part, for Ellys is yet alyve, and neyther his execution, ne any his confederates, mynded nor entended by us, tyll we shuld have further advertisement of the Kinges Majesties pleasour in that bihalf. Nowe we have sent unto your Lordshippes the copies of all their examinacions, by the which you shall see as muche as we canne hitherto fynde owt of that matier. Oxbridge, who was oon of their confederates in this entreprise, we cannot yet perfitely lerne wher he

[1] A few words in this letter, where the paper has been destroyed by wet, are supplied from conjecture.

is

is bicome; but it is even nowe commen to our knowleage that he shuld be at Calays, and therfore we have written thither for his apprehension, and shall, asmuch as in us is, endevour ourselfes to fysshe owt, and enserche further the bottom and fundacion of this mattier, and wher their tooles and instrumentes were made, according to the contynew of your said letters; signifieng unto your Lordshippes, that, in our opinions, forasmuche as such tooles as persers, augers, sawes, and suche other, be commen sale ware in smythes and irenmongers shoppes in London, they might the more easely come by them withowt suspition, and parte of their said tooles were delyvered unto them by the waterman, named Oteley, who first disclosed their entreprise to the baylyf of the Clynke. Nevertheles we shall not faile to make further serche and examinacion for the truthe therof, as shall apperteigne, as partely we have doon all redy, as shall appere unto you in the examynacions; beseching your good Lordshippes to interprete our doinges to the best parte, and to helpe that the same maye be so taken.

Secondely, for the advauncement of suche sommes of money to Calayes, as arr specified in your said letters, we have, according to the contynue of the same, called bifore us the foure Tellers of the Receipt, and pressed them, by all meanes we coulde, to furnishe the said sommes; wherof, notwithstanding all that we coulde doo, we canne gett no more of them then 1600*£*, which they affirme to us is all that they canne make. The rest, which is 2540*£*, we have obteyned of Maister Gostwyke, for [*the*] which so[*mmes we humbly beseech*] your Lordshippes to procure warrauntes to be signed by the Kinges Majestie, and to be sent hither for their disch[*arge*]. The money we shall not faile to sende forthwith to Calays, to be delyvered to such handes as are specified in your said letters, with the foure letters allsoo which you sent unto us, addressed to the Deputie, and others, at Calays aforesaide. Thus we byd Your good Lordshippes right hartely fare well. From Westminster, the 15th of Octobre.

Your Lordshippes loving frendes,

If it might like Your Lordeshippes to advertise us, we wold be right glad to lerne of you, where the Kinges Majestie doth intende to keepe the Feaste of All Sayntes.

(*Signed*) T. Audeley Chauncelō. E. Hertford. Edmond Londoñ.
(*Signed*) A. Wyndesore. William Seint John. Rafe Sadleyr.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes and others of the Kinges Majesties Counsaile, attending uppon His Graces moost Royal Personne.

CLXI. The Duke of Norfolk *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Plesith it Your Majeste to be advertised, that, this present houre, the Imbassitour of Fraunce hath be here with me, saying, that he hathe receyved answer fro his Master of suche maters as wer commoned of at Yourk[2] betwene hym and me; and that by thanswer he dyd perceyve that never Prince was better affeccioned to a nother, then he was to Your Highnes, and that ther was never thyng that he more desired then to have the mariage[3] spoken off to take goode and short effect; and that forasmoche as, for dyvers gret respectes, it wer not covenient that it wer knowen that any suche mater wer treated of, unto the tyme it wer nere at a poynte, he thoght it best, that the mater shuld be only mayned by hym and me, and when it wer at a poynt, then his Master wold sende to conclowde the same of the most notable personys of his blode, and others next aboutes his person. And when I perceyved he had fynished his tale, I asked hym furst, if he had any commission, and he said no, but ample instruccions. I then asked hym, what he had to say consernyng the pension. He answerd, that his Master thoght that the commonyng of the mariage, and of the pension, shuld go to gyders, and not one before a nother. Then said I, "By my trouth "I am sory I se this mater to procede none other wise; for seuerly, to be "playne to you, Monsieur Imbassitour, I thynk that my Master, being so wise "a man as ye know he is, and that doth so well know all his affaires, and "that doth well remember what answer I made you, by his commandment, "before the sendyng of your cousin in to Fraunce, shall thynk that this "mater is not so ernestly ment as it is spoken: and wher your Master wold "it shuld be mayned only by you and me, I have no litle merveyle theroff, "for I shewde you the Kyng, my Master, had made others of his Counsell "pryve theronto; and that, for my parte, I thoght then, as I do now, the "mater was of to gret importaunce for me only to medle in." Fynally, Sir, I said to hym, that I wold, by my letter, advertise Your Majeste of his sayinges; and then asked hym, who had the gret stroke with his Master; and he said, "Principally thAdmyrall[4], and then the Cardynall of Turnon, and the Chan-"soler[5]," namyng him the last of the thre. Also he said, that the Constable remayned still at his owne howse, and that the King was in Burgoyne, and wold shortly be at Fowntayne Beawe; and thus, havyng dyvers other com-

[1] This letter is holograph. [2] Where the King remained from the 17th to the 26th of Sept.
[3] Between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary. [4] De Brion. [5] Poyet.

mynicasions,

mynicasions, to long to molest Your Highnes with redyng the same, he departed hens.

And if it shalbe your high plesure to commande me any further to medle in this mater, I shall accomplishe your commandment with gode will. Notwithstondyng, under your most high correccion, all the procedynges considered, I thynk a very light answer wer inow for this mater, consyderyng how lyghtle it is handled on their part. And thus the Holy Trinete send Your Majeste thaccomplyshmentes of your most noble hertes desires. Scrybld at Exeter Place, this Allhalow Evyn, with the hand of

Your most humble servant
and subject,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Majestie.

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

CLXII. Cranmer *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

It may please Your Majestie to understande, that at my repaire unto the Quenes Grace, I fownde her in such lamentation and hevynes, as I never sawe no creature, so that it wolde have pityed any mannes harte in the worlde, to have loked opon her; and in that vehemente rage she contynued, (as they informed me, which be about her,) from my departure from her, unto my retourne agayne; and than I fownde her, as I do suppose, farr intered towarde a fransy, which I fered bifore my departure from her at my first beinge with her: and surely, if Your Graces comforte had not come in tyme, she cowde have contynued no longe tyme in that condition, without a fransy, which nevertheles I do yet moch suspecte to folowe herafter. And as for my message frome Your Majestie unto her, I was purposed to entre communication in this wise; first to exaggerate the grevousnes of her demerites; than to declare unto her the justice of Your Graces lawes, and what she ought to suffre by the same; and, last of al, to signefie unto her your most gratious mercy: but when I sawe in what condition she was, I was feyne to turne my purpose, and to begynne at the last parte first, to comforte her by Your Graces benignitie and mercie; for elles the recital of Your Graces lawes, with the aggravation of her offenses, myght, peradventure, have dryven her unto som dawngerous extasy, and elles into a veray fransy, so that the wordes of comforte commynge last, myght, peradventure,

[1] This is also holograph.

have come to late. And after I had declared Your Graces mercy, extended unto her, she helde up her handes, and gave most humble thankes unto Your Majestie, who had shewed unto her more grace and mercie, than she herselfe thought mete to sue for, or cowde have hoped of; and than, for a tyme, she beganne to be more temperate and quiete, savynge that she stil sobbed and wepte; but after a litle pawsynge, she sodenly fel into a new rage, moch worse than she was bifore. Now I do use her thus; whan I doo see her in any such extreme braydes, I do travel with her to knowe the cause, and than, as moch as I can, I do labour to take away, or at the lest to mytigate the cause; and so I dyd at that tyme. I tolde her, there was som new fantasy come into her heade, which I desiered her to open unto me; and after a certen tyme, whan she had recovered her selfe, that she myght speke, she cryed and said, "Alas, my Lorde, that I am alyve, the "feare of deth greved me not so moch bifore, as doth now the remembrance "of the Kynges goodnes, for whan I remembre how gratious and lovynge a "Prince I had, I can not but sorowe; but this soden mercie, and more than "I cowde have loked for, shewed unto me, so unworthy, at this tyme, maketh "myn offenses to appere bifore myn eyes moch more haynous than they dyd "bifore; and the more that I considre the gretnes of his mercy, the more I "do sorowe in my harte, that I sholde so mysordre my selfe agaynst His "Majestie." And for any thynge, that I cowde say unto her, she contynued in a grete pange a longe while; but after that she beganne somthynge to remytt her rage, and come to her self, she was metely wel, untyl nyght, and I had very good communication with her, and as I thought, had brought her unto a grete quyetnes. Nevertheles, at nyght, about six of the clocke, she fel into an other like pange, but not so outragious as the first was; and that was, as she shewed me, for the remembrance of the tyme; for about that tyme, as she said, Maister Hennage was wont to brynge her knowlege of Your Grace. And bicause I lacke tyme to wryte al thynges unto Your Majestie, I have referred other thynges to be opened by the mouth of this berer, Sir John Dudlay; savynge that I have sent, herwith inclosed, al that I can get of her, concernynge any communication of matrimony with Derame, which al though it be not so moch as I thought, yet I suppose, surely, it is sufficiente to prove a contracte, with carnal copulation folowinge; although she thynke it be no contracte, as in dede the wordes alone be not, if carnal copulation had not folowed therof. The cause, that Maister Baynton sent unto Your Majestie, was partely for the declaration of her astate, and partely bicause, after my departure from her, she beganne to excuse, and to tempre those thynges, which she had spoke unto

unto me, and sett her hande therto; as, at my commynge unto Your Majestie, I shal more fully declare by mouth; for she sayth, that al that Derame dyd unto her, was of his importune forcement, and, in a manner, violence, rather than of her fre consent and wil. Thus Almyghty God have Your Majestie in his preservation and governance. From

Your Graces most bounden
Chaplein,
(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Majestie.

CLXIII. THE COUNCIL *to* ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, &c.[1]

AFTER our right hearty commendations. The Kings Majesty, having considered your letters, and noted the contents of the same, hath willed us to signify unto you, that, persevering in your diligence to attain knowledge of the truth, by all waies and means, as you have hitherto, by your wisdomes, well begunn, you further proceede to the execution of the Kings Majesties pleasure, as before hath been signified unto you; foreseeing alwayes that you take not from the Queen her privy keyes, till you have done all the rest; willing us, further more, to advertise you the resolution taken here, sithens your departing, touching the order of the Queens house, her removing from thence, and the repairing of other, now in her house and service, to their houses and friends.

First, the Kings pleasure is, that the Queen, with convenient diligence, remove to the house of Syon, there to remain, till the matter be further ordred, in the state of a Queen, furnished moderately, as her life and conditions hath deserved; that is to say, with the furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of astate; of which three, one shall serve for Mr Baynton, and thothers, to dine in, and thother two, to serve for her use, and with a mean numbre of servants, according to a book which wee send unto you herewith; the proportion whereof to be augmented or diminished, the Kings Highnes reserveth to your discretions, who, His Majesty thinketh, will not exceede a necessary furniture.

The Kings Highnes pleasure is, that the Queen have, at her election, four gentlewomen, and two chamberers; foreseing alwayes, that my Lady Baynton bee one, whose husband, the Kings pleasure is, should attend uppon

[1] Printed from a copy in the handwriting of Mr. Raymond, Keeper of State Papers.

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the Queen, to have the rule and government of the whole house; and with him the Almoner[1] to be also associate. Besides which three personages by name, that is to say, Mr Baynton, his wife, and the Almoner, the Kings Highness appointeth none, specially, to remaine with her; and the number of the rest, before specified, besides those that bee at her choice, to be appointed by your discretions, saving of such as bee namely ordred to depart; wherein the Kings pleasure is, you should take such direction, as they depart uppon Munday next comming, before which day none to remove. And the Kings pleasure is, that my Lady Marie be condued to my Lord Princes house by Sir John Dudley, with a convenient number of the Queens servants; and my Lady Margete Duglas to be conduced to Keningall, my Lord of Norfolkes house, in Norfolke; in whose company shall also goe my Lady of Richemond, if my Lord her father, and she, be so contented.

Order must bee also taken with the maidens, that they repaire each of them to their friends, there to remain; saving M^ris^ Bassett, whom the Kings Majesty, in consideration of the calamity of her friends, will, at his charges, specially provide for. And if the number of the Queens house, necessarily furnished in the proportion written unto you, there remain any of the Queenes servants unprovided for, whereof you think the Kings Highness should have consideration, for as moch as they have noe home or friends to resort, or means convenient to live, wee shall, uppon your signification of their names, without delay, labour to know the Kings Highness pleasure; to the intent the houshold may be dissevered, with as much contentation, and reasonable satisfaction of the parties, as the nature and quality of the cause thereof doth permitt and suffer.

And where the Kings Highness, weighing deeply all circumstances of the matter, hath, by mature consideration, determined, that to morrow my Lord Chancellour, assembling His Majesties Counsellours of all sorts, spirituall and temperall, with the Judges, and learned men of his Counsell, should declare unto them the abominable demeanour of the Queen, without calling Deram, as was before thought good, and without speaking or mentioning any precontract, which might serve for her defence, but only to open and make manifest the Kings Highnes just cause of indignation and displeasure, so as the world may know and see that, which is hitherto done, to have a just ground and foundation. Considering no man would think reasonable, that the Kings Highnes, although His Majesty doth not yet take the degree of her estate utterly from her, should entertain her so tenderly, in the high degree and astate of a

[1] Nicolas Heath, Bishop of Rochester, was the King's Almoner at this time.

Queen,

Queen, who, for her demerites, is so unworthy the same; the Kings Majesty willeth, that who amongs you know not onely the whole matter, but also how it was first detected, by whom, and by what meanes it cam to the Kings Majesties knowledge, with the whole of the Kinges Majesties sorrowfull behaviour, and carefull proceeding in it, should, uppon Sunday next comming, assemble all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, being now in that houshold, to declare unto them the whole process of the matter; foreseeing alwayes, that you make not mention of any precontracte; but, omitting that, to sett forth such matter as might engreave and confound theire misdemeanour, and as truth doth indeed truly beare, declare and set forth the Kings Majesties goodnes, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance.

And as touching the Queens departing from that house, and removing to Syon, shall bee upon Munday next comming, or further delayed, as by advertisements from you, of that shall succeede there, shall bee thought convenient; foreseeing alwayes, that, according to that is before written, the ladies, and others appointed to depart, keep their day of departure uppon Munday; and such onely to remain at Hampton Court, to abide the Queens removing, as, after the ordre before specified, shall bee attendant at Syon; doing you, Mr Controullour, to understand, that Mr Weldon, Master of the Houshold, hath been here spoken unto, which he also doth, to make provision of wine, beer, and other necessaries, at Syon for that purpose. Thus Almighty God send you heartily well to fare. At the Kings Palace of Westminster, the 11th of November[1], at night.

Your loving Friends,

T. NORFFOLK. W. SOUTHAMPTON. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. J. RUSSELL.
ANTONE BROWNE. ANTONY WYNGFELD.
RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr Controullour, Mr Writhesley, and to every of them.
Hampton Court.

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[1] There is an entire chasm in the Register of the Privy Council, from the 5th to the 13th of November. The Queen's misconduct had been detected by the Council in London, and disclosed to the King, during his progress in the North. He reached Windsor, on his return, on the 26th, and removed to Hampton Court on the 28th, of October. The precise day of his removal to his Palace at Westminster does not appear; but he was there on the 13th of November, when Alice Rastall alias Wilks, and Mary Hull alias Lascelles, were bound by recognizance, "on pain of their "lives, to appear upon any lawful warning from the Council, as well to affirm to such things as "they have already confessed, as to answer to any other things that may be laid to their charge." On the following day, the 14th, the Queen's offence was announced by letters to the King's Ambassadors.

CLXIV. SADLEYR *to* ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, &c.[1]

IT may like you tunderstonde; that, after the dispeche of the last letters from the hole Counsaile here, uppon the arryvall of my Lorde Admyrall[2] and Mr Browne, the Kynges Majeste, perceyving that the Quene hathe ben examyned of the matier now com forth concerning Culpeper, though she hathe not, as appereth by her confession, so fully declared the circumstaunces of suche communycations as were betwixt her and Culpeper, at their sondry metynges, as His Majeste wolde have you, ones agayne, assaye and taste, to gett of her, if she be in suche frame and tempre of her wyttes, as ye thinke ye may well ynough presse her, without tomoch troubling or inquyeting her, so as might, in any case, be daungerous unto her, hathe resolved, that in case ye shall thinke her to be in suche state of helth, as she may well remove to Syon on Mondaye, that then she shall so do, according to suche order and appoyntement as was before signefied unto you; and that fyndyng her, tomorowe, in good frame, ye shall declare the same unto her, so as she may prepare herself therefore ayenst the next day accordinglie.

Herewith ye shall receyve the mynute of the lettre conceyved by you, Mr Secretary, to thAmbassadours; which, as my Lordes here do say, is the very tale, in effecte, that my Lorde Chauncellour did this day declare in the Sterre Chamber; omytting and leving out asmoche as in any wise toucheth the precontracte. He also redde dyvers of the depositions of suche persons as have ben examyned, aswell men as women, alwaies pretermytting asmoche as touched the contracte; and, in the ende of his tale, he added, that there was an apparence of greter abhomynacion in her, whyche he lefte so in a clowde, as it shoulde seme doubtful to the herers, whether all were com out, or not; which order, in the tale to be tolde therto tomorowe, the Kinges Majeste wolde have you to folowe, without mencyoning any thing of Culpeper, or the precontracte; and as to the reading there of any of the depositions, it is not thought nedefull.

His Majestes pleasure is, also, that tomorowe, after this declaracion made, ye shall call a parte unto you my Lady Margaret Douglas; and fyrst declare unto her, how indiscretely she hath demeaned her self towardes the Kinges Majeste, first with the Lord Thomas, and secondely with Charles Howard; in whiche parte ye shall, by discression, charge her with overmoche lightnes, and fynally give her advyse to beware the thirde tyme, and hollie applie herself to please the Kynges Majeste, and to folowe and obey that

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[1] Holograph.

[2] John Lord Russell.

shalbe

shalbe His Highnes will and commaundement; with suche other exhortations and good advyses, as, by your wisedomes, ye canne devise to that purpose.

Furthermore His Majestes pleasure is, that Mr Semour shall remayne there, with all the jewelles, and other thinges of the Quenes, till she be gonne, and then to bring them hither. And to the Quenes Grace ye must appoynte six frenchehoodes, with thappurtenaunces, with edges of goldesmythes worke, so there be no stone nor perle in the same; and likewise asmany paire of sleves, six gownes, and six kyrtelles of saten damask, and velwet, with suche thinges as belong to the same, except alwayes stone and perle.

This dispeche of this letter was so late, that all my Lordes here of the Counsaile were gonn, som to bed, som one way, and some a nother; wherefore they desired me before, to depeche the same to you, in all their names, as they were all at the resolucion of the same, though my name onely be subscribed. And thus the Holie Trynyte have you in his keping. At the Courte, this Saterday at eleven a clocke at night, with the rude hande of him that is at commaundement,

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable my Lorde of Canterbery his good Grace, Mr Comptroller, and Mr Secretarye, at Hampton Court.

CLXV. EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON AND WRIOTHESLEY *to* SADLEYR.[1]

AFTER our right harty commendations. Thise shalbe to require you tadvertise the Kinges Majeste, that, according to thorder taken at your departure, we twayn, and Mr Pollerd, have been this daye with my Lady of Norffolk; and to thintent we might the better perceive, whither she weare in dede soo syk, as she pretended, we first entered with her, as thoughe we had cumme only to visit and comfort her; wherby we perceived, in short space, that, as farre as we could conceyve, she was not soo syk as she made for, but hable ynough to repair to my Lord Chauncelor, as His Highnes appointed. Then began we to tel her, that my Lord Chauncelor had certain questions to demande of her, which shuld moche serve to the clering of this matier, and soo advised her to repare to him; sayeng the matiers were not long, ne such, as we thought she wold not bothe shortly and truly answere. But here she began to be very syk again, even at the harte, as she said; whiche was the

[1] In the handwriting of Wriothesley.

syknes

syknes of mistrust, that if she went, she shuld not return again. Nevertheles, with moche a doo, we gat her to condescende to her going, and soo we departed, to thintent she shuld mistrust no false measure; and stayeng at the house of me, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, tyl we sawe her barge passed, we have nowe sent Mr Pollerd to put the house in order, as was appointed; and this night shal dispeche Mr Peter to Horsham; and tomorowe, in the mornyng, we shal enter thexamynation of her, and as we shal procede, advertise the Kinges Majeste.

We have also sumwhat travayled this daye with Pewson, whom we have in custody, but he is yet stiff; mary, he confesseth, already, his going to Hamptoncourte after Derams apprehencion; but the purpose of his going in to these parties was to buy bordes for my Lady of Norffolke, and fagottes for himself at Kingston, as he saiethe; but we thinke he can, and shal, tel an other tale: wherin, as in al the rest, we shal travail to the best of our powers to get out the trouth. Sir, we pray you to sende hither all suche examynations as you have, touching thise matiers, that we may peruse them, and pik all suche thinges out of them, as may serve to the purpose of our busines. And thus most hartely fare you well. From Westminster, this Sonday, in thafternone.

Your assured Freendes,

(*Signed*) W. SOUTHĀPTON.

(*Signed*) THOMAS WRIOTHESLEYE.

(*Superscribed*)
To our assured loving Freende Sir Rauf Sadleyr, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CLXVI. THE COUNCIL *to* BROWNE AND SADLEYR.[1]

AFTER our right harty commendacions. Thise shalbe to require you to signifie unto the Kinges Majeste, that meting yesterdaye togither here, at the house of me, the Lord Chancelour, for thexamynation of the Duches of Norffolke, to thintent we might be the better armed for that purpose, we thought it expedient first to begyn with Ashby, her man, and to see what he had confessed; who being in the custody of me, the Chancelour of thAugmentation[2], had writen, by commandment, on Sonday night, thre or foure leaves of paper; in the perusing wherof, we founde, amonges many long tales of smal

[1] This letter is in the handwriting of Wriothesley.
[2] Sir Richard Ryche.

importance,

importance, that when the Duchess had broken up Derams coffres, wherat the said Ashby, and her comptroller, a prest, were present, besides the smythe who piked thone coffer, and brake open thother, she toke out all the writinges, and caried them in to her chamber, sayeng she wold peruse them herself at leysour, without suffering any body to see them with her; the like wherof she did, also, with suche writinges as were in his male; and to declare that she ment not to have any of those thinges cumme to revelation, she wold have had Ashby to have taken a cote of saten of Derams for thirty shillings and eight pence, whiche Deram ought him, but he refused it: he confessed, also, that the Duches hathe been in greate feare, lest Alys Wylkes told the Lord William of the famyliaritie betwene the Quene and Deram, and that she wold have sent oon to Calays, to have enformed the Lord William of this matier, if she had not been advised to the contrary: he confessed, also, her serche for the perdon, and that she ones said, if there be non offence doon sithens the mariage, she ought not to dye for that whiche was doon befor; and also that she demaunded, whither the pardon wold not serve other, that knewe of their naughty lief, befor the mariage: and also he confessed, that she brake up a chest and two coffers of Damportes, after he was commytted to the Tower, and likewise toke out his letters and writinges, being present, at this breaking also, Ashby, her comptroller, and oon Dunn, yoman of her celler, who plaid the smythes parte. When we had perused thise thinges, and comoned with the said Ashby uppon them, we thought mete to sende for the comptroller, for oon Boroughe, her chaplain, of whom she had the boke of statutes, and for her clerc of the kychen, who had been at Hamptoncourte, and were all touched in Ashbyes confession. Dunne we sent not then for, bicause it was afternone, er we knewe, by Ashby, or any other, of the breaking of Damportes coffres; whiche personnes were with us immediatly after dyner; of whom we gat no more, in effecte, then Ashby confesseth. And in the meane space, betwen this first examynation of Ashbyes doinges, and dyner tyme, we examyned again Jane Ratsey, whose deposition you shal receyve herwith, to be shewed to His Majeste.

We examyned, also, partily befor dyner and partily after, a newe matier, that the Lady Anne of Cleves shuld be delyvered of a fayr boye, and whose shuld it be but the Kinges Majestes, and gotten when she was at Hamptoncourte; whiche is a most abomynable slander, and for this tyme, and the case in ure, as we thinke, most necessary to be met with all. This matier was told to Taverner, of the Signet, more then a fortnight a goo, bothe by his mother in lawe, Lambertes wief, the goldsmythe, and by

Taverners oune wief, who saithe she hard it of Lilgraves wief, and Lambertes wief hard it, also, of thold Lady Carewe; Taverner kept it; and they, with others, have made it a commen matier of talk, and never reveled it tyl Sonday night; at whiche tyme he told it Doctour Cox, to be further declared, if he thought good; who immediatly disclosed it to me, the Lord Privy Seale. We have commytted Taverner to the custody of me, the Bishop of Winchester, and Lambertes wief, who seamethe to have been a dunse in it, to M^r^ the Chauncelour of thAugmentacions.

With this, also, cam knowleage to us, that Damport desired to speake with oon of the Counsail, and soo went to him I, Sir John Gage, and I, Sir Richard Riche; and his sayeng, for that tyme, was, that Deram said ones to him, when the Kinges Majeste favored Mistres Katherin, "I could be "sure to Mistres Katherin, and I wold; but I dare not. The King begyn- "ethe to love her; but, and he were deade, I am sure I might mary her." And bicause Damport confessethe this nowe, and wold not do it for any torture he could befor be put to, we have resolved that bothe he, and Deram, shalbe seriously examyned again, this daye, of certain pointes, whiche we have noted for that purpose. And havinge passed the greate parte of thaftrenone in thexamynations of the persons and matiers befor specefied, arryved the letters, with those sent to the Kinges Majeste out of Fraunce, soo that, befor we had perused them, it was derk night, and therfor we have determyned, this daye, tintende holly to the Duches examynation, with suche other as be befor mentioned; and, as we shal procede, tadvertise: having thought convenient to write thus moche, to thintent the Kinges Majeste may have a just accompt and knowleage of our doinges.

And you may also shewe His Majeste, that I, the Lord Privy, shal doo what I can to thaccomplishment of His Majestes pleasure concernyng Mr Southwell, trusting to frame it according to His Majestes desire.

We be also enformed that Deram maketh humble sute for the remission of summe parte of thextremytie of his jugement, wherin we require you to knowe His Majestes pleasure. Where by the former depositions it seamed, the comptroller was at the breaking both of Derams and Damportes coffres, it appered after that, he was only at the breaking of Damportes coffers, which breaking of Damportes coffres the Duches confesseth not, ne hathe yet touched in any conference with any person. Damport confesseth, also, that Deram told him, the Duches of Norffolke said to a gentlewoman in the Quenes chambre, when Deram was present, pointing to him, "This is he "that came in to Irlande for the Quenes sake."

You

You may also shewe His Majeste, that I, the Lord Privy Seale, trust to fynde out summe pythie matier of Alys Wylkes. As I shal fynde, I shal advertise.

Thexamynation of Jane Ratsey was sent to you yesternight.

And thus we beseche God to sende you health. From Christes Churche, this Tuesday mornyng. [1]

Your assured loving Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. CANTUARIEÑ. T. AUDELEY CHAUNCELŌ. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHĀPTON.
ROBT. SUSSEX. E. HERTFORD. STE: WINTOÑ.
THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

Mr Comptroller and Mr Chauncelour be gon to the Tower.

(*Superscribed*)

To our assured Freendes, Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horses, and Sir Raff Sadleyr, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes Principal Secretaryes.

CLXVII. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[2]

IT may lyke Your good Lordeshippes tunderstonde, that the Kinges Majeste hath perused, and maturely digested your letters, sent yesterday dyrected to us, Sir Anthony Browne and Rafe Sadleyr; and doth pryncypally note these poyntes hereafter specefied, which, as appereth by your saide letters, are confessed by Assheby.

First, that the Duches, after the breking open of Derams coffres, toke out all the wrytinges, and caryed them into her chamber, sayeng she wolde peruse them her self, without suffering any body to see them with her; and also that she did the like with all the wrytinges in his male; which declareth not onelie that she was very diligent to gather togither all his wrytinges, but also, as His Majeste thynketh, that the same her doing can not be construed to any good entent: wherefore His Majeste thinketh it good, that she be examyned, uppon what grounde she opened the said coffres; and if she shall answer that she opened them, to thintent to sende the wrytinges unto

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[1] On this day (Dec. 6.) the Council gave an order for locking up all things at the Duchess of Norfolk's house at Horsham, which order was, on the 9th, extended to other houses of the Duchess, of Lord William Howard, and of Lady Bridgewater. The latter order appears to have been issued in pursuance of the King's commands.

[2] Minute, written by Sadleyr, and indorsed "7 Dec. 1541."

His Majeste, or his Counsaile, it wold be then demaunded of her, whie she did not so, and wherefore she conceled the same, without suffering any body to see them with her; with suche other interrogatories as ye can devise, in that parte, to dissipher her very intente in the brekyng open of the saide coffres, which His Majeste can not interprete, ne expounde, to any other purpose, then for the conceilement from His Highnes of som letters or wrytynges, whereby their treason should have com to revelation. And the Kynges Majeste thinketh, that if the Judges do indyfferentlie waye the brekyng of the saide coffres, which is an acte, with the conveyance of the wrytynges, whiche being by the saide Duches conceiled and kept secret, importeth a mervelous presumption, that the wrytinges shulde conteyn matiers of treason, considering the acte, with the vehement presumption, and joyning therto all circumstaunces of the lykelihod that the Duches knew of the former noughtie lif betwixt the Quene and Deram, they can not say that they have any lernyng to mayneteyn that they have a better grounde to make Derams case treason, and to presume that his comyng agayn to the Quenes servyce, was to an ill intent of the renovacion of his former noughtie lif, then they have, in this case, to presume, that the brekyng of the coffres was to thintent to conceile letters of treason. This is His Majestes opynyon, whereunto His Highnes wolde have them to answer, and satisfie him with reason. Also His Majeste thinketh it good, that the saide Duches be examyned where the saide wrytinges be becom, that they may be seen and perused; and that Mr Pollarde do examyn the Duches women, and suche as were greatest about her, whether she dyd, of late, burne any letters or wrytinges: which if it appere she dyd, maketh gretely agaynst her.

Secondely, His Majeste noteth the grete feare, that the Duches hathe ben in, lest Alis Wilkes told the Lord Wyllam of the famylaryte betwen the Quene and Deram, and that she wolde have sent to Calays, to have enfourmed the Lorde Wyllyam of this matier, if she had not ben advysed to the contrary. This His Majeste thinketh is another presumption, and circumstance to prove that she knew of the noughtie life betwixt the Quene and Deram; and agayn, His Majeste thinketh that it doth importe a vehement presumption of ill, both in her and the Lorde Wyllyam, whereof it semeth she wolde gladly have geven him monycyon and warnyng. And hereupon His Majeste brought in Palmers case, that warned Mr Wallop, as your Lordeshippes do knowe. Wherefore His Majestes pleasure is, that ye shall way this matier by your wisdomes; and in case you, my Lorde Pryvy Seale, shall pike out any pitthie or materyall matier of Ales Wylkes, which may touche the saide Lorde Wyllyam, that then ye shall the rather have

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an eye unto him, and not suffer him to repayre to the Court, but rather devyse, by your discressions, to tye him to som attendance uppon you, as though it were for som declaration to be made unto you, by him, of his procedynges in Fraunce, or for somwhat touching the Kynges affayres in those partes.

Thirdely, His Majeste noteth her serche of the generall pardon, and specyally, the question which she demanded, whether the pardon wolde not serve other, that knew of their naughtie lif before the maryage; which is a nother circumstance, besides the brekyng also of Damportes coffres, and the conveying of his letters and writinges after he was in the Tower: which, being all joyned togither, it is to be thought, that the same must nedes way grevously agaynst her.

Fourthlie, His Majeste noteth the confession of Damport, in that poynt that Deram tolde him, that the Duches of Norffolke sayde to a gentlewoman in the Quenes chamber, when Deram was present, poynting to him, "This "is he that cam into Ireland for the Quenes sake." And His Majeste wolde have both Damporte and Deram seriousle examyned, what gentlewoman that was, to whom the Duches told that tale. And His Highnes thinketh it expedyent, that ye do spare thexecution of Deram, for a tyme, till the botom of this matier shall appere, for it is lyke that matier will arryse daylie, whereuppon ye shall have cause to examyn him. And, also, His Majestes pleasure is, that ye shall sende to His Highnes a copie of thinterrogatories, which were remytted to your Lordeshippes by you, Mr Wriothesley, refourmed afore, in som parte, by His Majeste at Asshiere. Touching the remission of thextremyte of Derams judgement, the Kinges Majeste thinketh he hathe deserved no such mercy at his hande, and therefore hathe determyned, that he shall suffer the hole execucyon.

Fynally, to the matier touching the Lady Anne of Cleves, His Majeste thinketh it requysite to have it groundely examyned, and further ordered by your discressions, as the nature and qualyte of the case requyreth; and semblably to enquyre diligentlie, whether the saide Lady Anne of Cleves hath, in dede, had any childe or no, as it is bruted; for His Majeste hathe ben infourmed that it is so in dede; in which parte His Majeste imputeth a grete defaulte in her officers, for not advertising His Highnes thereof, if it be trew. Not doubting but your Lordeshippes will groundely examyn the same, and fyndeng out the trouth of the hole matier, woll advertise His Majeste thereof, accordinglie.

CLXVIII. The Council in London *to* Browne and Sadleyr.[1]

After our right harty commendacions. We requier you to signifie unto the Kinges Majeste, that, according to our last advertisement, we travailed all yesterday in thexamynation of my Lady of Norffolke; who made herself soo clere from al knowleage of thabomynacion betwene the Quene and Deram, that she wold confesse no mistrust or suspition of their love, or unseamely familiaritie; and as to the coffers, she wold nedes labour to persuade, that she intended only to see what was in them, and fynding any thing material, to sende the same to the Kinges Majeste. We gave her scope and libertie, without any greate interruption, to saye what she wold, bicause her extreame deniall doth nothing diminishe theffect of the matiers against her, being hable to convince her in sundry pointz, by sufficient testimonye. And this daye we have perused all the depositions, and made a collection of the pointz material, whiche be proved or alleaged against her, and also of the matiers touching the Lord William Howard; and having with us my Lord Chief Justice[2], M[r] Atturney[3], and M[r] Pollerd, we have, at good length, conferred togather uppon the same: who doo certainly thinke, whiche is also thopinion of us, the Lord Chauncelour of England, and the Chancelour of thAugmentacion, that the thinges proved against my Lady Norffolk, and the said Lord William, with all presumptions and circumstances touching the same, woll extende to misprision of treason; and also that the Lady Howard, the Lady Bridgewater, Alys Wylkes, Katherin Tylney, Damport, Walgrave, Malin Tylney, Mary Lasselles, Bulmer, Ashby, Anne Haward, and Margaret Benet, be in the same cace, if it shal please His Majeste to procede against them: wherin we desire you to knowe His Majestes pleasure, and howe His Grace woll have my Lady of Norfolke, and the rest, used, and also whither we shall call and commyt the Lord William, and his wief, and howe their thinges shalbe used, whiche shall, by this offence, all confisce to His Majeste, as in case of treason, and also the proffet of their landes for terme of their lyves, theire bodyes to perpetual prison; thexample wherof wolbe very notable, if His Majeste procede against them al, as the cace is most detestable; and yet His Highnes may, at His pleasure, extende suche clemency, in thende, as his justice and marcy shal appere to the world to his great honour. Tomorowe we shal mete at the house of me, the Lord Privy Seale, and there we shal examyn the Lady Bridgewater, who shalbe brought

[1] In Wriothesley's handwriting. [2] Sir Edward Montagu. [3] William Whorwood.

thither

thither secretly; and also Bulmer, and Wylkes. And we have also sent for Mynster, chamberer, and for oon Philip, two principal witnesses against the Lord William and the Lady Bridgewater, with whom, and with the rest, we shal travail and labour to fynde out the botom of the pott, if it may be gotten out, to the best of our powers, according to our most bounden dueutyes; hartely requiring you to knowe His Majestes pleasure touching the premisses, and to advertise us of the same. Thus desiring you to present our most humble commendacions to His Majeste, we shall beseche God to sende you health. From Christchurche, this Wednesday night.

We must desier you to excuse the faultes and slendernes of our letters, for we were constrayned to write them in hast, after it was candle light, bicause we wold His Majeste shuld be enformed of our procedinges.

Your assured Freendes,

Post scripta.—We thinke we have, what we shal get, of Deram, for he wolbe brought, by no meane, to any pece of Damport last confession, whiche we partely touched in our last letters; and therefore we wold be glad to knowe His Majestes pleasure touching thexecution of him, and Culpeper.

(*Signed*)

T. CANTUARIEÑ. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELO. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHÃPTON.
ROBT. SUSSEX. E. HERTFORD. STE: WINTOÑ. JOHN GAGE.
THOMS WRIOTHESLEYE. RYCHARD RYCHE.

(*Superscribed*)

To our assured loving Freendes, Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horses, and Sir Raff Sadleyr, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CLXIX. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

IT may like Your good Lordeshippes tunderstonde, that this mornyng we receyved your letters, and ymedyately redde the contentes of the same unto the Kinges Majeste; who, considering your grete travaile, labours, and paynes taken in the serche and examynacion of this matier, giveth you, therefore, His Highnes right hertie thankes; not doubting but ye will procede as ye have begon, and not leve, ne desiste, till ye have founde out the botom of the pott, as ye wryte, which His Majeste thinketh, among so many as now be detected, ye shall the more facylly obteyne. And for answere unto your

[1] In the handwriting of Sadleyr.

saide

saide letters, His Majeste, wayeng the resolucyon and opynyons of my Lorde Chief Justice, Mr Attourney, and Mr Pollarde, and likewise of you, my Lorde Chauncelour, and you, Mr Chauncellour of thAugmentacions, hathe resolved that your Lordeshippes shall comytte, aswell the Duches of Norffolke, the Lorde Willyam Howarde, and his wif, and the Lady Brydgewater, as all thothers noted in your letters to be in the case of mesprision of treason, unto the Tower[1]; and that ye shall fourthwith sende som substancyall personages to take charge of theyr houses, and to see their goodes put in sauf custodie to His Majestes behof: in whiche parte, His Majeste, joyning with your opynyon, thinketh that the example thereof wolbe very notable; and yet His Highnes may, as ye wryte, extende suche clemencie, in the ende, as His Highnes shall see cause and thinke most convenyent. Nevertheles His Majeste, most gracyouslie wayeng and considering how this matier cam first to revelacion by Mary Lasselles, who not onelie refused the Quenes servyce, but, also, at the first openyng thereof to her brother, seamed to be sory and lament that the Kynges Majeste had maryed her; and thinking that His Highnes clemency and mercy, shewed now to the saide Mary, might be a meane to give courage and boldenes to others, to revele thinges in lyke cases, hathe therefore thought it best to spare the saide Mary Lasselles, without troubling or commytting of her; whiche His Majeste commaunded us to wryte unto you, as His Highnes opynyon, and wolde your Lordeships shoulde advertise yours in that behalf.

Touching Culpeper and Deram, if your Lordeships do thinke that ye have gotten asmoche of Deram as wolbe had, that then ye shall (giving them convenyent respyte and warnyng of the tyme, that they may prepare themselffes to God for the salvacion of their sowles,) procede to their execucyon, in suche sorte as hathe ben signefied unto you before, accordinglye. Thus the Holie Trynyte preserve Your good Lordeshippes in long lif and good helth. At Otelande, thes present Feaste of the Conception of Our Ladye.

By your Lordeshippes lovyng Frendes,

(*Signed*) J. Russell. (*Signed*) Antone Browne.
(*Signed*) Antony Wyngfeld. (*Signed*) Rafe Sadleyr.

(*Superscribed*)
To our veary good Lordes, and other our loving Freendes of the Kinges Majestes Pryvey Counsail, resydent at London.

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[1] Lord William Howard was committed to the Tower by the Council on the 9th, the Duchess of Norfolk on the 10th, and Lady Bridgewater on the 13th of December.

CLXX. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

After our right hartie commendations. Itt shall like you tunderstand, that yesternight, late, we receyvid yowr letters, written the same daye att Oteland; and by the same doo perceyve the Kinges Majestes good acceptation off our service, whiche is to owr singuler comfortes; and allso His Graces resolution and pleser towching the parsons, whereoff we wrote unto yow in owr last letters, whiche wee shall endevour owrselffes to follow, as apperteyneth. Nevertheles, forasmoche as in yowr former letters, you signified that His Highnes wolde have the Duches off Northffolke eftsones examined uppon certeyne poyntes, in the same lettres conteyned; whereupon we have allredie conceyvid certayne interrogatories, the copye whereoff wee send unto yow herewith, with the dobles allso of thothers, whiche His Majeste perused and amendid att Assher, wee have thowght mete to bestow this day in the calling, examination, and committyng of the Lorde William, and in thexamination of the Duches, where her money and treasure is bestowed, to thintent we may certaynely know His Majestes pleser, befor owr further procedinges, towching the poyntes following:

Fyrst, whether we shall wade any further in examination with the Duches upon the sayde interrogatories, or leave her thus to be convinced by testimonye.

Seconde, forasmoche as she is olde and testye, and may percase, upon the committing of her, take itt so to hart, as might putt her in perill of her life, whether His Majeste woll that she, and all the rest specified in owr sayde former letters, shall be indicted of misprision of treason, whiche we thinke may be don within four or five days, wherebie the Parliament shall have better grownde to confiscke theyre gooddes, if any of them shold chawnce, before theyre atteyndour, to die. And where His Majeste hath most gratiouslie consideryd Mary Lasselles refusall of the Quenis service, and the first opening of the matier, to be a good grownde, whereupon His Highnes may extende mercie to her, willing us to signifie owr opinions in the same; we require yow, on owr behalffes, to declare to His Majeste, that we thinke His Highnes hath therein most gratiowsly determined: desiring, nevertheles, to know, whether she shall be indicted; or left owt, if the saide indictment shall procede, as we thinke itt mete, if itt shall so stande with His Majestes pleser; for whiche pourpos we have cawsed my Lorde Chief

Justice to tarrye still here, who, with Mr Attourney, Mr Pollard, and Mr Sollicitor[1], have been daylie attendant and busied with us, sithens the first examinations off thiese mattiers.

Thirde, forasmoche as itt apperith by the relation of Mr Lieutenant, there be nott romes sufficient in the Towar, to bestow them all severallye, onles they shall be lodgid in His Majestes and the Quenes lodginges, we beseche His Majeste, in cace he be pleased herewith, to sende hither his doble key, or to gyve us leave to altre the lockes, for this tyme, or ells to signifie unto us, whether His Majeste woll have the great personages committed thither, with suche others as may conveniently be plased, and the residue to remayne in other custodies, till mo romes may be prepared for them.

Fowrth, what ordre His Majeste woll have taken with theyre servantes, whether suche, as have no freendes or dwelling places, shal, for a tyme, be kept togyther, and the rest dispeched with any rewarde, or the hole discharged att ons, with rewarde, or otherwise, as to His Majeste shall be thowght most convenyent.

Fift, we require yow to shew His Majeste, that all yesterday we traveilled with the Ladie Bridgewater, Bulmer, and Wilckes; and as for Bridgewater, she sheweth herselff her mothers dowghter[2]; that is, oon that will by no meanys confesse any thing that may towche her: and allso, that where we wrote that Doctour Peter shold go to Horsham, he being owt of the Towne, we sent thither, in his stede, His Majestes Sollicitour, who putt allthinges there in ordre, and appoynted Mr Carrell, dwelling bye, to have an eye daylie to the same.

We have, allso, sent for thofficers of the Ladie Anne of Cleves, and for Dorothe Wingfelde, Jhon Wingfeldes wife, whiche is of her pryvie chamber; and have committed Tavernour, and Lylgraves widdow, who apperith yett the first authour off the bruit, to the Tower. And we have allso traveiled, to the best off owr powers, with Jane Ratsey; and more than she hath allredie confessed, we can nott gett of her, albeit we had ons committed her to the Lieutenaunt, as thowgh she sholde have bin committed to the Towar, and finallye left her in the custodie of me, the Lorde Chawncellour. The woman semith most sorrowfull, as to have ben movyd uppon none other occasion then is before written. Desiring yow, allso, to know His Majestes pleser,

[1] Henry Bradshaw.

[2] She was daughter of the Duchess of Norfolk.

what

what shall be farther doon with her, accordinglye. And thus we commit yow to the keping off Almightye God. From Christchurch, the nynth day of December.

Your loving Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. CANTUARIEÑ. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELℓ. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHM̃PTON.
ROBT. SUSSEX. E. HERTFORD. STE: WINTOÑ. JOHN GAGE.
THOMAS WRIOTHESLEYE. RYCHARD RYCHE.

Post scripta[1]. We think we shal get no more of Derham, then is already confessed; and therfor, onles we shal here otherwise from the Kinges Majeste, we have resolved that they shal suffer tomorowe.

(*Superscribed*)

To our vearye good Lorde, my Lorde Admirall, and to our assurid loving Freendes, thothers of the Counsell, attendant upon the Kinges Royall Person.

CLXXI. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[2]

WE require you to shewe the Kinges Majeste, that forasmoche as we al thinke thoffence of Culpeper to be very heynous, and that it is necessary that his execution be notable, we have given order that he shal be drawen to the Tiborn, and there only to lose his hed, according to His Highnes most gratious determynation, onles we shal here His Graces pleasure to be to the contrary.

Your assured Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. CANTUARIEÑ. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELℓ. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHM̃PTON.
ROBT. SUSSEX. E. HERTFORD. STE: WINTOÑ. JOHN GAGE.
THOMAS WRIOTHESLEYE. RYCHARD RYCHE.

(*Superscribed*)

To our verye good Lorde, the Lorde Admirall, and to owr assurid Freendes, thothers of the Counsell attendant upon the Kinges Royall Parson.

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1 This postscript is in the handwriting of Wriothesley, but the body of the letter is not so.
2 Written by Wriothesley.

CLXXII. The Council with the King *to* The Council in London.[1]

It may lyke your good Lordeshippes tunderstonde, that yesternight, at ten a clocke, we receyved your letters, and this mornyng dyd rede the contentes of the same to the Kinges Majeste; who, taking your procedinges in very thankefull parte, hath commaunded us to aunswer every article conteyned in your saide letters, in suche sorte as foloweth:

To the first, His Majestes pleasure is, that ye shall use all your industrie in the serious examynacyon of the Duches of Norffolke; thinking, not onelye that it were moche better to have her convynced by her owne confession, then by any others testymonye; but, also, that if she be groundely examyned, many thinges may appere and com to light, whiche be not yet discovered.

To the seconde, His Majeste, moche allowing your opynyons in that parte, thinketh it, also, very requisite, for the consideracions touched in your saide letters, to have the saide Duches, and all the rest, indicted of misprision of treason; whereunto, having matier sufficient, His Majestes pleasure is, ye shall procede with asmoche acceleracyon as may be convenyentlye. And touching Mary Lasselles, His Majeste, considering if she shuld be indycted, how sclaunderous it shulde be to her, mynding in that parte to extende his mercy liberally and frankely unto her, hath resolved that she shalbe clerely lefte out of the indictement, which His Majeste commaunded us to signefie unto you, to the intent it may be so don accordynglye.

To the thirde, His Majeste is pleased, forasmoch as it appereth that there be not rowmes ynough in the Tower, to bestowe them all, severally, besides His Graces lodginges, and the Quenes, that in that case ye shall use the same lodginges. And His Majeste, not remembring that he hathe any doble key of the same, is content that ye shall alter the lockes, for the tyme, as the case requyreth.

To the fourth, His Majeste thinketh it most convenyent, that their housholdes be discharged, and their servauntes dispeched fourthwith, every one with a quarters wages; leving their houses and goodes in sauf garde and custodie, to His Highnes use and behof, as before hathe ben signefied unto you in our former letters.

Fynally, thes being all the poyntes answerable in your saide letters, saving onely touching Jane Ratsey; whom the Kinges Majeste, understonding

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[1] Written by Sadleyr.

her

her sorowfulnes for her faulte, and gracyously wayeng her wordes to procede of rather lightnes, then of anye malice, is content that ye shall discharge and set at lybertee, with suche good advyse and exhortacion to be given unto her, as, by your wisedomes, shalbe thought convenyent. We shall beseche the Holy Trynyte to preserve Your good Lordeshippes in long life and helth. At Okyng, the 10th day of December.

Your Lordeshippes loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL. (*Signed*) ANTONE BROWNE.
(*Signed*) ANTONY WYNGFELD. (*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

Post scripta. Worde was brought unto the Kynges Majeste, that all the Lorde Wyllyams stuf, plate, and apparell, which he had with him in Fraunce, shulde now be perysshed and lost on the see; whiche, whether it be matier of trouth, or (the case stonding as it doth) devysed by som craftie meanes to concele and imbesyll the same, His Highnes wolde have your Lordeshippes, by all meanes and wayes convenyent, to enserche, aswell by sending to Mr Wyngfelde, and thother capitaynes of the castelles on the Downes, as by any other meanes thought most convenyent to your Lordeshippes, whereby the trew knowlege thereof may be atteyned.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and our very good Lordes, and others of the Kinges Majestes Pryvy Counsaile, at London.

CLXXIII. WRIOTHESLEY *to* SADLEYR.[1]

SIR, I sende you herwith suche letters, as I receved this mornyng from Mr Paget[2], by this berer. It may like you to present them to the Kinges Majeste, and also to loke uppon the mynute of his instructions, for the point noted in his letter to me, and therof tenforme His Majeste. And me thinkethe it were good the names of all suche as, for thise matiers, be nowe appointed to ward, shuld be signified unto him, and every oons fault totted on their heddes; as, the Duches of Norffolke, having knowleage of the famyliaritie betwene her and Deram, did commende her towardes the Kinges Majeste,

[1] Holograph.

[2] Mr. Paget, the Clerk of the Council, was despatched by the King, when at York, on a special Mission to France. These letters do not appear to be preserved.

and

and after was a meane to her to extende favour, or rather renewe favour to Deram; and, not contented with this, when Deram was taken, and in the Tower for this treason, after the same was declared to her by the hole Counsail, she did secretly breake up two chestes, his out of the same, conveyed all suche writinges and letters as might further manifest the treason, and her oune knowleage in that behaulf, &c.; and soo to every oon of them; for I perceive they talk of a nomber of greate personages commytted, as the fame goeth, and it can not be hurtfull they knowe the trouth. Yesterday[1] we commytted the Lord William, his wief, and Anne Howard. The Lord William stode as stiff as his mother, and made himselfe most clere from all kinde of mistrust or suspition; I did not moche like his facion. This daye go my gestes, and the Duches herself, onles we shal here otherwise; and even nowe am I going to Lambeth, there, with Mr Atturney and Mr Pollerd, to see a true inventory taken of all thinges; and, after dyner, we shal mete at my Lorde Chauncelours, for thexecution of this dayes work befor specefied. I can tary no lenger, and therfor most hartely fare you wel. I assure you my woman, Tylney, hathe doon us good service, and true, as it apperethe. From Westminster, this Saturdaye about eight of the clock.

Your oune,

(*Signed*) T. Wriothesley.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and his assurid Freende Sir Raf Sadleyr, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CLXXIV. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

After our right hartie commendations. Thiese shall be tadvertise you, that yesternight, abowght six off the clocke, we receyvid yowr letters by Smith, the messanger, wherebie we perceyve the Kinges Majesties great goodnes, in the good acceptation of our service here, with His Graces answer to owr last letters.

And to the first of the same, we require yow to declare to His Majeste, that we shall nott faile to travail, as ernestlie as we can, with the Duches of Norffolk, both to make her confesse the thinges testified against her, and allso

[1] This fact fixes the date of this letter to have been the 10th of December.

to

to cowgh owt the rest, nott yett discovered, if any suche dregges remayne amonges them.

Seconde, we shall, according to His Majesties commawndement, cawse the indictament to be fownde with asmoche spede as can be; leaving owt of the same Marye Lasselles, according to His Highnes most gratiows pleser and determination on that behalf.

Thirde, we shall cawse all the servantes of thiese folkes to be dispeched, according to His Majesties commawndement, assone as they shall be indicted: desiring to know to whose custodies we shall committ the howses, with the stuffe remayning in them; and allso what we shall do with the Lorde Williams children, whiche be yong, three or fowre in numbre; the Ladie Brigewaters, who hath a dawghter, and two sonnes, in the Duches off Norffolks hows.

Fowrth, we require yow to shew His Majestie, that all the gooddes of the Lorde William be safelie arrived, saving his horses and mulettes, whiche, being his folkes in great tempest uppon the see, wer bie the same slayne, for saufgarde of themsellffes, and of the rest off his gooddes which wer shipped with them.

Fyft, we desire yow to shew His Highnes, that the money yet fownde in the Duches off Norffolks hows ammownteth to better than twoo thowsand merckes, over and beside asmoche as we thinke woll defray thise howsholdes; and asfor the plate, we esteme itt nott worth past six or seven hundreth markes; and asfor her jewelles, be vearie basse, but we shall travail with her, to se whether we can fynde owt any more. The money and plate, saving a small quantitie yett left in the hows, we have cawsed, for suretie, to be convayed to His Majesties Pallace att Westminster; and when thiese thinges shall grow to summe perfection, whiche we trust shall be within three or fowre dais, we desire yow to know whether His Majestie woll licence us, or any off us, to wayte upon him there, or that his pleser shall be to have us remayne togyther, tyll his returne to Grenewich.

Further, we require yow to shew the Kinges Majestie, that by the private letters of M[r] Pagett, sent to sundrie off us, we perceyve that there is a brute in Fraunce of the committing of a number of great personages. Whereuppon, conceyvyng that if suche thinges have been bruted, whan there was no cawse, they woll now make a great matter, when there is sumwhat, and note thinges, percase, to be in a nother sorte and garboyle then they be; we thinke itt sholde nott be amisse, under His Majesties correction, that itt wer signified unto him, how many be indede committed, and of what sorte they be, and everie bodies fawght generallie notid upon theire heddes; to thintent

thintent he may declare the trewth, if he shall hier thinges otherwise reportid then shall be agreable to the same. And if itt wolde please His Majestie sumwhat to augment that mannys diett, withowt the whiche he shall nott be hable to lyve there, in suche sorte as shall be convenient, we thinke that that man wolde prove a man of service; reqwiring yow to remember itt; for, as we perceyve, if there be noone other provision made for him than he hath yett, he shall lacke suddeynlie, and be constreyned to fall to shifting with his plate, or suche like, whiche wer nott convenient; and surelie a smaller cowntenaunce, in our opinions, he can nott kepe, being His Majesties Ambassador.

We sende unto yow certeyne letters and advertisementes from Sir Thomas Wharton, to thintent yow may informe His Majeste of the same. And we have resolved to writte to the other Deputie Wardens to make like advertisementes off thattemptates doon in theyre offices, accordingly. And thus fare yow hartilie well. From Christyschurch, the 11th day of December.

Your assured loving Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. CANTUARIEÑ. T. AUDELEY, CHAUNCELO. CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHMPTON. ROBT. SUSSEX. E. HERTFORD. STE: WINTOÑ. JOHN GAGE. THOMAS WRIOTHESLEYE. RYCHARD RYCHE.

(*Superscribed*)

To our assured loving Freendes, the Lord Admyral, and others of the Kinges Majesties Counsail, attendant on his most noble Person.

CLXXV. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

IT may like Your good Lordeshippes tunderstonde, that, this morning, we receyved your letters of the 11th of December, and the contentes of the same we have redde unto the Kinges Majeste; who taketh your procedinges and advertisementes in very good parte; and to the poyntes answerable in your saide letters, His Majeste commaunded us to signefie unto you; fyrst, that towching the custodie of the houses, and stuffe remayning in them, of suche persons as now be apprehended, His Majestes pleasure is, that ye shall, by your good discressions, appoynte men of honest haveour to have the

[1] In Sadleyr's handwriting.

charge

charge and custodie of the same, for the tyme, till His Majestie shall further determyn in that behalf. And, in our poure opynyons, it shall not be amysse, that suche of the Kinges Majestes servauntes, as, dwelling nere unto any of the saide houses, be men of honestie, may be appoynted to the custodie of the same, for the tyme, in advoyding of further charge: as Mr Carrell, who dwelleth nere unto Horsham, may take the charge thereof; and John Skynner, who is the Kynges servaunt, and Clerke of the Avery, dwelling nere unto Reygate, the Lorde Willyams house, may like wise take the charge thereof; and, semblably, your Lordeshippes may do of thothers, as by your discressions shall seme most convenyent.

Secondely, touching the Lorde Willyams children, and the Lady Bridgewaters, the Kynges Majestie referreth it to your discressions also, to see suche as be yong, and can not helpe themselffes, to be nurysshed, and thothers, that be of convenyent yeres (if any of them so be), to be bestowed in servyce, by your good discressions.

Thirdely, when these thinges shall growe to som perfection, which ye wryte wilbe within three or four dayes, His Majestie is content, that two or three of you shall repaire unto His Highnes, to declare the specyaltees of your procedinges, and examynacions taken there in this matier; for the whiche purpose His Majestie named you, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, (because His Majestie is nere your walke here) and you, Mr Wriothesley, which His Highnes thinketh to be ynough for this purpose: a thirde, nevertheles, ye may appoynte amonges you, if ye thinke it so nedefull or convenyent. The rest His Majestie thinketh it best to remayne there, untill his retourne to Grenewiche.

Fourthlie, His Majestie, agreeng with your opynyons, is content that there be a dispeche made unto Mr Paget. And forasmoche as by your examynacions taken there, of these matiers, ye know, better then we do here, the faultes, generally, of all those which be commytted, His Majestes pleasure is, therefore, that ye shall make the dispeche there, in all your names, to the saide Mr Paget, in suche sorte as ye have devised. And for the better relief of the man, His Majestie, havyng, we assure you, conceyved a right good opynyon of his good will, and gret towardenes of servyce, is content to augmente his dyettes ten shillings a day, more then he had; and woll that your Lordeshippes take order, for the tyme, to see the man furnisshed accordynglie, after that rate.

Fyvethlye, we have shewed unto the Kinges Majeste, the letters and advertisementes from Sir Thomas Wharton; and His Majeste liketh well your resolucion to wryte to thother Deputie Wardens, to make like advertisementes

of the attemptates don in their office. And thus Our Lorde have you in his keping. At Okyng, thys Monday.

Your Lordeshippes loving frendes,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL. ANTONE BROWNE. ANTONY WYNGFELD.

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our very good Lordes, and others our loving Freendes of the Kinges Majesties Pryvey Counsail, resydent at London.

CLXXVI. EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your Majeste. This morneng th Ambassadour of Cleves was here, at my house, and advertised me, that he hathe letters of credence to Your Highnes from the Duc, his Mastre, with 2 oodre letters; the tone addressed to my Lord of Canterbury from Olisleger, the toodre from the said Duc to my Lord Great Maister; and hath also delivered letters to me from the same Olisleger: and having red those my letters, me thought it good to feele what charge he had, to thentent Your Majeste shold knowe. And axing him, whidre the mater of his credence were haastie, he answered that he durst tel it to me; and than saide, that his saide Maister made his most humble commendations to Your Majeste, most hartelie thanking the same for your bountie and goodnes, and namelie for your greate liberalitie towardes his sustre; and besechethe Your Majeste to considre, that she is his dere sustre, and he her broodre. In consideration wherof, he no thing in this worlde desirethe more, than to have her eftsones reduced and reconciled to Your Highnes, if it might bee by any convenient meanes; protesting, neverthelesse, that he wold in no wiese move the thing, that shold bee displeasure or dishonorable to Your Grace, or your Realme, for any respect. And demanding of him, whidre he had any further charge, he answerde this was the some of all to gidres, and that he wold most gladlie waite upon Your Majeste, if the same were so pleased; orelles to declare his said charge to your Counsaile, if it liked you. The letters to me from Olisleger[1] Your Highnes shall receve here enclosed.

And,

[1] "Monseigneur. Considerant que Monseigneur, mon Maistre, se tient pour asseure, que vous "vous avez tousjours, sur plussieurs aultres, employe en les affaires de luy, et de Madame sa "seure, envers la Majeste du Roy, comment Sa Grace la perceu et cognu par effect; je vous "supplie treshumblement que vous plaira tenir la main ausdites affaires de Madame susdite, et "que

And, Sir, immediatelie aftre this conference, I sent my servaunt Burne to your Secretarie, Master Wriothisley, to signifie the same unto him; who, at this present, is occupied at the Duchesse of Norffolkes, with your Attornay, and Polard, to take the inventaries of her stuff and goodes; the busines of wich wol not comme to perfection thiese 3 or 4 daies; for, as I undrestond from your said Secretarie, she hathe moche good apparel and stuffe, moche trashe, baguaige, and many od endes, wiche woll axe great tyme to bee overseene and put in note. And yesterday she was, by us of your Counsaile, committed, shewing her self the most sorowfull woman of the worlde; in so moch, as fearing wee shold have oodrewiese had troble in her convaiaunce, wee were fayne to promisse her, that she sholde have monay in her purse, to provide her of thinges necessarie, and for her dietes, with women to waite upon her, and stuff necessarie; wherbie she was somwhat the bettre agreable to go to her place appoynted, and did than shewe us, that she had a thousand pounde in monay, aftre thold rickening, more than she had declared of before, wiche Mastre Secretarie hathe this day founde, and accompted before your said Attornay, and Polard, as he hathe sente me word. And there is also more plate founde; so as there is no diligence lacking, for folowing of your affaires there. And thus I beseche the Blessid Trinitie to send Your Majeste continuall healthe, and long lief, in all honour, with accomplishment of all your most honorable and godlie ententes. From your Citie of London, the 12th day of the moneth Decembre.

Your Majestes humble and most
bounden Servaunt and Subjecte,
(*Signed*) W. SOUTHMPTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most Excellent
Majeste.

" que les vouldriez avoir telement pour recommandez, comme mondit Seigneur, et Madame, et " nous aultres, avons entiere confiance en vous. Et vous vous pourriez, Monsieur, bien asseurer, " que mondit Seigneur, et Madame sa seure, avec tous leurs amys, seront tenuz le recognoistre " et meriter envers vous, comment ilz feront tres volentiers, et semploieront du bon cueur pour " vous faire plaisir et service.

" Au surplus, Monseigneur, (apres m'estre tres humblement recommande a votre bonne " grace) prieray le Createur, quil vous tienne en sa saincte garde, et vous donne bonne vie et " longue. De Duysseldorff, ce 29e de Novembre, 1541.

" Votre tres humble Serviteur,
(*Signé*) " HENRI OLISLEG
" Vichancelier de Cleves."

(*Suscrit*)
" A Monseigneur, Monseigneur, le Conte
" de Zouthampton, Mylord Priviseel."

CLXXVII. CRANMER *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

IT may please Your Majestie to be advertised, that yesterday, th Ambassadour of Cleve cam unto my howse, at Lamhith, and delyvered me letters[2] from Oslynger, Vicechaunceler unto the Duke of Cleve, which letters I have sent unto Your Majestie, herwith inclosed. The purporte wherof, after he hath sett forth my lawdes and commendations like an orator, whan he commeth to the substance of the matter, is no thynge elles, but to commende unto me the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleve. Which although he trusteth that I wolde do of my selfe, undesyred, yet he saith that thoccasion is such, that he wil not omitt to put spurres to the horse that runneth of hys own corage. Whan I had red the letter, and consydered that no cause was expressed, specially, but only in general, that I sholde have commended the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleve, although I suspected the true cause of hys cummynge, yet I wolde take opon me no knowlege of any special matter, but said thus unto hym: " Maister Ambassadour, I have perused Oslyngers letters, by the " which he commendeth unto me the Lady Anne of Cleves cause; but for " asmoch as he declareth no certen cause, I trust you have some other in-

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[1] Holograph.

[2] " Salus et pax a Deo Patre, et Jesu Christo Domino ac Salvatore Nostro. Reverendissime " Presul ac Domine, multis modis Venerande. Quoniam singularis candor, plurimorumque " officiorum tuorum prestationes multis bonis viris, tam extra quam intra hoc florentissimum " regnum Angliæ, cognita atque perspecta, de tua Celsitudine eam opinionem statuerunt, " eandemque Celsitudinem tuam ita suspicentur, ut quod ad Omnipotentis Dei ac Benedicti " Filij ejus gloriam illustrandam imprimis, ac deinde ad Reipublicæ Christianæ, præsertim " Anglicanæ, tranquillitatem ac commoditatem conservandam, augendam, promovendamque " quovis modo pertinere videatur, id semper singulari studio, opera, atque industria, Celsitudo " tua fuerit prosecuta; fieri non potest, quin in eadem spe firmiter consistamus, etiam nunc " idipsum Celsitudinem tuam pro sua virili curaturum. Itaque, quantum plurimum possumus, " Celsitudinem tuam flagitamus, uti causam illustrissimæ Dominæ Annæ, sororis Principis nostri, " pro rei commoditate sibi quam commendatissimam habere non gravatim velit. Et quamvis " existimemus idipsum Celsitudinem tuam sine nostra interpellatione æque facturam, nolui " tamen committere, quin, pro hujus temporis occasione, hoc calcar equo sponte currenti admo- " verem. Et oro Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, ut Gratiam suam alioqui plus satis infusam " in Celsitudinem tuam augere, ac diu incolumem servare, dignetur. Datum Duysseldorpij, " pridie Calendas Decembris, 1541.

" Ejusdem Celsitudinis Tuæ addictissimus,
(*Signat'*) " HENR: OLISL DOCT.
" Vicecancellarius Clevensis."

(*Superscript'*)
" Reverendissimo Presuli ac Domino, plurimisque
" dotibus insigni, Domino Thomæ, per Dei
" Gratiam, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ac per
" Regnum Angliæ Primario Præsidi, Domino
" plurimum Venerabili'

" structions

" structions to informe me of some particuler matter." Wherunto he aunswered, that the cause was, the reconciliation of Your Majestie unto the Lady Anne of Cleve. Wherunto I aunswered, that I thought not a litle strawnge, that Oslynger sholde thynke it mete for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as moch as any other person, knewe most just causes of divorce. And here I moved hym to considre Your Graces honour, and the tranquillitie of this Realme, with the suretie of Your Graces succession; and further, how this sholde agre with Oslyngers opinion of me, as he wryteth in hys letters, that I sholde studie to the commoditie and tranquillitie of this Realme, if I sholde move Your Grace to receyve her in matrimony, from whom Your Majestie was, opon most juste causes, divorced; wheropon myght growe most uncertitude of Your Graces succession, with such unquietnes and trouble to this Realme, as heretofore hath not be seen. And whan he wolde have bigonne somthynge (as appered unto me) more largely to have reasoned the matter, and to grope my mynde, I fynysshed our communication in this sorte: " Maister Ambassadour, this " is a matter of grete importance, wherein you shal pardon me, for I wil " have no communication with you therin, onles it please the Kinges Majestie " to commawnde me. But I shal signifie unto His Highnes your request, " and therupon you shal have an answere." Now what shalbe Your Majesties pleasure, that I shal do, whether that I shal make hym any aunswere, or no, and what aunswere it shal be, and whether I shal make a general aunswere to Oslynger, by wrytynge, bycause he wryteth generally, not towchynge this matter, or that I shal make an certen aunswere in this poynt to the Ambassadour by mowth, I most humbly besech Your Majestie that I may be advertised; and according therto I shal ordre my selfe, by the grace of God: whom I besech dayly to have Your Majestie evermore in his protection and governaunce. From my Manour of Lamhith, this Tuesday[1] ye 13 of Januarij.

Your Graces most bownden
Chaplain and Bedysman,
(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Majestie.

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1 This date is manifestly erroneous, for the 13th of January did not fall on a Tuesday between 1540, when the King was recently married to Anne of Cleves, and 1545, when he was the husband of Catharine Parr. There can be little doubt that January is written by mistake instead of December, for the 13th of December 1541 was Tuesday, and this supposition makes this letter coincide with Lord Southampton's of the preceding day, which, from the other circumstances adverted to in it, is fixed, beyond dispute, to that month and year.

CLXXVIII. Southampton *to* Sadleyr.[1]

MR Secretary. Aftre my right herty commendacions. Ye shall undrestond, that upon Tiewsday I received your letters, comprising the Kinges answer to the continewe of my letters, addressed unto His Majeste, concerning the Duke of Cleves. And yesturday, having the Duques Ambassadour before us of his Counsaile at Westminster, eche thing was executed and handled to the poynte, according to his Highnes pleasure in that behalf; as, at our comeng, Mr Wriothisley and I shall, at full, declare unto His Highnes: assureng you, that the rest of us, and I myself, thought, that if wee all, and a great many wieser heades mo, had consulted to gidres a great many monethes, wee could not have framed a more prudent and honorable answer, ne none so good: beseching Our Lord to preserve that wiese hed, that could so well conceave, and teache us the same.

Yesturday morneng, thEmbassadour of Fraunce sent unto me a man of his, tadvertiese me that he desired to speake with me. And I made answer to his man, to tell him, that I must then to Westminster, and there sit all day at counsaile; and therfore, if his mater were of waight and haastie, if it shold please him to take the payne to come thidre, I wolde cause the Lordes to tarie upon him, where he might shewe us to gidres his mynde. And he sent me word agayne, that the thinges were of no greate haast, but onlie advertisementes from the King, his Mastre, wiche he wold shewe to me a parte, bicause he was lothe to trooble all my Lordes, whome he judged to bee ootherwiese continually occupied with great affaires, and that he wold bee with me in thaftre none; wherof I told my said Lordes, who thought meete I shold repaire home, and receave him. And so betweene 3 and 4, he was here with me. And first, in our conference he said, that he had certen advertismentes from his said Master, with charg to signifie the same to the Kinges Majeste. And forsomoche as he knewe me, as it pleased him to say, for a wiese man, and one that loved to serve my Mastre with diligence and loiaulte, and wold doo all thing that His Majeste shold commaunde me to doo, therefore he thought best to shewe me the thinges ensueng; and then said, that the King, his Mastre, aftre his most hertie and cordiall commendations to his good broother, the Kinges Highnes, was sorie to here of the greate displeasures, troobles, and inquietacions, wiche his said good broother latelie had by the lewid noughtie demeanour of her, latelie reputed for Qwene; albeit his Master knoweng his said good broother to bee a Prince of prudence, wisdome, vertue, and honour, he did require him to

[1] Written by Wriothesley.

receave

receave, take, waie, and shift of, the same displeasures and troobles, most wieselie, prudently, and temperatelie, lieke him self; not deemeng or reputeng his honour to rest in the il demeanour and lightnesse of a woman; but to thanke God of all, comforting him self in Goddes goodnes; for if he shold doo ootherwiese, it wold bee no lesse disquietnes to his said Master, 'than for the caas of his derest frend liveng.

And for newes, he said, that by letters from Gene, and oother parties, the King, his Mastre, was advertised of thEmperours hevie chaunce at Argier; the storie wherof is, as it is reaported by twoo shippes, wiche arre, sithens this chaunce, arrived in the port there, wiche shippes brought parte of the launceknightes thidre, that thEmperour had unshipped all his people, bothe horse men and foote men, and vitaile for 3 daies, and beatin a bastilon without Argier, wiche they of the towne lost; and, in this meane tyme, there sodenlie arrose a greate tempest on the sea, wiche drave his navie a lond, and was so sore, that they have lost 150 shippes of Spayne, laden with vitaile, artillary, munition, and somme soldiers, twoo greate shippes, and fiftene galees, withe the bodies all lost and deade; of wiche galees a 11 were Andrewe Dorias, one Anthony Dorias, twoo of Spayne, and one of Cecile; and thordre for vitaile was so slendre and ill, that they were constrayned to eate twoo thousand and twoo hundred horses. And thEmperour, seing this, gave leave to the launceknightes to departe; parte of whome, he that wrote thiese newes, sawe arrive at Gene, and thinkethe that he gave liek leave to his oother people; and also thinkethe, forsomoche as they waite for his person, withe the rest of the galees, that he is retired to Bougie; and writethe furdre, that aftre the departure of the said 2 shippes, wiche bee arrived at Jene, as afore, there was seene in the army an oother greate tempest, by reason whirof they cannot tel suerlie whidre he is gone. This losse is great, bothe of people and shippes, and oother thinges, besides the greate cost; and the people, that were enforced to saulf their lives on lond, founde the Arrabies all along the shore readie to hewe and cut them in peeces; wiche thing the Ambassadour, by his countinaunce, shewid him self to lament. And furdre it is said, that to save his people, thEmperour, in his owne person, travailed bothe by sea and land, putting his lief in greate hazard.[1]

Agayne he tolde me, that the contreas of Stozie and Moravie arre revolted against the King of Romaynes, and have chosen Maurice, the sonne of Duke Henry of Saxe, for their Prince; so as lastelie, aftre all thies losses, the said King is troubled, and fallen into suche melancolie and sicknes, that many men thinke he is ded.

[1] Charles V. reached Spain, after his disastrous expedition to Algiers, on the 2d of December, 1541.

" And

"And yet", quod he than, "neither thies distresses, adversitees, and greate "calamitees of the said Emperour, and his broother, ne no prosperities and "good fortunes, that ootherwise might have befalled them, can make my "Master desist, abate, diminishe, ne withdrawe his love, hertie affection, and "brotherlie entent towardes the King, your Master, but hathe the same in such "regard and firmitie, that he desirethe no thing more in this worlde, than to "have occasion so to acquit him towardes His Majeste, that his said love, "hartie affection, and brotherlie entent, might evidentlie appere by effect; "not doubting", quod he furdre, "but if his good broother doo thinke or knowe "any meane or waie, wherin any occasion might bee ministred to trie the "said hertie affection of his Master towardes His Grace, as ether in encreasing "amitie, or any oother honorable thing, wiche he might honorably doo, that "his said good brother sholde finde his Master conformable, readie, and glad "to accomplishe all His Majestes honorable desires. And my Lord," quod he, "I shall desire you to give His Highnes knowledg herof, and also that "I ame all prest to serve at all his commandementes, as readie, and withe as "moche diligence, as any subject he hathe in his Realme; for so I have," quod he, "from the King, my Master, instruction and charg. And nowe I have "bene here," quod he furdre, "three yeres, and wold to God I might have "so good fortune, in my tyme, as to bee a ministre to encrease amitie, betwene "them, and to doo some service, wiche might bee acceptable unto them bothe."

Mr Secretarie, this was the some of our said conference: not doubting but the Kinges Majeste, for his highe prudence and wisedome, can considre, waie, paise, and marke the same, and the state of thinges, with the seasons, tymes, oportunities, and occasions; forseeing the successe and sequeles a thousand tymes more perfictelie than my grosse hed can imagine, devise, or thinke; assureng you that, for my parte, I onelie gave him theering, and used not many wordes, but as the mater laie. And aftre, bicause he had bene seldome at home with me, for office and manners saake, making him drinke, with chesse nutes, peres, pomegranates, and suche oother poore thinges as were in the house, he departed. And thus prayeng you to report the premises to the Kinges Highnes, I committ you to God, who send His Majeste continuall healthe, with long lieff and all honour, and you aswell to fare, as I wolde myselfe. From London, the 15th of Decembre.

Your loving Felowe,

(*Signed*) W. SOUTHMPTON.

To morrowe at night, God willeng, Mr Secretary
and I woll waite upon the Kinges Majestie.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray loveng Felowe, Sir Rauf
Sadlier, Knight, one of the Kinges
Majestes Principall Secretaries.

CLXXIX. Duke of Norfolk *to* King Henry VIII.

Most noble and gracious Soverayne Lord. Yesterday came to my knowlege, that myn ungracious mother in lawe, myn unhappy brothir, and his wiff, with my lewde suster off Brydgewater, wer committed to the Towre; wich, by long experience, knowyng your accustomed equetie and justice, used to all your subjectes, am sewer is not done, but for som their fals and traytorous procedynges, agaynst Your Royall Majestie. Wich, revolvyng in my mynd, with also the most abhomynable dedes done by 2 of my niesys[2] agaynst Your Highnes, hath broght me in to the grettest perplexite, that ever poure wretche was in; fearyng that Your Majestie, havyng so oftone, and by so many of my kyn, bene thus falsly and traytorusly handled, myght not only conseyve a displesure in your hert agaynst me, and all other of that kyn, but also, in maner, abhorre to here speke of any off the same. Wherfor, most gracious Soverayne Lord, prostrate at your fete, most humble I beseche Your Majeste to call to your remembranse, that a gret part of this mater is come to light by my declaracion to Your Majeste, accordyng to my bounden dutie, off the wordes spoken to me, by my mother in lawe, when Your Highnes sent me to Lambithe to serche Derhams coffers; without the wich I thynke she had not be further examyned, nor conseqwently her ungracious childerne. Wich my trew procedynges towardes Your Majestie consydered, and also the small love my two fals traytorous niesys, and my mother in lawe, have borne unto me, doth put me in som hope that Your Highnes woll not conseyve any displesure in your most jantle hert agaynst me; that, God knoweth, never did thynk thought, wich myght be to your discontentation. Wherfor, eftsonys prostrate ay your royall fete, most humble I beseche Your Majeste, that by suche, as it shall please you to commande, I may be advertised playnle, how Your Highnes doth way your favour towardes me; assewryng Your Highnes that onles I may knowe Your Majeste to contynew my gode and gracious Lord, as ye wer befor their offensys committed, I shall never desire to lyve in this worlde any lenger, but shortly to fynishe this transitory lyff; as God knoweth, who send Your Majeste the accomplishmentes of your most noble hartes desires. Scribled at Kenynghale Lodge, the 15th day of Desember, with the hande off

Your most humble Servant
and Subject,
(*Signed*) T. Norffolke.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Majeste.

[1] Holograph.

[2] The Queens, Anne Boleyn, and Catharine Howard.

CLXXX. EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON AND WRIOTHESLEY *to* SADLEYR.[1]

AFTER our right hartie commendations. Thiese shalbe to requyre you to shewe the Kinges Majeste, that immediatly after the dyspeche of the letters, wrytten yesterday, from the hole Counsaile here present, we twayne went to the Tower, and there first beganne with my Ladie of Norffolke, whom we founde on her bedd, as it apperith, very sykely. Pressing her, asmuch as we myght, to declare summe further matier and knowlege toching the lewed behaviours of the Quene and Deram, and of all other thinges doon or spoken sythens that matier cam to revelation; assuring her, on His Majestes behalf, of her owne lyef, of what sorte and nature soever the thinges were, and whom soever they tochid, yf she wold, in the same, make us her gostly father; with sundry other perswasions, to long to be here rehersed; she made us answer, that she wold take her deathe of yt, that she nevir suspected any acte betwene them; wishing many tymes that she could justly say summe thing in that parte, that myght declare her to be of that trouthe and playnes, that His Majesties mercy and pitie towardes her (by us before declared) did well deserve: but God she toke to record, that she never thought them to be of that abhominable sort, she nowe knowethe them to have bynne of; nevertheles she wyll not denye, but she perceyved a light love and favor to be betwene them, more then betwene indifferent persons, and have herd that Deram wold sundry tymes gyve her money; which she thought to have proceded upon thaffection that groweth of kynred, being the same Deram her kynsman. But in that she told not His Majestie therof, before his mariege, and in that she brake Deram and Damportes cofferes, she confessethe herself to have offended God and His Majestie, and besecheth His Highnes most humbly therfor, in his most noble hart, to forgive her, and to be her good and gratious Lord, as he hathe bynne, for otherwaies her daies wold not be long: assuring you she appereth wonderous sorowfull, repentaunt, and sykly. After we had doon this degre, we went to the second, for her money, plate, or juelles, and, without any deniall, she confessed that she hadd hidden in an other place, in her house, 7 or 800*£*, declaring such tokyns as we myght easely fynd yt; whiche I, Thomas Wriothesley, with Mr Atturney, Mr Pollard, and Mr Brystowe founde this mornyng, found, being 800*£*; and have also bestowed it

[1] In Wriothesley's writing.

at

at Westminster. In thende, in His Majesties name, and as of his only pitie and mercy, we made her assurans of her lief, without condition; wherat she fell on her knees, being in such case, that both we could skant lift her up agayne, and weping most habundantly, besought God to save His Majestie, and to preserve hym in long and prosperous lief; saying, that yf she hadd any more to offyr hym, then he hadd alredye, she wold, with all her hart, gyve yt hym; and, after a pawse, she further said, "I "trust holly in his mercy, and that His Majestie woll gyve me summe "thing to lyve on, and to pray for hym, and not to gyve away my house "at Lambethe, for I can not long lyve here." We told her we could saye nothing in that parte, but His Majestie hadd taken ordre she shuld lake nothing there, that she wold call for, and wold her to be of good comfort, and there was no doubt, but, shewing herself repentaunt and conformable, as she did, His Majestie wold, of his owne goodnes, extend his mercy more plentyfully to her, then we could speke of. Wherunto she said, that she referred her holly to his wyll and mercy. And thus, after a few wordes of comfort gyven to her, and an advice to quyet herself, and to cheryshe her bodie, we went from her. Then spake we with Wylkes, Bulmer, Tylney, and Anne Haward, oon after an other, who be women much chaunged, and very repentaunt, and determyned to confesse there faultes, and holly to yeld them to His Majesties mercy. Then spake we with the Ladie Haward, who suerly semethe to be a symple woman; for, like as yt appereth, that she neyther thought to have offendid, ne moche lamented her imprisonment, tyll we expressed and dilated her offences unto her, soo when she ones perceved the same, we never sawe a more sorowfull woman; declaring unto us, that she never thought she had so offendid, and of all other she hadd no cause to have offendid His Majestie, for any of them all; moche bewayling that she shuld mynystre unto His Highnes this occasion of dyspleasure: and, finally, after comfort gyven, that His Majestie thought her offence, though in ded yt was grevous, had not procedid somoche of mallice, as of lake of consyderation, and that wee hoped His Majestie wold be mercyfull to her, when he shuld here of her erneste repentaunce, she told us, of herself, she wold never have other tryall, but His Graces mercy; and therunto she did, and wold holy submytt herself; whiche we praysed her, as we hadd doon in the reste, being all of themselfes so mynded; and so departid. And now we be goyng thether agayne, to speake with the reste; and also, sumwhat afarre of, without giving hym any great advice, to take the Lord William, and to see his state, bicause we here the man is wonderfully troubelid, and owt of all quyet. And to morowe, as we wrote,

we shal procede to their arreingment; the Ladie Haward, and all the rest, save the Lord William and Damport, in the forenone, and the said Lord William and Damport, in thafternone; because we think the being of the Lord William and his wyef togyther, to a barre, myght much trouble the woman, and be to us no meane of expedition.

Furthermore, where there is nowe at Westminster 5000 markes in money, and a thousand poundes worth of plate, which cam from Lambeth, I, Thomas Wriothesley, wold besech the Kynges Majestie, that yt myght be delyvered to summe such handes as His Majestie woll appoynte, or brought unto hym to Grenwych. Me thinke I shuld slepe the better, and yt were ons delyvered. And thus fare you most hartily wel. From Hamptonplace, this S[t] Thomas daye.

Your assured freendes,

(*Signed*) W. SOUTHM̃PTON.

(*Signed*) THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To our assured loving Freende, Sir Rauf Sadlyer, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CLXXXI. SADLEYR *to* SOUTHAMPTON AND WRIOTHESLEY. [1]

IT may like you tunderstonde, that this afternone, towardes night, I receyved your letters, and ymmedyately declared the hole contentes of the same unto the Kynges Majeste, who taketh in very good parte all your doinges and procedynges, expressed in your saide letters, and also lyketh very well your determinacion and appoyntement for to arraigne the Lorde William and Damporte [*in the*] after none, and the Lady Howard, and the rest, in the forenone; thinkyng it not convenyent, that the saide Lord William, and his wyf, shulde be called to the barre togither.

As touching the money and plate, His Majeste, being in doubte, whether it be brought by you, M[r] Wriothesley, to His Highnes Palace at Westminster, or to your owne house there, hath resolved, fynallye, that ye shall delyver the same unto the handes of James, M[r] Denyes servaunte; the money to be in bagges, sealed up with your seale, and the plate to be put in chestes, also sealed up by you; to remayn there in His Highnes Palace, in the custodie of the saide James, till His Majestes further pleasure be

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[1] Holograph.

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knowen in that behalf. And thus the Holy Trynyte preserve your long liffes in good helth, with increase of honor. At Bedyngton, the 21st of December, with the rude and hastye hande of

Yours to comaunde,

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, thErle of Southampton, Lorde Pryvey Seale, and to my assured Frend, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Knight, oon of the Kinges twoo Pryncipal Secretoryes.

CLXXXII. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

IT may like Your good Lordeshippes to understonde, that yesternight we receyved your letters, and forthwith declared the contentes of the same to the Kynges Majeste; who, perceyving aswell your determinacion to procede on Thursday to tharraignement of the Lorde William, and his wyf, and of the rest of the meane persons indicted of mesprision of treason, as also your appoyntement of the Master of the Rolles[2], Mr Attorney, Mr Solycitor, Mr Pollard, Mr Moyle, and Serjant Browne, to give evidence, doth accepte and take the same in good parte; and thinking that ye have well determyned and resolved in that behalf, willeth that ye shall procede to thaccomplishement thereof accordinglie.

His Majestie lyketh also well your opynyons, aswell for the sending for Sir Robert Bowes, as also that the Erles of Westmorlonde and Cumberlond shuld remayne and tarry at home from the Parliament, for the causes and consideracions mencyoned in your sayde letters; and, therefore, His Majestees pleasure is, that ye shall wryte letters both to the saide Erles, for that purpose, and also to the saide Sir Robert Bowes, to repayre hither with diligence.

Fynally, His Majestie taketh, also, in good parte, your device with the Lorde Gret Chamberleyn, to sende for the Mayre of London, for the appoyntement of a convenyent lodgyng for thAmbassadours of Scotlande, and giveth your Lordeshippes condigne thankes for the same accordynglie. And thus &c.

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[1] Minute, in Sadleyr's writing, indorsed, "21 Dec. 1541".

[2] Robert Sowthwell.

CLXXXIII. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.[1]

After our right harty commendacions. We require youe to signifie unto the Kinges Majeste, that we have finished our worke this daye, in suche sorte as we doubt not hathe been moche to His Majestes honor. In the forenone, the Lady Haward, and the rest appointed with [*her,*] were arrayned; who most humbly and lamentably knowleaged their offences, and submytted themselfes holly to His Graces mercy. And surely they be, in maner, all soo sorowfull, and be soo chaunged with their imprisonment, that we think diverse of them cannot long lyve, unles it shall please His Majeste, that they may have summe libertye in the Tower, with summe reasort and comfort of their freendes; wherin we require you to knowe His Majestes pleasure, and the same to signifie unto us: for it is thought necessary amonges us, that we, the Lord Privy Seale, and Thomas Wriothesley, shuld tomorowe, in the mornyng, goo to the Tower, to give them summe further hope, that we wolbe all suters for them; and gladly we wold knowe His Majesties pleasure befor, whither to suche, as we shal see cause, we may cause the Lieutenant to give summe liberty in the Tower, and licence to their honest freendes to visit and succor them. In thafter none, we had the Lord William and Damport; and albeit the said Lord William pleded, at the begyning, not gilty, wherupon the Jury was charged, whose names you shall receyve herwith[2], and summe evidence given; yet befor all thevidence was finished, he confessed thindictament, in suche lowly and repentant sort, and with suche advise to all men their present to bewair by his exemple, that as the Jury never passed uppon him, soo, uppon his lowly behavor befor us, with a remembraunce, and sueing for mercy, not only for his offences, but also for his light demeanor when he was commytted, we did all promise him, to declare his humble sute to His Majeste, and asferre as shuld becom us, to be suters to His Highnes to be mercifull to him. It were to long, being nowe soo late, to write all his wordes, used in his submission, but, to be short, it was bothe for the Kinges Majestes honor in the confession of the offence, and, for thexemple, as good as was to be desired. And when he had his judgement, then proceded we against

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[1] Written by Wriothesley.

[2] The list of the Jury is still extant. Sir Richard Gresham was the foreman, but no other name, of any notoriety, occurs in it,

Damport,

Damport, who stode thoroughly to his tryal, and was not only condempned by thorder of the lawe, but with suche declaration of his offences, as we thinke all the standers by did wonderfully both detest the man, and the matier. Thus we have made you a brief declaration of our dayes work, whiche, as is aforsaid, we require you to declare to the Kinges Majeste; and likewise that we have dispeched letters to thErles of Westmorland and Cumberland, and to Sir Robert Bowes, according to His Graces commaundement. We send you, also, a letter, with a vieu, sent unto us from Anthony Rous[1], requiring you to shewe it to His Highnes. And thus most hartily fare you well. From Westminster, this Thursday night.

(*Signed*) CHARLES SOFFOLKE. W. SOUTHMPTON. ROBT. SUSSEX.
(*Signed*) E. HERTFORD. JOHN GAGE.
(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY. RYCHARD RYCHE.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lord, my Lord Admyrall, and to our assured Freendes the rest of the Kinges Majesties Counsail, attendant on his most noble Person.

CLXXXIV. RUSSELL AND SADLEYR *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[2]

IT may like Your good Lordshippes tunderstonde, that the Kynges Majestee, having harde the hole contentes of your letters, addressed unto us, redde unto His Highnes, and perceyved by the same your hole procedinges this day, doth not onely take the same in very good parte, but also giveth you condigne thankes therefore. And His Majestee, perceyving the grete sorowe and repentaunce of the women, with their sodayn chaunge by meane of their imprysonmente, albeit it semeth to us that His Majestee doth intende to shew his mercy and clemencye unto them, yet His Highnes thinketh it not mete that ye shulde so hastely put them in any suche comforte, or so sone restore them to any lyberte within the Tower, for sundry gret respectes and consideracions; but rather thinketh it convenient, that you, the Lorde Pryvy Seale, and Mr Wriothesley, shulde forbere your going to morowe to the Tower, for any suche purpose, as is specefied in your saide letters. And His Majeste intendyng to be to morow, at night, at Grenewich, woll, at your repayre to His Highnes, eyther to morow at night, or on Saterday

[1] Treasurer of Guisnes.

[2] Written by Sadleyr.

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in the mornyng, declare his gracious further pleasure to you in that behalf accordynglye[1]. And thus the Holy Trynyte preserve Your Lordeshippes. At Bedyngton, the 22nd of December, at 11 a clocke at night.

Your Lordeshippes loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL.

(*Signed*) RAFE SADLEYR.

(*Superscribed*)
To our veary good Lordes, and others our loving Freendes of the Kinges Majesties Pryvey Counsaill, resydent at London.

CLXXXV. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON AND OTHERS.

(*Signed*) HENRY R. By the King.

RYGHT trustie and right welbiloved Cousen, and trustie and right welbiloved, We grete you well; and have receyved your letters of the 29th of Aprill; perceyving by the same your procedinges in London, whiche (althoughe the summes be but small, yet understonding the same to have been frankelie, and with good wyll graunted) We doo the rather take in good parte, and doo herewith send you the schedule, with our letters to the custumers, signed with our owne hand, according to your desire; not doubting, but you woll procede to the execution of the rest of your charge in that bihaulfe, as apperteyneth.

And nowe, touching the matier of Fraunce, perceyving by your saide letters, not onelie that as yet ye here nothing of the Frenche Ambassadour, but also your desier to knowe our pleasure, whither ye shall addresse him unto Us, or whither ye shall here him there, if he shall desier the same of you, We have thought good to signefie unto you, for aunswer, that in case he shall desier accesse unto Us, ye shall saye unto him, that We have advertisementes alreadie, from our Ambassadour in Fraunce, by the whiche Wee doo note and perceyve their demaundes to be so large, and so farre from reason, that onlesse he have any other matier more reasonable, ye feare that his commyng to Us, with that message, shulde be nothing acceptable; and therfore considering that We be nowe embusied aboute our affaires here, on the see costes, and that the townes being in the highe waye to Us, whiche

[1] The prisoners, who were convicted of Misprision of Treason, were sentenced to imprisonment for life; Derham and Culpeper were executed; and the Queen and Lady Rochford were beheaded in pursuance of an Act of Attainder, passed in the Parliament, which met on the 16th of January 1542.

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he must nedes passe, if he shulde comme hither, bee soo infected with the sicknes, that bothe it shulde be daungerous unto him, and his trayne, and also his repaire to Us shulde lett and empeche Us, being occupied, as is aforsaide, ye thinke it most convenient for him to declare his charge unto you. And in case he have any other matier to expresse, then hathe been alreadie advertised, ye shall saye, that ye wooll signefie the same unto Us, and doubte not to receyve aunswer agayne with convenient diligence; and thoughe he have no other matier, that yet ye are readie to heare him, and to commen with him uppon suche poyntes as he hathe to declare, wherin ye wooll make him aunswer accordinglie. And to thintent ye maye be the better armed, howe to aunswer him to those overtures, whiche be alreadie made by the Frenche King to our Ambassadour with him, We have thoughte good to instructe you of our mynde and opynyon, as folowyth:

First, where it is offerid by the saide Frenche King, that the Treatie of perpetuell pencion shall stande as it doothe, our pleasure is, ye shall aske of him, what their meanyng is in the same; whither they take it alreadie to be firme and perfett, and so woolde have it stande and remayne; or whither they take it to be disputable, and in question, and woolde have it stonde soo still, withoute renovacion, or restoring of the same to summe integritie and perfection.

Second, where they demaund of Us 5 or 600000 crownes of tharrerages with the mariage of our daughter, and offre, for the rest, to agree with Us uppon dayes reasonable, and to make an assignement of the dowarie, oute of hand; demaunding also therwith our pencion viager to be given to our saide daughter and Monsr dOrleance[1], and to the lenger lyver of them, and to theire heires masles; and yet they shall take no profett of it thiese 6 yeres, and in case they die withoute issue male, leving female behinde them, We being alyve, then (somoche of the pencion deducted, as wooll extend for the mariage of the females) the rest shulde retourne to Us, and if they die without issue, then the hole pencion to remayne to our use: to thiese poyntes ye shall aunswer, that the same be so farre from reason, and so greate inequalitie consisteth in them, that the more depely We waye and pondre them, the more it semyth to Us, that our good Brother doothe not esteeme so moche our amytie and frendshipp, as our good wyll and benefittes extendid towardes him doo merite and require; speciallie when he seketh the same somoche to his owne unreasonable gayne

[1] Charles, originally the third, but, at this time, the second, son of Francis I., became Duke of Orleans upon his brother Henry's succeeding to the title of Dauphin.

and lucre, and to our soo greate losse, incommoditie, and dishonour. For where he demaundeth soo greate a dote with our daughter, to be deducted of tharrerages of our debte, the like wherof was never harde of, ne demaunded before, We cannott a lyttell marvaile therat; considering, that in the conclusion of the mariage betwixt King Lewys of Fraunce, and our suster, the same King Lowys accepted for her dote 300000 crownes; for the whiche she had an assignement of a dowarie correspondent to the same; in whiche parte is nowe to be considered, howe farre discrepant the state of a King, being in possession of his Realme, is from the state of the Duke of Orleance, being but a Kinges second sonne. And it is to be wayed, also, therwith, that the saide King Lewys had no children; soo as if God had sent issue to him and our saide suster, the same shulde have, incontinentlie after his dethe, inherited the Crowne of Fraunce; whiche possibilitie is nothing soo lykelie, nor so at hand, in the Duke of Orleance lyne.

And where our saide good Brother offrethe, if Wee wooll give 5 or 600000 crownes of tharrerages, for the dote, to agree with Us for the rest, uppon dayes reasonable, Wee woolde fayne knowe, what he meanyth by that; or whither he canne make Us any greater assurance therof, then We have alreadie; onlesse it shulde be townes and landes; whiche, neverthelesse, they have nott soo observid, ne perfourmed, as were convenient and consonant to suche strayte amytie, as is bitwene Us: whiche maye putt Us justlie in feare and doubte, that whatsoever bondes they shall make further unto Us, seyng they have not kept those, whiche they have made alreadie, they wyll after doo the semblable. And for the gift and assignement of our pencion viager, as they demaunde it, if they did indifferentlie wey and balance the unreasonableness of that demaunde, and also consider that they have to doo with oone, that hathe experimented the worlde, and canne sumwhat pondre the state of his owne affaires, of whome also they have receyved summe benefite and commoditie, We thinke they myght easelie perceyve, howe farre they varie and digresse from all reason, freendshipp, and equalitie; for all men of indifferent judgement must nedes saye, that it accordith not with equitie, that We shulde bothe give soo greate a dote, and therwith give them an yerely lyvelod, as it were, besides the dote, to assigne her also a dowarie of our pencion; woondering further what they meane to saye, that the Duke and our daughter shulde not have the profett of it thiese 6 yeres, if We were soo disposed to give it unto them. In whiche parte it woolde be demanded of him, who sholde have the profett of it, in the meane tyme? seyng, by theire demaunde, they seme to exclude bothe them and Us; and to shewe, by what equytie our good Brother shulde have it for that tyme.

And

And agayne, as they demaunde our saide pencion to be given by Us to the Duke of Orleance and our saide daughter, and the lenger lyver of them, and to their heire masles; soo as, if they die without issue masle, leving female behinde them, so moche of our saide pencion deducted, as wooll extend for the mariage of the females, whiche, also, as it semyth to Us, they woolde have to be at their appoynctement, the rest shulde retourne to Us; whither, in that case, it be reasonable, that We shulde, in suche sorte, at our charge, marye their children, or no.

Thise thinges be soo farre unreasonable, that We neyther canne nor maye, with our honour, condiscend unto the same. Wherefore We desier our good Brother, that if he doo meane to joyne with Us, as he hathe pretendid, he wooll leave thiese unreasonable demaundes, and fall to just and equall conditions, as it becommyth oone frend to doo with an other, and suche as by presidentes hathe been seen and used, betwixt our twoo Houses, in tymes past. And bicause they shall have no just cause to saye, but that We mynde the perfection of this matier, so it maye be had with indifferent, equall, and reasonable condicions, and to declare our frankenes in the same to our good Brother, if he wooll commen and treate with Us of the dote and dowarie to be graunted in this mariage, perfourmyng still the continuance and payment of our pencions, according to our treaties, onlesse they wyll give Us summe other reciproque for the same, in whiche case We wooll also harken unto them; We shall be content, if he wooll assigne unto our daughter suche a dowarie, as the saide King Lewys made unto our saide suster; to give with her, for the dote, asmuche as the saide King Lewys had with our saide suster; whiche We thinke to be an honorable offer. And comparing togither the state of the saide King Lewys, and the state of Monsr d'Orleance, whiche be farre a soundre, as is afore declared, We see not, if our good Brother mynde the perfection of this matier, howe he can, with reason, refuse that offre with owr daughter, in whome is greate possibilitie of inheritance, as We maye nowe give her to his second sonne, whiche a King, being in possession of his Realme, of whome We never deserved somuche frendshipp, as of our saide good Brother, did accept with our suster, being farre from the possibilitie of any suche inheritance or title of succession, as is our saide daughter. And here woolde be remembred, also, unto the saide Ambassadour, what dote was accepted of them, when the mariage was concluded betwixt our saide doughter and the Dolphine that deade is [1], in their infancie; whiche, if ye shall serche for, ye shall fynde to be farre under that they nowe demaunde, with their second sonne.

[1] The Dauphin Francis, who died in 1536.

And, finallie, touching their overture of the entring into warres, ye shall aunswer unto him, that, Our Lorde be thanked, We have no cause of warre agaynst thEmperour. But, lyke as our saide good Brother, who in dede hathe greate causes and querells agaynst him, as all the woorlde knowith, sayeth he canne be content to wynke at the same, soo We, having muche lesse cause, canne also be content to wynke therat; not entending to make warre with him, onlesse he moche provoke us to the same, whiche We thinke, assuredlie, he wooll not doo.

This, our pleasure is, ye shall aunswer to the saide Ambassadour to the poyntes, overtures, and demaundes afore expressed, in as good sorte, and as dulcelie, as ye can; adding therunto suche other reasons, groundes, and persuasions, as of your wisedomes ye can devise and excogitate, to make for our purpose and benefite in that bihaulfe: and, theruppon, of your proceedinges and conference with him, to advertise Us, with convenient diligence. And also our pleasure is, that ye shall write unto our Ambassadour in France the hole contentes of this our aunswer to the saide poyntes and overtures, with also suche other discourses, as ye shall have nowe theruppon with the Frenche Ambassadour; to thintent he maye be the better armed to make lyke aunswer there, as the case shall require accordinglie. Yeven under our Signet, at our Manour of Westinhanger[1], the first of Maye, the 34th yere of our Reign.

(*Superscribed*)
To our right trusty and right welbiloved Cousen and Counsailour, thErle of Southampton, the Reverend Fadre in God, our right trustie and welbiloved Counsailour, the Bisshop of Wynchestre, and to our trustie and right welbiloved Counsailour, Sir Thomas Wryothesley, Knyght, oone of our twoo Principall Secretaries.

CLXXXVI. The Earl of Southampton and Others *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Your Majestie tundrestande, that aftre the receipt of Your Hieghnes letters, dated at Westenhanger, the first of this monethe, conteyning Your Majesties most wise and prudent discours, for aunswere to be made to the Frenche Ambassadour, the circumstaunces wherof we endevored ourselfes to perceyve, and have in memorye, for execution of Your Hieghnes

[1] In Hertfordshire.

pleasure

pleasure and commaundement accordingly; the said French Ambassadour, uppon Wednesdaye last, in the morning, sent to me, the Lord Pryvey Seale, a message, by his cosin, that he had receyved letters from the French King, his Master, conteyneng a resolution in the matiers he had commenned of with us; and desired, therfor, to have accesse unto us. Wheruppon we together determyned to desire him to cumme to the house of me, the Lord Pryvey Seale, Thursdaye at after none, which was yesterdaye. The cosin of the said Ambassadour brought with him the paquet of letters, which Mr Paget had delyvered unto him, as in the saide Mr Pagettes letters is conteyned, having in them no matyer of effect, but only for a demonstration of trust, in delyvering unto him letters; who was sent hither by the Admyrall.[1] The Ambassadours cosin made no mention of any man sent from thAdmyrall.

Uppon Thoresdaye, at the howre appointed, the Ambassadour cam, and with him the gentleman sent from thAdmyrall, whom thAmbassadour toke as his companyon; and, for respect therof, we also saluted the gentleman, after we had welcomed the Ambassadour. The gentleman, as by a fewe wordes in communication we might judge, hath wit and knoweledge, but his yeres berith not that we shuld judge him of any greate experience. He cam in a gowne of taffeta, and a chene of gold about his necke, and so estemed and avaunced himself, as the rest, that entred the chambre with them, being avoyded, he remayned with thAmbassadour, as oon having commission; and thAmbassadour beganne to fashion the matyer, soo as he wolde have had him harde, and been present at our treating and communication. Which when we perceyved, I, the Lord Pryvey Seale, by thadvise of us all, toke thAmbassadour aside, and asked him, whither the gentleman had brought any letter or message to Your Hieghnes, orels had any thing to saye to us, by mouth, from thAdmyrall. ThAmbassadour sayd, naye, but that he was only sent unto him from thAdmyrall. Wherupon I, the saide Lorde Pryvey Seale, desired thAmbassadour to cause the gentleman to withdrawe himself into the galery, for the tyme of our communication, considering the matyer is weighty, and we were deputed by Your Majestie Commissioners, only to treate with him, who had like commission from his Master; wherfor this gentleman, having neither letter nor commission, could not convenyently be present. ThAmbassadour dyd not greatly replie herat; howbeit he sayd, he wold gladly have him present, and, quod he, "I shall "tell him all afterwarde, and he is pryvey to all hitherto"; nevertheles he

[1] De Brion.

sayd

sayd he wold desire him to withdrawe himself; which he did: but we noted this, that thAmbassadour could not, in a fewe wordes, satisfie the gentleman in that motion, for he consulted with him a good prety space. After the gentleman was retired, and we placed at the borde, thAmbassadour, for entre to this matyer, declared howe he had receyved letters from his Master, for acceleration of this matyer, that we had long treated on, to bring it to some good ende and effect. "I have," quod he, "in this "matyer declared and proponed thre pointes: first, the good affection that "the King, my Master, hath to his good Brother, and the desire he hath "to this mariage: seconde, concerning the legittimation of the Lady Mary, "wherin the King, my Master, hath," quod he, "condescended to your "lawes and determynations: thirdly, I have instauntly demaunded to "knowe, what dote she shuld have, and I can obteyn no aunswere of you, "but ever ye returne that matier to me with generall wordes, to gyve "eare of what specialtes I wolde speake, but ye woll open no specialtie "at all. You spake to me of a reciproque; which terme in dede I undre-"stande not; but as ye declared it unto me, I have faythefully written, and "I have aunswere, agayn to desire you to be franke and playn with me. "And as I have opened unto you our desire and sute for this mariage, soo "to requyre you, if any thing shalbe doon", (and therwith dyd cast out, as it were, a bye worde), "the tyme passeth apace, to descende to som specialtie "to tell what ye will doo, to thintent this matier might take effect, orelles "breake of"; and so concluded, "This is my request," quod he, "that "ye will aunswere me"; with which spech he ended his tale, and loked for sumwhat to be sayd unto him, on our behalf.

We withdrewe ourself; and, with a litle conference, determyned what aunswere to make to this, and also to take occasion to speake unto him of the overture made to Mr Pagett, in speciall termes, and to declare suche aunswere, as Your Majestie had most prudentlye dyvysed therunto. And first, for aunswere to thAmbassadour, that he had nowe said, we tolde him that we marveiled of his speche unto us, at this tyme; and doubted not but he remembred well, howe, in thies three pointes he spake of, we had used unto him heretofore a playn and franke communication, and in speciall termes: first, we had specially declared Your Majesties affection to this mariage to take effecte: secondly, as concerning the covenauntes of mariage, we had specially aunswered him by Your Majesties commaundement, that the request which they desired with the mariage was unreasonnable, to have all the pentions remitted and acquited; and therunto had added an other specialtie, that Your Majestie was content to gyve with her, in dote, two

hundreth

hundreth thowsand crownes, soo the douare were by the French King appointed accordingly.

Herat thAmbassadour, without any other ceremonie of spech, sayde, twoo hundreth thowsande crownes was nothing, and as good speake of nothing as of that; " and if ye will speake no further ", quod he, " we " be at a point."

We tolde him, that we loked not to here him speake to us, nowe, aftre this sorte; but, as Your Majesties Ambassadour had advertised, it shulde seame he had som other more speciall overture to declare unto us, wherunto Your Majestie had instructed us to make a full aunswere, here, which Your Majesties Ambassadour, unto whom the mayter was opened, could not doo there. And thenne we began to tell him, what overture had been made to Your Hieghnes Ambassadour, first by thAdmirall, and then by the French King. Which matyer, when we had opened, thAmbassadour sayd that of the specialties of thoverture, in this wise, he had not harde; but this was written unto him, howe Your Hieghnes Ambassadour had been with the French King, and with thAdmyrall, and as a man without commission, et comme homme prive, had communication with them booth, and made an overture unto them, to move warre against thEmperour, wherin Your Hieghnes, and the French King, shuld joyne and make that warre by commen expenses, by see and londe, and, uppon the conquest, landes to be assigned, recompence for Your Majesties pention; and unto this overture the French King gave eare, and in dede is resolved never to entre warre against the Emperour, onles Your Hieghnes be joyned with him. Your Hieghnes, he saieth, is at more advauntage for the warre, thenne he is, inasmuche as Your Majesties Realme is environned with the see; whereas his Realme lieth open on every side; and thEmperour maye have commoditie to annoye him on dyverse partes, and it is no wisdom to hasarde his Realm in warre, uppon the jorney of oon daye. " And this communica- " tion ", quod he, " was betwene my Master, and your Ambassadour, uppon " thoverture, that he made; and this hath been writen unto me. And of " the mariage ", quod he, " only this to tell you, even playnely, the botom " of myn instructions, without any long circumstaunce, and to com shortely " to a point, the King, my Master, demaundeth the remission of oon myllyon " of the debt; wherof there is about eight hundreth thowsande nowe due, " and twoo hundreth thowsande shalbe due within this two yere; and thenne " the treatye of the pension, viager and perpetuall, to stande as it dooth; " orels six hundreth thowsande crownes of the debt remitted, and also the " pension viager to be holly remitted, and the perpetual to remayn." And this,

this, he sayde, was the resolution, shortlye, in the mariage; and went galyardly to the matyer, with mentioneng of the gyveng of the pension to the Duke of Orleaunce. We desired him to knowe, what was undrestanded by that speche, that he, the French King, and thAdmyrall useth nowe, to saye that the Treatye shall remayn as it is. To this he aunswered, playnely, that it is ment, if it be good, to be good, and if it be not good, so to be taken. We asked him, what assuraunce Your Majestie shuld have, for payement of that shall remayn to be payd, if the six hundreth wer graunted, or the million; considering all suche bondes, as have been hitherto divised, being as strong and asmany as coude be dyvised, could not worke theffect of a certeyn payement. To that he sayde, we wolde not, he trusted, disallowe the Frenche Kinges promises and bondes, for that shulde touche a Prince to nere. We sayd we wold not disallowe them; but the thing sheweth theffect followeth not; "and we have noted, that in communication of that is unpayd, ye, your-"self, have not accompted it so good as redy money; and ye sayd, we shuld "marye our doughter with an acquitaunce." "I ment no hurte therin," quod he, "but I graunte there is money due, and it is not payd; partly bycause "the King, my Master, hath been at greate charges, and partely bycause the "King, your Master, hath not pressed, ne made instaunce to have it." And bycause he was wery to here any further therof, and wold, for aunswere, have shifted of, and have had recourse to the sheld of a Princes honour and credite, which it becommeth no meane man directly to impugne, we left that matyer, and opened unto him the unreasonnableness of the demaúnde, either for the million, or six hundreth thowsande crownes, and remission of the pension viager; using suche reasons as Your Majestie had prescribed, and specially noting, in that demaunde, of the remission of the pension viager, and layeng it afore thAmbassadours yees, so as he was ashamed to here it, howe the French King, who had receyved somuche benefite at Your Hieghnes handes, and had suche experience of Your Majesties gentill harte toward him, could requyre remission of that he is bounde to paye to Your Majestie, as it were in parte of recompence of gratitude, yn acknoweledging benefites receyved, by pretence of a maryage, and demaunding therwith suche a somme besides, as hath not been harde of, six hundreth thowsande crownes to such a personage as is Monsr dOrleaunce, who we tolde him planely, although he were the sonne of a greate Prince, and therfor of honour and estimation to be regarded as oon of a princely linage, yet is he borne to lyve, he and his posteritie, but in thestate of subgettes; his brother lyveng, and having issue. And we sayd, that although Your Majestie hath suche regarde to your heires and posteritie, as Your Majestie moche

moche affecteth and desireth thaugmentation and encreace of their revenue, yet, in very dede, it soundeth very yvell in any mannes eares, that the French King shuld requyre that he might paye Your Majeste no pension during your lief, wherin he ought to have rejoyse and comforth, but to your heire. ThAmbassadour had no shifte, but thenne to goo to thother parte, and requyre remission of the million, and thenne the pensions viager and perpetuell to remayn. We tolde him a million is such a somme as had not been gyven, and suche as Your Majeste could not, with your honour, gyve, ne without prejudice and slaunder of your hiegh wisdome and prudence; sayeng we were assured Your Majeste had rather gyve two millions of liberalitie, thenne oon million by waye of bargayn, for a dote with a lady of suche qualites as the Lady Mary is, to a seconde sonne, she being also in suche possibilitie, as she maye be by Your Majestes goodnes. Princes, we sayd, in liberalitie have no measure prescribed; and Your Majeste might gyve the French King, what it shulde please the same, and that no man shulde have cause to misconstre. But if Your Majeste shuld, in a bargayn, digresse from your accustumed prudence, or be seen to gyve suche a supplement, in money, as shulde declare an inequalitie, in the Princes that treate, or the persons that marye, where there is noon; this was so farre discrepaunt from reason, that a frende shulde not desire it, ne Your Majeste, of your wisdome agree unto it. And here we noted unto him the mariage of Your Majestes suster to King Lewes, with the circumstaunces thereof; we noted the mariage of Your Majestes suster to the King of Scottes, and the spousalles of the Lady Mary to the Dolphin departed. And thiese examples set fourth, at lenght, with the considerations of them, we tolde him finally, that if he entended this matyer ernestly, and wolde commen within the limites of reason, Your Majeste wolde esteme in this mariage, for your good brothers sake, the Duke of Orleaunce, as Your Majeste did King Lewes, and moche bettre then Your Majestes father dyd esteme the King of Scottes; and aswell as Your Majeste, in communication with your good Brother, for the Dolphin and the Lady Mary, did esteme that mariage. Herat thAmbassadour sayd, we passed over in generall wordes, but wolde cumme to no specialtie. We sayd, what more specialtie coulde be expressed, thenne to say, that Your Majeste wolde esteme the Duke of Orleaunce, being but a seconde sonne, asmuche as any other Prince hath been esteemed by Your Majeste, or by your most noble father, and so to be content to gyve with the Lady Mary three hundreth thowsand crownes? "That is", quod he, "nothing. Have ye not harde", quod he, "what offres thEm-
"perour maketh Monsr dOrleaunce, to gyve unto him Flaundres and Bur-
"goyne?

" goyne? I am sure", quod he, " you have harde it, for you be aswell " advertised from all partyes, as any men be in Christendom." We tolde him, we had not harde it, ne beleved it. He tolde us thenne, howe the King, his Master, might have maried Monsr dOrleaunce to the Quene of Naverres doughter, " which is a mariage", quod he, " of three millions " and above; a great matyer", quod he. Howbeit, he sayd, the King, his Master, was very desirous of this mariage, and had sent him a resolution, either a million for the dote, or six hundreth thowsande, and a clene remission of the pension viager. We tolde him, we trusted, that the pension viager was a matier of greter interest, thenne two millions, and a greate deale more, and we wolde be sory to thinke it shuld be lesse. We wolde not replie, howe Monsr dOrleaunce might marye the Quene of Navarres doughter, either for the impediment of nature[1], or convenaunt. And thAmbassadour, in fashion, behaviour, and wordes, knit up the matyer, sayeng his instructions was, as he shewed shortly; and if we liked not this condition, the matyer thus to take an ende: adding how, although this succeded not, yet Your Majeste and his Master shuld remayn freendes.

And then there rested to be aunswered, on our parte, to the overture of the warre; and so much the more, that he had so opened the matyer, as though Your Majestes Ambassadour there had proponed it. For Your Majestes determynation to warre, we aunswered, as Your Majestie had ordered us to saye, in Your Graces sayd letters. But to that thAmbassadour shewed us, howe Your Majestes Ambassadour shuld make motion of it. We sayd we were sure, if he shulde open any suche matyer, he did it merely of himself; for from hens there hath been no suche thing writen unto him, ne we see not any inclynation in Your Majeste towardes it, as we had saide before, onles Your Hieghnes were otherwise provoked unto it, thenne we trust thEmperour woll provoke Your Grace; and therfore it is unto us very straunge, to here this overture to have been made by our Ambassadour, specially considering that, by his writeng unto us, it shulde appere that it was there made unto him. And by suche asseverations we affirmed the overture not to have been made by Your Majestes Ambassadour, without entring the declaration of suche specialtie, as maye be opened, at all tymes, when it shall please Your Hieghnes to make manifest, that Your Majestes Ambassadour hath not doon as they reaporte; wherein we knowe, by experience, sum of us here, more thenne other, as Your Majeste knoweth,

[1] Joanna, being the daughter of Margaret, sister of Francis I., was first cousin to the Duke of Orleans.

that

that it is not the first tyme, ne newes out of that Courte, to have matiers, by them set fourth, called aftrewardes other mennes overtures unto them. And the governement of thAdmyrall maketh us sumwhat to doubt, whether he, entending toccupie the French Kinges mynde with suspence of this matyer, for feare lest sum other thing shuld procede, wherof this might be the lett, hath reported to the French King, that Your Majestes Oratour did make overture therof unto him, or noo; and therupon sent his servaunt hither, that the French King shuld abyde awhile for aunswere from hens. In this doubt, we have forborne with thAmbassadour to charge the Admyrall with his letter, sent to Your Majestes Ambassadour, to repayre unto him; wherby might appere, howe thAdmyrall made thoverture, who, in his letter, had writen that he afterwarde crossed out, that it cannot nowe be redde. We knowe the trouth and wisedome of Your Majestes Ambassadour nedeth no declaration, ne purgation, to Your Hieghnes; and the justification of his doinges herin maye be opened to the French King, or otherwise, as Your Majeste shall thinke expedient, for the tyme of his abode there, and for his estimation in the handling of Your Majestes affayres; who aftre an altercacion in suche a matyer, shalbe gretely hindred in the doing of suche service, as he maye doo unto Your Majeste.

Thus we have declared unto Your Majeste, at lenght, theffect of the communication, and howe we ended, and departed; saving that I, the Lorde Pryvey Seale, aftre our communication finished, to feale thAmbassadour, whither this gentleman shulde incontinently departe, or no, desired the Ambassadour, that he, and the gentleman, wolde take the payne to dyne with me uppon Sundaye or Mondaye next cummeng; which thAmbassadour gently refused; sayeng, the gentleman shulde, without any delaye, returne with all spede, as this daye; desiring us that he might have som direction for his passage in his returne. And so aftre we had dronke together, he toke his leave of us.

According to Your Majestes commaundement, we have writen letters to M[r] Paget[1], conteyneng the hole of that Your Majeste hath writen unto us, and likewise our conference with the Ambassadour, at lenght, as we nowe signefie it unto Your Hieghnes; wherunto if it shall please Your Majeste to adde any thing, we have ordred the messenger to gyve his attendaunce, till knoweledge of Your Hieghnes further pleasure.

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[1] This despatch remains in the State Paper Office, as well as several of an antecedent date from Paget, relative to the proposed marriage between the Princess Mary and the Duke ot Orleans. On the 15th of May he announced the negotiation to be at en end.

Thus we beseche Almighty God to have Your Majeste in his blessed tuition. From London, the 5th of Maye.

Your Majestes most humble Subgettes and Servauntes,

(*Signed*) W. SOUTHM̃PTON. STE: WINTON. THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

CLXXXVII. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITHE Your Majestie to be advertised, that, according to Your Graces appointement and direction, we have, this present Saturdaye, at aftre none, had a long communication with thEmperours Ambassadour. And forasmoche as perceyving that, in effecte, we harde non other special matier, thenne he had declared hertofor, but rather a certain accumulation of apparant reasons, studyed and devised, as we toke it, in this meane season, for the confirmation of his former conference, and the bettre inducing of Your Highnes to declare Yourself against the Frenche King, or at the least to condescende to a second contribution; we pressed him, finally, somoch with his wordes and letters, shewing a lightlywood of some newe matier not yet spoken of, to have been nowe treated, the contrary wherof was nowe apparant, that albeit he wold neyther certainly affirme, ne yet denye, that he had any other matier to signifie unto us, thenne he had expressed; yet ones or twise, at the last, he alleaged that we had no commission to commune thoroughly with him in thise matiers; adding, that in cace he shuld perceyve us furnished therwithal sufficiently, he wold peruse bettre his instructions, and declare unto us thuttermost, if there were any thing omytted; ever shewing himself, in all our communication, moche desirous of the perfite establishment of this amytie. And thus, without obteyning any further knowleage, we have, for this tyme, departed; determyning with ourselfes not only convenient to advertise Your Majestie spedily, for your satisfaction of the same, but also therwith of our poore opinions, for our

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[1] From a Minute, indorsed "From Stepney." It is in the Museum, Galba, B. X. p. 342. The date of this letter is fixed by the Correspondence of the Commissioners appointed to enter into negociations with Monsr Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, at Stepney, in May 1542, which is among the German Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

further

further proceding; whiche nevertheles we referre to Your Graces highe wisedom, to be measured by the same accordingly. We noted moche his often inculcation of the defaulte, on our parte, of a commission: and gathering therof that he wold be more franke, in cace he sawe us furnished with the same, and that by all lightlywood he wold entre some further matier, thenne he hathe yet spoken of; specially for that, whenne we spake sundry tymes of the conditions concerning the Bisshop of Rome, and the taking of peax, he said ever, that thamytie, being ones first treated of, he wold aftre commune of the rest, but he wold in no wise medle with them, till we shuld growe to some good towardnes of thother; albeit he said he knewe right well that this treatie, growing to any effecte, thEmperour wold not only take no peax without Your Highnes assent and consent, but also, in that cace, desire and pray Your Grace to take the hole mayning of the peax in to your oune handes, and likewise take suche ordre with Your Highnes for the preservation and sauf garde of all your titles and pentions in Fraunce, as Your Majestie shuld, Yourself, thinke convenient; we thinke that in cace Your Highnes wold, pro forma tantum, graunte us a sufficient commission, we shuld therupon desciphre the hole effecte of his chardge, and tread out the very uttermost of that he may doo: and yet shall we in no wise conclude uppon any maner of thing, but as Your Highnes shall lymitt and appoint, knowing our procedinges, from tyme to tyme, as shall appertayn. Thus have we declared our opinions, whiche, as we have before said, we referre to the judgement of your high wisedom, beseching Your Grace only, that we may have as spedy answer again of your pleasure herin, as the same shall thinke convenient.[1]

Other newes we have none, but that this daye Richard Gresham brought unto me a straunger, a servaunt of the Duke of Askottes, a man, as he reporteth him, of good substance and like estimation, whose sute to Your Highnes is, for a prest of £25000 for oon twelve moneth, with the losse of 20 in the hundreth. To whom I made answer, that what Your Majestie wold doo therin I knewe not, but in cace he wold abide tyl my returne to the Courte, he shuld thenne knowe further of Your Graces pleasure.

I receyved also letters, this day, from Your Graces servaunt, John Hutton, Governour of thAdventurers in Flaunders, aswell declaring that it is said that thEmpresse lieth at Burgus in Spayne, having 40000 Spanyerdes

[1] A Treaty with the Emperor against France was concluded at London, 11th Feb. 1543. It is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV., p. 768.

in

in aredynes to repair to the succour of thEmperour, as that in the parties of Flaunders, there be mervellous shiftes made for money; soo that it appereth that if thise Princes agre not shortly by some honorable meane, they be like to be dryven to some agrement by necessitie.

CLXXXVIII. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

Aftre our herty commendations to Your good Lordshippes. Thiese shalbe tadvertise the same, that yesternight we received your letters, and, according to the purporte of the same, have had before us this daye 6 or 8 of the most wise, substanciel, and discrete marchauntes adventurers of London; whom, as far as our power wittes wolde extende unto, we persuaded, in all partes, to condescende to the request of the Quene the Regente to grawnt unto her one of the hundrethe. And albeit ther was by us nothing omitted, that might willingly enduce them tagree therunto, yet nevertheles, we coulde in any wise persuade them taccorde to the same; but saie that where the Regent wolde have one of the hundrethe of our nation, alleageng if we sholde denye the payement therof, other nations wolde do the like, the same, saie they, may be easilie answered of this sorte, twoo waies: thone is, that all others have alredy paid the same, saulf they only, without contradiction; and thother is, that none other nation, saulf ours only, hath occasion to styck therat, for non but we have any suche liberties, ne fredom of entrecours; sayeng, further, that like attemptates to innovate newe impositions have so often ben attempted against them, that the defence therof hath cost them 40000£; and yet, thankes be to the Kinges Majestie, and the King, his father, they have ben unto this tyme defended from the same; trusteng His Highnes woll likewise so contynewe evermore. But considereng they were (as they alleaged) His Majesties obedient subjectes, like as they were content to submitte themselffes to His Highnes pleasour in that behaulf, so they condesended taccomplisshe all that wiche His Majestie sholde commawnde them toucheng the same; but that, of themselffes, they wolde never agree willingly therunto. Nevertheles, after long debateng of this matier, and moche communication had therin, they were content, of ther owne benevolence, to gyve unto her, towardes thalleviation of her charges, one thousande powndes Flemisshe, wiche extendethe to 750£ sterling.

Finally,

Finally, where, acording to the tenour of your saide letter, the Kinges Majesties pleasour is, to be advertised of our opinions herein; surely, my Lordes, the premisses, and many other great reasons by them alleaged, deuly wayed and maturely considered, wiche, at this tyme, were very tedious here to prescribe unto you, we thinke it not convenient, in cace it might stonde with His Highnes pleasour, that one of the hundrethe sholde be grawnted to her, but that only she sholde content herself with the saide benevolence of a 1000£ Flemysshe.

And farther itt may like you to know the Kinges Highnes pleser, towching the transportation off suche as shal shortly be sent to Guisnes, whether hit shall please him that we shall wright unto the portes, to provide for the passing off them over[1], and they to be therefore allowed of His Grace, as before tyme hath ben accustomed; or ells that allowance shall be made here unto the souldiours, according as they be allowed for theyr cotes and conduit.

We have this day receyved letters from Master Treasorer[2], wherein, among other thinges, he desireth us to be meanes unto the Kinges Highnes for one Thomas Kemp, gentilman, a son in law off his, being His Graces servant, to go over, wyth suche he shall now sende over; whiche he desireth, thinking therebye to make him the more apt to serve His Majestie hereafter. Further desiring to know, whether he might take suche off the Kinges servantes in Kent, to serve His Highnes, as nether be ordinaries, nether yett have any fee or annuite off His Majeste, butt onely be sworne His Graces servantes, of the whiche diverse lately have ben servantes unto him.

And forasmuche as itt sholde be requisite, that we hadde the bookes here, off the 1500 menne, whiche shortly shall be sent over, to know aswell what parsons hath the levying off them, and what nombre every of them shall levye, as in what places the same shall be levyed; whiche particularly we do nott remember, we desire yow, Master Secretary, to sende us a note off them, wyth the places off theyr transportation.

We have, allso, this day communed wyth Sir William Musgrave, who repayred unto us, to declare that, wher he was appointed to serve the Kinges Highnes wyth on hundreth and fiftye spears, he is in no cace hable to furnisshe above the nombre off thurtye, unlesse he sholde disfurnisshe his rewle, he hath undre the Kinges Highnes, off Bewcastell; whiche he thinketh nott expedient; adding moreover, that he never sued to go over. And in cace he might make suit, wythowt the Kinges displeser, he wolde

[1] In the margin of this passage is written, by Wriothesley, "☞ for the King."
[2] Sir Thomas Cheyne, Treasurer of the Household.

rather

rather sue to tarry, and to sende over his cousin Richard, unlesse His Grace sholde go in parson. And forasmuche as itt shall nott be muche owt off his way to passe by yow homeward, we have thowght good to require him so to do, to thentent yow may procede wyth him, as yow shall thinke good. And as for Rafe Bulmer, he can furnishe but fyftye menne.

Finally, we have receyved letters towching the matter off the impost, from the Kinges Highnes Ambassadour resident in Flaundres; whiche we have perused, and herewith we sende the same to yow. And thus we committ yow to the tuition off Allmightye Godde. From Westminster, the 6th day of June.

Your assured loving freendes,

(*Signed*) T. Cantuarien̄. T. Norffolk. E. Hertford.
(*Signed*) Tho. Westm̄. William Seint John. John Gage.
(*Signed*) Rychard Ryche. John Baker.

(*Superscribed*)
To owr veary good Lorde, the Lorde Privye Seale, and others of [*the Kings Counsail, attendant on*] His Majesties Royall Person.

CLXXXIX. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

After our most hartie commendacions to Your good Lordeshipps. Thiese shall be to signifie unto the same, that, according unto the Kinges Highnes commaundement, we have made bookes of all the shieres wythin this His Graces Realme on this syde the Trent. And perusing over the names of the gentylmen inhabiting wythin the sayde shieres, we have, after our opinions, allotted every off them to the making of such a nombre, as we thinke they may be enhable to do convenientlye; wherein we have nott named any Lorde, or other of His Graces Counsell, to furnisshe any men, nether yett any off His Highnes Chawmbre, or Ordinarys off Howsholde; whiche we thinke shall be able to bring no small nombre. We have omitted allso, to name any man of the parties off Wales; as we have, in like sorte, forborne to meddle wyth the namyng off any captayns to be leaders of the sayde nombres; to thintent His Grace, whan itt shall please the same to se the bookes, may ether augmente or diminisshe the nombre of the same, as His Majestie shall thinke good, and may allso appoynt suche chieftayns and captayns, as to His Highnes shall be thowght expedient. And what may be His Graces pleser, we shall do farther, ether herein, or ells in any other thing, we shall be redy to accomplisshe His Majesties plesor, wyth all diligence,

gence, according to oure most bounden dueties. And thus we bidde Your good Lordeshipps most hartyly well to fare. From Westminster, the 7th day of June.

The nomber by us appointed doth extende unto 12000.

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEÑ.
(*Signed*) THO. WESTM̃.

Your Lordshipps assured loving freendes,

T. NORFFOLK. E. HERTFORD.
W. SEINT JOHN. JOHN GAGE.
(*Signed*) JOHN BAKER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes and others of the Kinges Hyghnes Pryvy Counsell, attending uppon his Royall Person.

CXC. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

AFTER our moost harty commendations unto Your good Lordships. It may like you tunderstande, the Kinges Majestie hath sen your letters, dated yesterdaye, with such others as you sent unto the same, and hathe also received letters addressed unto His Majestie, aswell from His Ambassadours in Flaunders[2] of the 6th of this present, as from my Lord Deputy, Mr Wallop, and the rest of His Majesties Counsail at Calais, of the 7th of the sayde moneth; the speciall pointes wherof the Kinges Majesties pleasure for your procedinges with sum parte of the same, it may like you to conceyve, as hereafter ensuethe.

Furst, His Majestie is advertised from His said Ambassadours, that the Regent, upon Wednisdaye last, at night, sent for them, and upon their arryvall, declaring what force the French King prepared at this present, to worke sum great exploit before thEmpereurs cumming in to the Nether Partes, desired them to signifye unto the Kinges Majestie, that albeit the ennemye having made yet none actuall invasion in to thEmpereurs dominions, she could not, of duetye, clayme any ayde of His Majestie against the same, by vertue of the treatye; yet forasmuchas thinvasion appered so presently, the resistence wherof, before hande, shuld be more beneficiall unto the Kinges Majestie, and to thEmpereur, then the redres and revenge of dommage, that by sufferance may fortune to ensue of the same; and for that, also, thEmpereur being absent, she hath none other refuge but to the Kinges Majestie, and hath of his goodnes conceived speciall trust of reliefe

[1] Minute, corrected by Wriothesley.
[2] Letter of Sir Thomas Seymour and Dr. Wotton, from Brussels, 6th June 1543.

at his handes, in such a necessitie; albeit there wer not, as there is, such a knot of frendeship and amity betwen His Majestie and thEmpereur: yet she besecheth His Majeste, not of duetye, but by waye of humble sute and petition, that it may please him to assiste her with such ayde, as by the treatye is convenanted, in cace invasion wer actually made; requiring the same may be furnished not in money, but with so many fotemen, as by the saide treatye is determined. In whiche poynt, His Majestie, considering aswell the maner of the saide Regentes request, as also the benefite of resisting of thennemye in tyme, and that the dommage, which may ensue by suffraunce of hym, is commun to His Majestie with thEmpereur, hath resolved to satisfy the saide Regentes desyre, assone as it may be conveniently; and for that purpose hath willed us to requyre your Lordships to determyne amonges you, with diligent and good advise, what nombre of men His Majestie is bounde, by his treaty, to furnish in suche a cace; and to joyne in your rekennyng, for the furniture of the nombre requisite by the said treatye, aswell the nombre of horsemen and fotemen that be nowe alredy appoynted to be sent over, as also the horsemen, and so many of the souldyours, and able labourers, at Calais and Guisnez, as may be spared from thens, without disfournishing of His Majesties peces there of sufficient garnyson; requyring your Lordships, also, to consyder what artillerie shalbe necessarye for the saide armey, and to see whither the charges of the said artillerye be extraordinary, out of the treatye, or be comprised undir the charges of the 700 crownes a daye, specyfyed in the same. And forbicause His Majestie is resolved to sende over, as chiefteyn of the sayde armye, Mr Treasorer[1], as a man whom His Majestie specially trusteth, his pleasure is, you shall, ymmedyately upon the receipt herof, not onely gyve him knowledge to take order for the transportation of such nom nombre as shalbe sent over for the purpos aforsayd, but also requyre him to repayre unto you with diligence, to thintent he may aswell here, what shalbe discoursed, in all degrees, for the aforsayde purposes, as also conclude with you for such discrete and expert personages to go over with him, as he shall think meete, by your advise, to assiste him with their counsaill in this journey.

And to thintent you might have al thinges at your handes there, necessary for thappoyntement of such nomber of men as shalbe necessary to be levyed, besydes those alredy appointed, and for thexpedition of other thinges requisite in this behalf, His Majestie hath commaunded aswell me, the Lord Privey Seale, to sende unto your Lordships the Stampe[2], as me,

[1] Sir Thomas Cheyne, Treasurer of the Household.

[2] See note to p. 628.

the

the Secretarye, to send unto you, my Lord Chambrelain of Household[1], His Majesties Signet; requyring you, my said Lord Chambrelain, assone as you shall have dispeched the letters for the purpos aforesaide, to sende unto me, the saide Secretary, the Signet again, by a trusty messenger; bicause the use of the same here is necessary, both for His Majesties causes, and also for the privat sutes and matiers of his subgetz.

Furthermore, His Majesties pleasure is, that assone as you be sumwhat armed in the knoweledge of the treatye, you shall speke with thEmpereurs Ambassadeur there, in this behalf; and forseing in any wise that you disclose not unto him His Majestie to have relented to her said request; for His Majestie myndeth the same shalbe discovered to the Regent by His Ambassadours there. His Majesties pleasure is, you shall onely declare unto him what hath bene proponed to the saide Ambassadours, by the said Regent, to be requyred as aforesayde; and so entring further discourse with him of the same matiers, shall debate with him, and knowe, in cace it shall please the Kinges Majestie to condescende to the Regentes request, what numbre of men the said Regent shall prepare to joyne with such armey as she demaundeth, and how she will furnishe the same, to kepe the felde with ours, and to gyve batail, if the cace shall so requyre. For you may say, you be assured, that if the Kinges Majestie sende over, for the satisfaction of her request, His Majestie will not agree that his men be put in garnison, which have bene used to be abrode, and seke their ennemyes; and therfor will forsee that whensoever they shall cum to the combate, and joyne in batail, they shalbe so well accompaignyed, as their hardness and courrage be not overcharged for want of other necessary assistence. Touching the which poynt, and for the full furniture of victuals, cariages, and other thinges necessary at their being there, His Majesties pleasure is, you shall conferre with the saide Ambassadour, and also of the place where His Majesties armey and theirs shall joyne to gidre; requyring your Lordships to use sum diligence in the premisses, and to advertise His Majestye of your procedinges in the same accordingly.

We have this daye dispeched unto Woodhouse and Waters, of Lynne, for the sending to Calais of such provision as they have alredy made, with charge to make provision of this proportion herinclosed, within 10 dayes; and for wante of sufficiencye to furnishe the same, tadvertise us here how much they can provide, to thintent ther may be ordre taken to supplye the said proportion here, or els where, as shalbe thought good and convenient;

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[1] William, Lord St. John.

and Byeston and Belingham be appoynted to waft the provision to be sent from Waters and Woodhouse to Calais accordingly.

We have also dispeched to my Lord Deputy and Counsail at Calais, for provision of 4000 shepe; as your Lordships may perceyve by the copyes of our letters unto them, which it may like you, when you have perused them, to cause to be conveyed unto them, with others to Mr Wallopp, to enduce the souldyers at Guisnez to work 4 howres in the daye.

Finally, we have written to Mr Stanhop, bicause he cummith not hither, to see transportation prepared for the horsemen that cum out of the Northe, by the last day of this present, as was appoynted.

My Lordes, Mr Wallopp desireth, in every letter, to have his pykes and other munition sent to him, whereby the Kinges Majestye taketh occasion to note us of slacknes; and have willed us to requyre Your Lordships to see him satisfyed of his demaunde, that His Majestye be no more troubled on that bihaulfe. You shall receyve herin enclosed a proportion of the same. From Harwich, 9 Junij.

CXCI. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.

AFTER our most hartie commendations to Your good Lordships. We have, according unto the Kinges Highnes commaundement, sent for thEmperoures Ambassadour, and have declared unto him aswell thaunswer of Monsr de Bees [1], made unto the demaunde of saufconduit, both for Garter [2] and for Toyson [3], as the contentes, allso, off the letters written to the Lorde Matrevers [4], howe he sholde procede wyth the sayde Monsr de Bees farther in that behalff. And allbeitt he liked very well the Kinges Highnes procedinges in the same, and thowght itt had been well don to have added, that thouvertures, wherwyth the said Garter was sent, towcheth the weale off all Christendom; for thadvauncement whereoff His Majestie and thEmperour wer so nigh joyned, as theyr Heraultes cowlde nothing do severally; yett, the behavours off the Frenchemen herein well considered, he thinketh playnely all these sortes off working to be butt losse off tyme, and that by refusall to admitt thEmperoures Herault, nor to geve any saufconduit to His Highnes Herault, is for none other purpose, butt, by drift off tyme, to seke oportunite to geve us the first shocke.

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[1] De Biez, Governor of Boulogne

[2] Christopher Barker.

[3] Francis Phallaix.

[4] Deputy of Calais.

And

And therfore his opinion is, that forasmuche as the Frenche King hath playnely refused to geve any saufconduit, or to admitt in to his presence the sayde Emperoures Herault, who, joyntly wyth His Majesties Herault, was appoynted by them both to repayre, for the saide commun weale off Christendom, unto the sayde Frenche King; it might please the Kinges Highnes to lynger no more the tyme, butt to cawse the Frenche Ambassadour to be called in to summe place convenient for that purpose, whiche he wyshed, meryly, might be in Westmester Hall; and there, the Emperoures Ambassadour being present, in a good assemble of summe noble men and others, aswell the said Ambassadour, as summe other of His Graces Cownsell, whome itt shall please His Highness to assigne for that purpose, to declare to him that His Grace, and his good Brother the Emperour, wyth whom he had joyned himself in strayght alliaunce for thadvauncement of thuniversall weale off Christendome, hadde sente, with one assent, together, for the declaration off the same, theyr Heraultes to the King, his Maister, with suche articles and ouvertures, as if it wolde have pleased him to have harkened and condescended unto them, might have ben occasion of the sayd generall peace and commun weale of Christendom: whyche, sythen, by deniall of saufconduit to be gevin to the saide Heraultes, he semeth to refuse to hire, His Highnes, having none other wyse or meane to gyve notice hereof, ether unto the worlde, or to his sayde Master, butt by him, which resideth here as his Ambassadour, hath thowght good both to open and deliver all soche saide articles to him in writing; and, as in cace off refusall, strayght, for his parte, to denounce unto him the warre, and the sayd Emperoures Ambassadour, there being present, to do the like. Whiche manner of proceeding, wyth the protestation of refusall of the Heraultes, he wolde to be put strayght in prynt, and a trompett to be sent owt off hande in to the confines to denounce there, and intimate the warre accordingly; and to dismisse hereupon, without delay, the sayd Frenche Ambassadour in to his natif contrey.

Farther, your Lordshippes shall understonde, that the saide Ambassadour hath declared unto us theffect of a letter, sent unto him of certeyn newes from the Regent, wyth request off ayde, according to the treaties; whiche, forasmuch as he sayeth he hath allredye sente unto the Courte, we shall nott nede to troble your Lordshipps withall.

Finally, wee have ben ernestly in hande wyth him, towching the marchauntes matter; and, after muche reasoning and long debating of the same, wyth as many objections, argumentes, and replications, as might be layed in reason, we can dryve him to none other poynt, butt that thimpost must nedes be payed; adding playnely, that in this extremite, thintrecours cowlde

be

be no stay, but that sayed imposition might be sett and required. And therefore he humbly prayed the Kinges Highnes to take suche ordre, as in this necessite, forasmuche as none other nation refuse the sayde paymentes, neither have nott don sythen the begynning, His Highnes subjectes might be no occasion to others to wythdrawe this kynde off contribution, considering the bourden sholde be but for a tyme, and sholde be so gentylly executed as themselffes shoulde require: whereunto yff they sholde in no wyse be browght, and that itt wolde nott please the Kinges Highnes to commaunde them, for the tyme, to do as others do, he sayed the Regent sholde be forced to open all theyre packes, and to serche who hadde solde any wares unto them, and to compell the sellers to pay the sayde impost according to the rate. And where as, att length, to induce him to soom goode meane, we shewed him the marchauntes might more eselye be browght to geve some benevolence, owt off hande, than to entre to the payment off this new imposition, and tolde him that paraventure they wolde nott sticke, by persuasion, to disbursse the vallew off one thowsande poundes Flemmisshe; "Tusshe", quod he, "if they sholde geve cinq centz mil "escus, the gyft wer nott in this cace behovefull to be taken, and that "they there made no rekning off what they sholde gayne of our mar-"chauntes, in the paiment off the sayde imposition, butt what they sholde "lose by other, by reason off theyr example". And other thing, herein, cowlde we nott gett off him.

On the other syde, wee have called before us the marchauntes, and have eftsones proceeded wyth them, wyth like ernestnes as we did the other day, for the satisfaction off the sayde Ambassadour; butt for all that we can say unto them, they can not be perswaded, willinglye, to condescende to the sayde imposition; nether wyll, in any cace, be made beleve, butt that the same ons begon, shall never take an ende; nether yett that in this cace they wyll nott meddle wyth the serching off their packes; wherat they seeme myche to sticke: alleging itt wer nott expedient att all tymes for the Realme, suche thinges wer openly seen, as they sholde bring away: submitting themselffes, neverthelesse, to the Kinges Highnes determination, whose Majesties commaundement, aswell herein, as in all other thinges, they woll embrace, as becommeth most trew and loving subjectes.

And wheras we doo undrestonde, that Sir Wylliam Musgrave, and Rafe Bulmer, can nott make suche nombres off horsemen, as war unto them appoynted, we have consulted for the supplying off the lacke on that behalffe; and by thadvise of suche officers, as have experience in those parties, we have resolved, in owr opinions, the best way how His Majestie may therin be served.

First,

First, it is thowght amongest us good, that Sir Thomas Wharton shall sende fiftye good horsemen, speares, over and above the hundreth to be sent with Thomas Dacres owt off Gylslonde and the baronye of Burgh, off suche of Eske, Levens, Bewcastell, and other places undre his rewle, where he shall thinke they may best be spared, with suche a peticaptayne to be sent wyth them, as he shall thing mete.

Item, that my Lorde Warden shall sende owt off thEst and Middle Marches one hondreth good speres, wyth such capitaine and petycapitayne as he shall thinke convenient. And it is thowght, the moore that shalbe taken owt off Tyndale and Redisdale, the better the same shal be, seene they be well horsed; and as few to be taken nere to the ryver of Tyne as may be, for so much as they be most in the daungier off Ridsdale.

Itt is farther thowght that next unto Tyndale and Ridsdale, they may best be spared, that dwell nighest unto the see, for that they be farthest wythin the lande, and be most owt off the daungier off Skottisshe theves.

And in cace this owr devise shall to yow seme good, itt may like yow, having there the Stampe, to make owt letters for the spedie execution off the same accordinglye.[1]

Finally your Lordeships wer yesterdaye advertised, by Master Treasourers letters, of the lacke and skarcite of vittailles on the other syde the see, whiche wolde spedelye be remedied. Itt may therfore like the same to take ordre therein, wyth all diligence, and that the provision whiche yow shall cawse to be made, may be surely conducted over; as we doo, in like sorte, desire yow to remembre, that ordre may be taken for money to be sent over for the payment off this new crew, whiche have receyved here the wages onely of 8 dayes; so that they must, off force, immediately upon theyr arrivall receyve the rest there. The lack whereoff must be forseen and provided for. And thus we committ Your good Lordeshipps to the tuition off Almightie Godde. From Westminster, this tenth off June.

Your good Lordeshippes assured
loving Frendes,

Postscript.

We have this morning receyved a packett from the North, and having opened the same, and perused the letter directed unto us, we have herwyth dispatched the same unto you, with a letter to the Kinges Highnes, which we have not seen.

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[1] See note to pages 628, 629.

We

We have written unto Douver for the transportation of such as shall passe from thens; and as towching such as shall passe from Maldon and Harwyche, for as muche as yow are, at this present, nygh unto these parties, we remitt the charge thereoff unto yow, my Lorde Admirall.

(*Signed*) T. AUDELEY CHAUNCELO^{R}. T. NORFFOLK. E. HERTFORD.
(*Signed*) THO: WESTM^{R}. W. SEINT JOHN.
(*Signed*) JOHN BAKER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our veary good Lordes and others of the Kinges Highnes Privye Cownsell, attending upon his Royall Person.

CXCII. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.

AFTER owr right hartie commendations to Your good Lordeshipps. ThEmperowres Ambassadour, according unto his promes made yesterday unto us, this day repayred hither, abowght the howre of dynner. And for that the tyme was so far spent, as we cowlde nott well entre into any conference incontinently upon his repayre hither, we differred the same, untyll dynner sholde be doon.

Att which tyme, he first communicated unto us the contentes off Monsieur de Rieulx letters, lately directed unto him, wheroff we made mention in our letters sent yesterday unto yow; theffect whereoff was, how faysible sholde be the entreprinse off Monstreul, the Frenche King now bendinge, as he sayeth, from that parties to Noyon, and so to Avennes, there to lay assiege, which is in the contrary syde off the countrey in respect of Arras; and that the sayde entreprinse might right well be acheved wyth six thowsand fotemen, and twelve hondreth horsmen, and six peces of artillerie. And for the keping thereof, he thought, be that tyme it sholde be wonne, thEmperour wolde be so strongly att the , as therin sholde be small difficultie.

And here he declared the commodite we sholde have from thens to make an entreprinse toward Normandie; and undre pretense off laying off siege to summe towne upon the river of Somme, to direct our journey strayt to Roan; whiche wer he sayde in dede a hard matter to be compassed wyth on powre alone; butt joyntly wyth thEmperoures powre by lande, and especially

especially by see, he thowght the thing to be off no such hardnes: farther, wyth many wordes, owre just title to the said Normandie, the sondry commodities we sholde receyve, if we cowlde fasten owr fote in the same, beside the proximite thereof to Brittayne, who wer at this present redy to rebell; owt of the which Normandie, allso, wer ministred, ordinarily, aswell vittaylles as money, for the furnisshing off a good parte off the countrey rownde abowght.

Butt forasmuche as this was lityll to the purpose we called him for, we omitt to wright to yow his discursse, made at great length on this behalff; and breaking from that matter, we cam to the declaration of the continew off your letters; and first shewed him, how well His Highnes liked his devise towching thintimation of the warr, in the presence off the French Ambassadour; whiche His Grace neverthelesse hadde differred, for the cawses specified in your saide letters, whiche we shewed unto him. Off this he shewed himselff to be very gladde, and wisshed yett, for the more perfection of the same, the Kinges Highnes myght be present. Which when we tolde him we thowght nether to be necessary, nether yett expedient, he declared that, for a very simple matter, the Frenche King, upon a tyme, assembled the 12 Peres off Fraunce att Paris; and in the open Pallayce, whiche is there, as is here Westminster Hall, calling to the sayde assemble Granvele, who was then thEmperours Ambassadour, openlye, then and there, his Royall Person being present, defied the saide Emperour.

From this matter we cam to the imposition; and declared unto him, how the marchauntes hadde ben at the Court for to complayne, and hadd ernestly ther sett owt theyre grefes, towching the staying off theyre shipps, and had humbly desired of the Kinges Majestie remedy for the same. We prayed him to considre, what an amytie had ben, off long tyme, betwene our marchauntes and that countreis, and how muche the saide marchantes rejoyced att this alliaunce, lately ratefied betwene thEmperour and us; who, if att the verrey begynning of the same, sholde fynde in those parties suche extremities, directly ageynst the league and intrecours, as an ennemye cowlde skantly shew any worsse, itt myght be assuredly a great occasion off wythdrawing the saide marchauntes, and consequently others His Highnes subjectes, accustomed good affections towarde them. Praying him, therefore, according as he hadde ben, in all other thinges, a good Commissioner, so to continew his good office on this behalff, and to cawse incontinently ordre to be taken for the libertie off the said shipps, wythowt demaunde of any imposition.

" In good fayth", quod he, " I do nott know or thinke your mar-
" chauntes be in any poynt stayed there; but even (if a man might be bolde
" to make such a comparison) as a fole is holden, when his fynger is putt
" in to an hole, whye cowlde nott they have payd that litill summe off
" money", quod he, " wyth a protestation, and so have coom theire wayes,
" many a day agon?" " Wherfor", quod we, " sholde we be driven to dis-
" bursse any one penye, ether wyth protestation, or otherwise, directly
" ageynst the intrecours?" " Well", quod he, " if you woll so narrowly loke
" to the just observation of the intrecours, I wolde they myght be indif-
" ferently visited between both parties, to se whiche off us have made most
" holes in them." " How beitt", quod he, " in good fayth, for my parte,
" I wolde itt hadd cost me one hundrith crownes, in condition every thing
" wer, as you wolde have itt, and I woll nott faile to wright, owt off hande,
" as ernestly, that itt may be so, as my powr and simple witt shall serve
" me. Butt I trust", quod he, " His Majestie woll nott be displeased, if
" we demaunde off owre own subjectes this impost, att the uttermost, and
" that we cawse, for that effect, your packes to be opened, and to be visited,
" to know who hath made any sale of any parte thereof." " This",
quod we, " is as ill a case as was the first, and a playne nouveaulte."
" Thowgh itt be a noveaultie", quod he, " yett is itt nott any nouvell
" impost, nether in any poynt ageynst the treaties." " How so ever itt
" be", quod we, " itt can nott be taken off the worlde, butt for a mere
" dispite, the marchauntes bokes being sufficient for theyr satisfaction on
" this behaulff": praying him eftsones to use in the premisses, thoffice off
a good ministre, wherein hitherto he hadde nott used to fayle. " By my
" trowth", quod he, " I am in the case off an unlukkye Juge, who,
" what sentence soever he geveth, ether the one partye, or most tymes
" both, recken themselffes wronged. When I wright to Flaundres, I am
" thowght affectionate to these parties here; when I dispute with yow, I
" am juged to be a mayntenour of the wronges, whiche yow allege your
" marchauntes suffre. How be itt, I woll ernestly wright", quod he, " as
" I have sayde befor; and trust to do summe good. Marry, I trust", quod
he, " I may be bolde to declare to them, the contribution your marchauntes
" ar content to beare, in respecte off this alleviation, whiche woll be an
" occasion, that they ther woll be the rather content to dismisse them fre
" accordingly." " Lett them be discharged", quod we, " as reason wolleth,
" and that may be an occasion to enduce them to coom, peraventure, to
" summe good poynte wyth yow, on that behalff." And thus, upon promesse
to dispatch owt off hande, he toke his leave off us.

Youre

Youre Lordeshippes shall undrestonde, that my Lorde Admirall hath ben wyth us, and hath browght unto us a warrant, signed wyth the Kinges Highnes hande. And forasmuche as we sent to yow, yesterday, the Signett backe agayne, we have thowght good to sende allso the warrant ageyne to yow, whiche itt may like yow to cause to be signed, and to be sent to us, wyth all diligence, who woll immediately make the direction off the same accordingly.

Signifiing farther unto your good Lordeships, that the sayde Lorde Admirall being here, William Gonston hath declared before us, that the four shippes shall be redy to be dispatched on Sonday or Monday next, so that the captaynes appoynted to them may be by that tyme redy for the same; and that advertisement may be hadde, what mariners shall comme from Hull, according to your Lordeshippes letters, directed unto the Lorde Admirall.

Wee have even now receyved letters owt off the North, whiche we sende to yow herewyth.

Wee have allso receyved twoo letters from Callais; whereoff the one toucheth the convayaunce off certeyne off the French Ambassadoures letters, whereoff we lately advertised your Lordeshipps. And forasmuche as the parties ar in pryson, and seeme nott to have so muche offended, as itt might att the first sight appere, itt may like yow to have consideration of the same, and to signifie unto us what the Kinges plesor is, we shall farther do herin. And thus, praying Godde owr menne may finde sufficient vittailles on the othar syde the see, and that money may be there in dew tyme, for the payment off theyr wages, we committe Your good Lordeships to the tuition off Almighty Godde. From Westminster, the 14th day off June.

Your Lordeshipps assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. Cantuarien. T. Audeley Chauncelo?. T. Norffolk. E. Hertford.
John Lisle. Tho. Westm?.
Rychard Ryche. John Baker.

(*Superscribed*)

To our very good Lordes and others off
the Kinges Highnes Privye Counsell,
attending upon his Royall Person.

CXCIII. VISCOUNT LISLE[1] *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.

THIES may be tadvertise Your Lordeships, that I have receyved your letters this present 14th of June, dated at Saint Ouseys, the 13th of the same; and furthwith I repayred to my Lordes of the Councell, and had William Gonson with me, to declare unto theym the state of the foure other shipps, that nowe is preparing by the Kinges Majestis commandment to the sees, the whiche foure shippes (if the capitaignes named in your said letters be in like redynes, as therof I am in doubt) we will delyver unto theym full esquipped, and redye vyttaylled and manned, for one moneth. But where your Lordships apoynteth Sir Rise Mansfeld to be Vice Admyrall, John Care, Baldwyn Willoughbye, and my fellowe, Jennyns, to be capitaignes, they being as yet skantely warned of the Kinges Majestis pleasour in that behalf, I thinke their repayring to London, and therr the trymyng of theym with suche necessaries, as they I am sure wold be glad to have, yt will aske some tyme. Sir Ris Mansfeld is here in the towne, but I have not as yet spoken with him; albeit he shal knowe, this night, the Kinges pleasour, or I slepe. As for Baldewyn Willougby, John Care, and John Jennyns, I here no worde of theym. And where your Lordships wryteth, that ye have taken order with Mr Brian, for the sending upp of 200 of the marryners nowe dispeched at Hull, and that I shuld not dispeche the marryners of Harwiche cooste, till the said marryners be come from Hull, yt may please you therin to consider, that if the Kinges Majestis shipps shalbe stayd here, till the coming hither of the said marryners from Hull, yt wilbe lenger tyme, or the said 4 shipps can be sett forthe, then I did wryte of in my former letters to Mr Bryan; whiche was, that, at the ferdist, they shuld be redy to goo forthe the latterend of this next weke. But, my Lordes, the mattier is nowe so advaunsed, that the shipps shalbe full redye uppon Monday next, as before ys said, if we may have the said capitaignes redy to put into theym. And in case that the marryners do comme from Hull, before the capitaignes wilbe in a redynes to enter into the shipps, then I will retorne asmany of the said marryners to Harwiche agayne. And where your Lordeships wryteth unto me, that the Kinges Majestes pleasour is, that when Baldwyn Willoughby, and thoder three capitaignes, do comme

[1] John Dudley, who was created Viscount Lisle on the 12th of March 1542, was appointed Lord High Admiral on the 7th of January 1543, and sworn of the Privy Council, on the 23d of April in the same year.

unto

unto me, I shulde instructe every of theym, after my discretion and wysdome, for thexecution of suche chardge as shalbe commytted unto theym; My Lordes, yt shalbe moste requysite that the Kinges Majestis instruccions for Sir Rice Mansfeld (who is appoynted, for this tyme, Vice Admyral) be devised by your Lordeships, and to be signed by the Kinges Majestie, and to be sent hither with spede; and that done, I shall endevor my selff, as farr as my pore wytt and discretion will serve, to give them the beste advice that I can, albeit that I knowe it right well I had more nede to be instructed, in suche like case, by some of theym, then they by me. And thus I commytt Your Lordships to the tuicion of Almightie God. Att London, the 14th of June.

Your Lordships assured,
(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

Beseching Your Lordships, that when you have perused the contentes of this letter, yt may please you to make my freind Mr Bryan participant to the same.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my very good Lordes of the Kinges moste honorable Councell, attendant aboute His Majestis Person. In hast.

CXCIV. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

Aftre owr most harte commendations to Your good Lordeships. Thiese shall be to advertise the same, that this morning, thEmperoures Ambassadour sent unto me, the Duke off Norffolke, a letter addressed to him from Monsieur de Rieulx, whereby itt appered the Frenchemen have allreardy layde siege unto Bapams; whiche, neverthelesse, is so well furnisshed wyth menne, vittayle, and munition, as they nether dowght off the defense thereoff, and thinke assuredly to have honour by thentreprinse. Whereupon the saide Ambassadour desired me to move the Kinges Highnes, for an ayde to be geven to thassiege off Montreul, in the meane season. I, the saide Duke, answered him, that I thowght that entreprinse was to no purpose, nether in any wise to be attempted, for that so small a distaunce being betwene the saide Bappams and Monstreul, and the Frenche King being att the hande with suche a strength, they might be sett for, in suche a sort, betwene them and home, as must nedes be to the evident dawngier off the armye; "and

"admitt

" admitt they shoulde do theyre feate, and wynne the sayde towne; yett", quod I, " the same cowlde nott so sone be wonne, but, thennemyes being " so stronglie at the hande, itt myght and wer likely as soone to be recou- " vred". And therefore, for that entreprinse to be doon in this tyme, my powre opinion and advise was, they sholde in no cace go abowght the same. And as for aydē to do any thing that Monsieur de Rieulx sholde thinke faysible, wythowte expresse perill, the Kinges Highnes hadd lately sent over one hundrith horssis, and 14 or 15 hundreth fotemen, and woll shortly sende over a greater nombre, whiche sholde ready, att all tymes, to do unto him suche pleser as he sholde require.

The saide Ambassadour desireth muche to see the letters written in ciphre, and fownde wythin the Frenchemennes shoes; for that, in cace the saide ciphre be the same that Marillac hadde, he dowteth nott to decifre itt. And therefore itt may like your Lordeships, incontinently, to sende the same hither, for the whiche he woll send to us abowght four off the clocke.

We have this morning receyved a letter from my Lorde Deputye off Callais, whiche we sende to you herewyth; wherebye your Lordeships may perceyve, there is a dispatche comming to the Frenche Ambassadour, for the intreception of the which, we have taken ordre, that the messenger shall privylye be browght unto the hous off me, the Lorde Chawncellour, there to be kepte in secrete custody, untyll the tyme His Majeste shall signifie unto us His Graces further pleser.

And as towching His Majesties pleser declared unto us, towching the matter off the Harault, and thintimation off the warr, we have appoynted me, the Lorde Great Chawmbrelayne [1], and me, Sir Thomas Cheyney, to repayre to thEmperowrs Ambassadour, incontinently, for that purpose. And thus we badde Your good Lordeships right hartyly well to fare. From Westminster, the 18th day off June.

Your Lordeships assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*)

T. Cantuarieñ. T. Audeley Chauncelō. T. Norffolk. E. Hertford.
John Lisle. Tho. Westm̃. T. Cheyne.
John Gage.
Rychard Ryche. John Baker.

(*Superscribed*)
To owr veary good Lordes and others off the Kinges Highnes Privye Counsell attending upon [*his Royal Person*].

[1] Edward, Earl of Hertford.

CXCV. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

After owr most harte commendations to Your good Lordeshipps. This afternone we have hadde conference wyth the Skottisshe Ambassadours; and making owre selffes ignorant of any parte off theyr instructions, or articles lately browght by Sir George Dowglas from Skotlande, after summe communication passed to and fro, the sayde Sir George Dowglas, delivered us certeyne articles in writing, to the nowmbre of seven, whiche we founde to agre wyth them, worde for worde, that the Kinges Highnes delivered unto us, the Duke of Norffolke and the Bishop of Westminster, yesterday. And goinge first a parte from them, we devised together upon the same; and sithen retourning, we debated with them the saide articles, one after a nother: and in summe poyntes, for the manners sake, desiring them to satisfie us in suche thinges, as we sayd semed to us obscure; and in summe poyntes, allso, seming our selffes nott fully to agre wyth them; we referred, finally, the hole matter to our repair unto His Majestie; requiring off them, in the meane season, the copie off the saide articles, whiche they have promised us, wyth twoo or thre, by way off petition, to be added to the same; desireing us to make all the expedition we cowlde, for the ending off these matters. The saide Sir George saying secretly unto me, the Duke of Norffolke, the soner he wer dispeached, the better itt sholde be for the suretye off thiese affaires.[1]

The particularites off owr conference, wyth all the circumstaunces off the same, we have differred to wright att this tyme, and mynde on Wenisday, to declare the same unto His Highnes.

Your Lordshipps shall receyve herwyth letters and writinges from Waters and Wodhows, directed unto me, the Duke off Norfolke. And to thintent yow may take ordre in the same, we have sent Mawbye unto yow, whiche shall nott faile, butt to be there to morrow morning; wyth whome I, the sayde Duke of Norffolke, pray yow to commun thorowghly, assuring yow, yow shall fynde him to be a wyse fellow. And thus we committ

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[1] The Treaty of Peace with Scotland was concluded between the English Commissioners and the Scottish Ambassadors, and was subscribed by them, in the Council Chamber at Greenwich, on the 30th of June. It is printed in Rymer, Vol. XIV. Page 786.

Yowr

Yowr good Lordeshippes to the tuition off Allmighty Godde. From Westminster, the 18th of June.

Your Lordships assurid
loving Freendes,

We intende, God willing, to be att Grenewyche to-morrow, at His Highnes landing.

(*Signed*) T. AUDELEY CHAUNCELLO^{R}. T. NORFFOLK. THO. WESTM^{R}.
(*Signed*) W. SEANT JOHN. JOHN GAGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To owr vearye good Lordes and others of His Majesties Privye Cownsell, attending upon His Graces Royall Person.

CXCVI. CRANMER *to* KING HENRY VIII.

IT may please Your Majestie to be advertised, that, according to Your Highnes commaundemente, sent unto me by Your Graces Secretary, Mr Pagett, I have translated into the Englishe tongue, so well as I coulde in so shorte tyme, certeyne processions, to be used apon festivall daies, yf, after due correction and amendemente of the same, Your Highnes shall thinke it so conveniente. In whiche translacion, forasmoche as many of the processiones, in the Lattyn, were but barren (as me semed) and litle frutefull, I was constrayned to use more than the libertie of a translator: for in some processions, I have altered divers wourdes; in some, I have added parte; in some, taken parte awaie; some I have lefte oute hole, either forbycause the matter appered to me to be litle to purpose, or bycause the daies be not with us festivall daies; and some procession I have added hole, bycause I thought I hadd better matter for the purpose, than was the procession in Latten: the judgemente wherof I referre holie unto Your Majestie; and after Your Highnes hath corrected yt, yf Your Grace commande some devoute and solempne note to be made therunto (as is to the procession, whiche Your Majestie hath alredie setfurth in Englisshe), I truste it woll moche excitate and stirre the hartes of all men unto devotion and godlynes: but, in myn opinion, the songe that shalbe made therunto, wolde not be full of notes, but, as nere as may be, for every sillable, a note; so that it may be songe distinctly and devoutly, as be in the Matens and Evensong, Venite, the Hymnes, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis,

dimittis, and all the Psalmes and Versicles, and in the Masse, Gloria in exelsis, Gloria Patri, the Crede, the Preface, the Pater noster, and some of the Sanctus and Agnus. As concernyng the Salve festa dies, the Latten note (as I think) is sobre and distincte enoughe; wherfore I have travailid to make the versis in Englishe, and have put the Latten note unto the same. Nevertheles thei, that be connyng in syngyng, can make a moche more solempne note therto. I made them only for a profe, to see howe Englishe wolde do in songe. But by cause myn Englishe versis lacke the grace and facilitie, that I wolde wishe they hadd, Your Majestie may cause some other to make theym againe, that can do the same in more pleasante Englishe and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose will serve well enough. Thus Almyghtie God preserve Your Majestie in longe and prosperous helth and felicitie. From Bekisbourne, the 7th of October.

Your Graces most bownden
Chaplayne and Bedisman,
(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges mooste
Excellent Majesty.

CXCVII. CONSIDERACIONS, wich way is thoght by the Consell to be most convenient for the Kynges Majeste to set forwarde with His Royall Armye this somer to invade the realme.[1]

ITEM, it is thoght the best way is to go by the fronters off Flanders unto the passage, wher the Duc of Suffolk came over the ryver of Som at his retourne out of Fraunce, wich is two myles on this side the towne of Neele[2] in Vermandoyse: and these be the consideracions why it is thoght that way to be best to be taken.

Item, going that way, the hole army shall have gode furnyture of all sortes of vitayles and horsmete, as we know by the report of such as be now come out of Flander.

Item, going that way, all such provisiones of vitayles, as the Kynges Majeste shall make at Calais to be caried with the army, shalbe kept hole unspent, unto thentryng of the centre of Fraunce, beyonde the ryver of Som. Wich, as it is thoght, shall suffise the hole army for twelve or fourteen days, by wich tyme His Majeste may be very nere unto Parys, and shall pas by many gode townys, not fortefied, after His Highnes be passed

[1] This Paper is wholly written by Thomas Duke of Norfolk. [2] Nesle.

over the ryver of Som, and shall fynde one of the most plentefull contrees of France.

Item, going this way, His Majeste may spare a gode part of his charges, in cawsyng the Almaynes, aswell horsmen as fotemen, not to enter in to wages, unto such day as his army shall come nere unto the ryver of Som.

If Your Majestes plesure be, to have such part of your army as shalbe passed the see, before Your Royall Person shalbe redy to depart fro Calais, to attempt som displesure to be done to thenemy, it is thoght gode, if it may so stande with His plesure, that attemptaute be made to wyn Arde; wich may be assayed without lakyng of gode furnyture of all kyndes of vitayles, as well for men as horse, and no tyme lost in the meane season.

Item, going this way, His Majeste Army may make gode larg journeys, being in no gret danger of thenemys, unto the commyng unto the said ryver of Som.

Item, wher we parceyve Your Majestes plesure is to know our opinions, by what days your vangarde, reregarde, and batayle, shalbe at the se, to pas over, Sir, we think the vangarde to be there the furst day of Juny, and the rerewarde to be there the 5 day, and the batayle the 12 day.

CXCVIII. Bishop Boner *to* King Henry VIII.

Moost good and gratiouse Sovereigne Lorde. I have of late receyved from Sir William Petre, Knight, by Your Graces commandement, as he writeth, too letters; the oon to staye the giffing of the Prebende of Kentishe towne, then belonging to the late Deane of Yorke [1], and the other to make collation of the saide Prebende, with a glasse wyndowe for the name [2], and it to sende to Your gratious Highnes; according whereunto, I have both made a staye hitherto, and also nowe have written to my Register, keping my seale, to make the collation according to Your Graces pleasure, notwithstanding that I had determined and mynded the saide Prebende for a nevewe of my, beying in Oxforde at my charges, of greate towardenes in lernyng and vertue, as I am crediblie enformed. And as soon as this collation is written and sealed, it shalbe presented to Your Highnes for me, in asmoche as my self dar not presume to comme and doo it my self, by reason that oon of my folkes, not longe agoon, as I certified Your Highnes by Mr Hennage,

[1] Richard Layton. [2] The name of William Layton was inserted in the blank they left.

died

died out of my house at London. And I beseche moost humblie Your Majestie, who hath had, thies many yeirs, a great prove and experience of me, in many places and doynges, to have this opinion of me, that ther shall not be founde any preest within Your Graces Realme, that shall with better will, redynes, fidelitie, and lovyng true herte, serve you and accomplishe Your Graces pleasure, at any tyme, then myn owne self, to the uttermoost of my power, shall do; knowleging that I am soo to doo moost bounden, and in dede woolde so openlie declare, if my povertie otherwise did not let me.

And, Sire, as concernyng the money of the benevolence of the Clergie of my diocese, wherin I have travayled as became me, I have desired Mr Hennage to present the same to Your Highnes; beseching the same moost humblie to accepte the good will of the said Clergie, who, notwithstanding their great povertie, have declarid their benevolence herein to the best and uttermoost of their power.

And thus, wher I can not presentlie comme my self, as otherwise moost gladly I woolde doo, to do my dutie to Your gratious Highnes, and take my leave of the same, before this Your Graces great voyage, I shall moost humblie beseche Almightie God to prosper Your gratious Highnes, with all your companye, even to Your Graces own desire and good contentation, giffing unto the same moost joyous retourne, with moost fortunable expedition. Written at my house of Fulham, the 19 of June.

Your Majesties moost humble Subjecte,
Chapleyn, Bedisman, and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) Edmõd London.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges moost Excellent Majestie,
my moost gratious Sovereigne Lorde.

CXCIX. Minutes of Council.[1]

Apud Westm. 7° Julii, A° R. Rš H. viii^vi^ 36°.

Fyrst, touching the Quenes Hieghnes, and my Lord Prince.

The Kinges Majeste hath resolved, that the Quenes Hieghnes shalbe Regent in His Graces absence, and that His Hieghnes processe shall passe

[1] This paper, which is in Sadleyr's handwriting, with Wriothesley's corrections, is indorsed, "Thinges ordered at home." The last clause is added by Wriothesley, who, on the 1st of January 1544, was created Lord Wriothesley; on the 22d of April was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal during Lord Audeley's illness; and on the 3d of May 1544, after Audeley's death, was made Lord Chancellor.

and

and beare teste in her name; as in lyke caces heretofore hath been accustumed; and that a Commission[1] shalbe made for this purpose, to be delyvered unto her before His Graces departure; wherin shalbe expressed, that for her ayde, and the bettre administracion of his affayres, she shall, in her procedinges, use the advise and counsail of thArchebishopp of Cantorburye, of the Lord Wriothesley Lord Chauncelour of England, thErle of Hertford, the Bishop of Westminster, and Sir William Petre, Secretorye[2].

Item, His Majeste woll that my Lord Prince shall, on Wednesdaye next, remove to Hamptoncourte; and that the Lord Chauncelour, and thErle of Hertford, shall repayre thither on Thoresdaye, and there discharge all the ladyes and gentlewomen out of the house; and also admit and swere Sir Richard Page Chamberlayn to my Lord Prince, Mr. Sydney to be avaunced to the office of Stuard, Jasper Horsey to be chief Gentleman of his Privey Chambre, and Mr. Cox to be his Aulmoner, and he that is now Aulmoner to be Deane, and Mr. Cheke as a suppliment to Mr. Cox, both for the bettere instruccion of the Prince, and the diligent teaching of suche children as be appointed to attende uppon him.

Item, for the nombre of His Majestes Counsail and their ordre.

His Majeste hath appointed to be of his Pryvey Counsail, in his absence, thArchebishopp of Cantorburye, the Lord Wriothesley Lord Chancelour of England, thErle of Hertford, the Bishop of Westminster, and Sir Willm Petre, Secretorye. And His pleasyr is, that either the sayd Chauncelour, or the sayd Erle of Hertford, or both, shall ever be attendant uppon Her Person, and resident in Her Graces Courte; and if, by occacion of busines, or other impedyment, neither of them can convenyently be there, then the sayd Archebishop, for the tyme, to remayne with Her Grace, with the sayd Sir Willm Petre; and when they maye convenyently, all fyve to be attendant uppon Her[3].

Item, His Majeste is pleased that the Lord Parr of Horton shalbe used in Counsail with them, for all suche matiers as concerne the Realme.

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[1] This Commission is printed in Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 39.

[2] Petre was made Secretary of State on Wriothesley's promotion.

[3] A correspondence was maintained, during the King's absence, between the Council attendant on His Majesty, and the Queen and her Council, relative to the general affairs of the Realm, as well as to the particular service in which the King was engaged. Many of the letters have been preserved among the Calais Papers; and it has been a question, whether some of them should not be printed in this part of the work. But they have been found to be so intermixed with matter, exclusively belonging to the series in which they are arranged, that it has been determined, after consideration, to reserve them for that portion of the publication.

Item,

Item, for a Lieutenant, in cace, and who shalbe of counsail with him.

His Majeste is pleased that my Lord of Hertford shalbe his Lieutenaunt, in cace, and to take his commission for that purpose, with all thinges requisite, by thauctoritie of the Quene Regent, with thadvise of the Counsail aforsayd, if nede so requyre.[1]

Item, for musters, and thappoyntement of certeyn in every shire, to have the principall cure of the same, and for commissioners for the bulwarkes.

His Majeste is content that the Counsail take ordre in thiese matiers, at their discreciones.

Item, for ordonaunce and municion, both to serve in tyme of nede, and for the furniture of the Tower, the state wherof wold be declared, and for a Maister of thOrdonaunce.

His Majeste is pleased that the Counsail shall ordre in thise thinges at discreacion, being ordonaunce &c sufficient left for all purposes; and Mr. Walsingham, in cace, to be commissioner, with the Lieutenant in the Tower.

Item, who shalbe in commission for passing of all warrauntes for payement of money.

The Stampe to remayne, and thinges to be passed by that warraunt.

Item, to know the Kinges Majestes pleasur for horsmen to be entreteyned here at home, and for egarring of certeyn fotemen.

It is not thought necessarye.

Item, for His Majestes lycence to suche his officers and feed men, as be not appoynted to wayte in this journey.

A commission[2] to be made to the Lord Chauncelour, thErle of Hertford, the Bishop of Westminster, and Mr. Secretory Petre[3], to lycence such, as sue to remayne at home, agreeng resonably for it.

Memorandum for the denizens, the Mynt, Yarmouth, the Portes, the Lord Chauncelours warrauntes for the commissions to my Lord of Norffolk, my Lord Pryvey Seale &c.

His Majeste is pleased to signe all theise billes, with all the commissions and thinges necessarye, when they shalbe prepared.

A commission[3] to the Quene, and of the Pryvey Counsail, to make warrantes for money.

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[1] This is provided for in the Queen's Commission of Regency.

[2] Printed by Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 46.

[3] A draft of this commission is in the State Paper Office, and it is printed in Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 45.

CC. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE PRIVY COUNCIL, AND OTHERS.

(*Stamped*) HENRY R.[1] By the King.

TRUSTIE and welbiloved, We grete you well. And whereas being entred in to league and amitie with Our good Brother, thEmperour, and having covenanted with the same to invade presently, this yere, the realme of Fraunce, aswell for the preservacion of the state of Christendome, as for soundry Our juste and lawfull querrelles against the Freenche King, for the which purpose, and for the better conducting of Our affayres in thatt behalf, We have alredie passed the sees, in Our own Person, with Our puissant armey; forasmoch as by the entree of the sayd warres, which (thankes be to Allmighte God) We have hitherto passed to Our honor, with good likelehod of better successe, We see manifest occasion of moche greatter charge, then was att the begynnyng consideryd; aswell for the taring longer forthe, upon sundry respects, then was determyned before Our going, as also for the leaving of some masse of money, for the furniture and keping such holdes and places of strenght, as We have allredye goten, and shall get hereafter: We have thought expedient to for see, that want of a sufficient furniture, We be not enforced, leaving undone thinges necessarie to be done, to retyre Our selfes soner thenne either shalbe mete for Our honor, or convenient for thadvauncement of Our affaires; and therefore, considering the tyme so nere at hand, as We canne not use any other present meanes, for the supplement hereof, thenne with being bolde of suche Our assured loving subjectes, as We knowe will not sticke to presse them selfes, to satisfie Our desire herein, as well in regarde of the common weale of their naturall countrey, as of their particular obedience and singuler affection towardes Us. And reputing you one amongest the rest, of that sorte, so well dedicated unto Us, will and canne gratifie Us in this behaulf, We have thought good to desire and praye you, and in consideracion of the present state, aswell of Christendome, as of the common weale of this Our Realme, ernestly to require you, to shewe yourself, nowe at this tyme specially, so loving a subject unto Us, as you will make meane, either of your self, or your freendes, to lende unto Us the somme

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[1] The Sign Manual is stamped in imitation of the King's Signature. The passage in the prefatory part of this letter, beginning, "for the which purpose," and ending "shall get "hereafter," has been substituted in Wriothesley's hand for another passage of nearly similar import, on which account probably this letter was not used. From an indorsement it appears that the letters, of which this is a specimen, were despatched on the 11th August 1544, at which time the King was engaged in the Siege of Boulogne.

of

of sterling, and to provide so therefore, that the same maye be delyvered here, at London, unto Our trusty and right welbiloved Counsailour, Sir John [*Williams*[1]] Knight, Tresorer of thAugmentacions of Our Crowne, within dayes next ensuyng the date hereof; whereby as you, for your parte, folowing the steppes of divers of your degre and qualitye, who have all ready right honestly and frankly declared their love towardes Us, upon this Our like request made unto them, shall yeve Us good cause to take the same at your hande very thankefully, and[1] ly, as an argument of the good affection you bear unto Us, and the benefite of the commun weale of this your natural countrey, so We promesse you assuredly, by these presentes to cause the same to be repayed again unto you, within after the date hereof; hartely praying you in no wise to faile Us herein, at this tyme, but lovingly and frankely sumewhat to streyn your self, to satisfie Our expectacion of you, as ye tender Our favour, and thadvauncement of thaffayres and common wealth of this Our Realme.

CCI. Lord Wriothesley *to* The Council with the Queen.[2]

My Lordes, I send unto you hear suche letters, as shal declare unto you, if the contentes of them be true, that all good faithe is almost banished out of the world. But God is hable to strenght his oune against the Dyvel, and therfor let not the Quenes Majeste in any wyse trouble herself, for God shal turn all to the best. And sure we be, that the Kinges Majestes Person is out of all daunger, and soo be the rest to, I doubt not; for it shal not yet enter in to my crede, that the Frenche men woll cope with us, what brag soever they set uppon it.

As to the matier of the letters, bicause, in all eventes, I thought it most mete, that the men were dispeched with all possible diligence, I was soo bold, calling to me Mr Baker[3], Mr Northe, Mr Moyle, and Mr Williams[4], to make out a dispeche for the same, according to suche mynutes as ye shal receyve herin enclosed; and every man that is dispeched hathe money with him, to paye conducte &c, as shalbe nedefull. And forasmoche as Wiltes,

[1] The paper has been torn in these places. The other blanks are in the original.
[2] Holograph. [3] Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
[4] Sir Edward North, Chancellor, Sir Thomas Moyle, Receiver, and Sir John Williams, Treasurer, of the Court of Augmentations.

Berkes,

Berkes, Sussex, and Southampton, be farre of, and that it wold have been long, or those men could have com hither, I have let them alone; and in their places I have appointed London to prepair 500 men, Surrey oon hundreth more, Kent 100 more, and Middlesex oon hundrethe more, soo that we lak but 100 of the hole complement; whiche, if nede be, wolbe easely furnished of the spare maryners, and suche as shall goo in all thise ships, in all partes, with them. I have also receyved a letter from my Lord Admyral, and Mr Secretary, for the setting furthe with al possible spede of the Sw[*ee*]p[*stakes*][1], the Prymeros, and the Jennet, out of the Thamys, and for the setting furth of the Greate Pawncye out of Oxlne[2] Water; for the whiche I have already taken ordre with Waters and Gonstone; and purpose to sende Gonston tomorowe to Leg, to Harwiche, with money for the Pawncy. Thus, my Lordes, I have passed a pece of the storme; wherin if I have not taken the best wayes, I shal beseche the Quenes Highnes most humbly to pardon me. And for that in our letters we use her Graces name and auctoritie, befor the letters com to her handes, surely, me thought, it was not mete to lose somoch tyme, as to sende to Oking, and tary thanswer bak again, befor the doing of any thing.

The letters arryved about 9 of the clok, and by 11, our dispeche was made and delyvered. And soo, beseching God to sende us better newes herafter, I take my leave of you.

The money shal furthe tomorowe, without faile, they tel me this night.

Your Lordships assuredly,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃.

I sende all thre letters, that the Quenes Highnes may see the contentes of them.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very good Lordes, my Lordes of the Kinges Majestes Privy Counsail, attendant uppon the Quenes Most Royal Person.

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[1] The name of this ship, of which the first, second, and fifth letters only are legible, in consequence of the paper being torn, is shewn by Sir Thomas Seymour's letters.

[2] Rye Harbour.

CCII. WRIOTHESLEY *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE QUEEN.

AFTER my right harty commendations to Your good Lordshipes. Being at my dyner here at Kingston, where, God be thanked, all is yet clere, as the bailieffes and honest men have declared unto me, I received these letters from my Lord Chief Justice, and, immediatly after, this paquet out of the North. And first as to the Northen matiers; thexploytes be notable, in my poor opinion, and deserve harty thankes, whiche may be yeven uppon theffecte of the consultacion, wherwith they be nowe in hande, uppon the receipt of of your last letters. As to the letters of thErle of Glencarn and the Lord Kilmawres, they declare sufficiently, in myn opinion, their untrouthe, howe folishly soever they wold coulour it; and I see not that we can doo any thing in it, without knowleage of the Kinges Majestes pleasure, specially having hard nothing yet from my Lord of Lenoux, and our owne men, who, being good simple folkes, have been pretely by thold fox and his coube deceyved; onles yt shalbe thought mete, for wynnyng of tyme, and the keping of the said Glencarn in summe hope, that my Lord Lieutenaunt, as of himself, cause summe body to speake with him, and to hold him up with indifferent wordes, to thintent he may the more largely open his stomake. Wherin I see not somoche frute, that I dare sodainly moche presse it, but referre me as apperteyneth.

As to the Chief Justice letter, it shalbe mete that, with al speede, a letter be writen to the Consail, to move the Kinges Majeste for the pardon; declaring our hole procedinges therin, by thassent of the Quenes Highnes. In the meane season, I shall cause a pardon to be drawen, and shal take order for their conveyance hens accordingly.

James Nowcher, as Maister Sewster telleth me, being horsed here, at Kingston, to have followed him, toke an other waye, and soo is he escaped.

You shal also receyve a letter from Sir Edward Boughton, touching Ap Henry. And thus being glad that the Quenes Highnes shal have summe good newes, with thother melancoly matiers, I shal beseche God to sende Your Lordships healthe. From Kingston, in hast, this Tuesday.[1]

Your Lordships assured Freind,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL.

[1] The date indorsed on this letter, in a contemporary hand, is "9 Sept. 1544," which fell on Tuesday. The letter is holograph.

I require Your Lordships to dispech the letter this night for the Egipteans, and also thother to the Counsail of Calays, for the ridding of them out of the Kinges Majestes pale there.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very good Lordes of the Kinges Majestes Privy Counsail, attendant uppon the Quenes Highnes.

CCIII. The Council with the Queen *to* Secretary Paget.

After Our right hartie commendacions. We send unto you herewith, to be signified to the Kinges Majeste, suche letters and other advertismentes as arrived here this day, both from the North, and also from thErle of Lynoux, Sir Rice Maunswell, Wynter, and others of that company, being now landed at Bristoll. And understanding by the letters of the said Erle, Mr Maunsell, and Wynter, that they had discharged a gret parte of their men, both souldiours and others, before the recept of our letters lately writen unto them, by the which we advertised them of the Kinges Majestes pleasour touching their furder procedinges, after suche sort as was signified to us by your letters of the 26th of this present, we have eftsones writen to Wynter with diligence, that, lyke as we do sumwhat mervayll, that he, having writen before that he wold remayn at Beaumarres, and desiring that he might employ his service to thannoyaunce of the Kinges Majestes ennemies, now comyng from the Newfoundland, or otherwise, as occasion might serve, hath now thus sodenly not only gon from Beaumarres, but also discharged his men; so we thinke good, that yf his men be in dede discharged, so as it wold be a new charge to the Kinges Majeste to assemble them, he then, taking a good and profitable order for the sale of the victualles to the most advauntage of the Kinges Majeste, and seing thordinaunce wel set up in sure custody, saving also asmoche of the prise wynes, as shall be mete for His Highnes use, shall, with his bookes of accompt, repayre hither with diligence; otherwise, yf his own men be not yet discharged, he shall employ himself to serve according to the Kinges Majestes commaundement, signified by our former letters unto him; requiring him, in that case, to use suche earnest diligence and good circumspection in thexecution of his service, as the Kinges Majeste hath conceyved good opinion of him.

And wher the Lord Eure writeth, that he, and certain officers there, have byn unpayed of their wages for one yere, ended the 16th of August last,

last, bycause we have not, sens the Kinges Majestes passage over the sees, hard any thing of it, nor know what nomber, or how many of the officers there do remayn unpayd, we have writen to my Lord Lieutenant to have a more certen declaracion therof; to thintent suche order may be taken for the satisfaction therof, as the Kinges Majeste shall commaunde. And thus we byd you right hartely well to fare. From Eltham, the 30th of September, 1544.

Your very loving frendes,

(*Signed*) T. CANTUARIEÑ. THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃.

THO. WESTM̃. WILLM̃ PETRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very loving frend Sir Willm Paget Knight, one of the Kinges Majesties two Principall Secretaries. [1]

CCIV. SIR ANTONY KNYVET *to* KING HENRY VIII.

IT may please Your moste Royall Majestye to be advertised, that Your Majesties surveyour here, at Your Highnes towne of Portesmouth, hath been verey seke the space of twoo monethys, and yet is not hable to comme furth of his chamber; and, in his absens, I, with the helpe of John Chaderton, have been the oversear of Your Magestyes workes here, and for the tyme that I have been oversear here, Your Majesties workes hath not been hynderyd.

It maye please Your moste Royall Majestye to be so good Lorde unto me, to gyve me licence to comme se Your moste Excellent Majestye, the which shall moste comforte me of all thinges under the hevyns; and so to informe Your Majestie of the state of Youre Highnes new fortresse here, the which maye be called a castell, bothe for the compase, strength, and beawtye: and the devise and facion therof is straunge, and mervelously praysed of all men that have seen it; with the commodious and profitable scituacion therof, aswell for the defence of this Your Majesties towne and havyn, as of the contrey thereaboutes. The like is not within the Realme. I dar say Your Majestye had never so great a piece of worke doon, and so substaunciall, in so litle tyme, as all skylfull men, that have seen it, do reaporte. Moste humbly besechyng Your moste Excellent Majestye to be

[1] Paget was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Ralph Sadleyr, on the 23d of April 1543, when the latter was sent Ambassador to Scotland.

so good Lorde, that I maye comme to the presence of Your moste Royall Majestye, for the space of 3 dayes, to shewe Your Majestye the platt and the doynges therof. The which, as I doo trust, shall like Your Majestye.[1]

It maye also please Your moste Royall Majestye to understande, that I have placed, by Your Highnes commaundement, John Chaderton, chief captayn of Your Majesties said new fortresse; as appereth by a letter to me, addressyd from Your Highnes most honourable Counsaill, with 12 gonners, 8 souldiours, and a porter; which is with the fewyst, consideryng the greatnesse and largenes of the place; and charged hym also with suche ordenaunce and munycion, as I have receyved by indenture of the Maister of Your Graces Ordenaunce, for the furnyture of the same; whiche surely is to litle to furnysshe the half of the saide place. As Our Lord God knowith, who sende Your moste Royall Majestye long life and prosperous health, with encrease of all honour.

At Portismouthe, the 22th daye of October.

By Your Majestyes moste humble
Subgiet and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) ANTONY KNYVET.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Moste Royall Majestye.

CCV. SIR THOMAS SEYMOUR *to* THE COUNCIL.[2]

AFTER my umbell comendassens. It may plesse Your Lordeshipes to be advertiside, that Monday last thar fell suche a mist, whare we lay in Orwell-wanes[3], that on of us colde nott see a nother lying at a nanker; and as yesterday in the mornynge, wether beyng calme, came with the ebbe in to the Narow Sees, whare we lay yesterday all day, tyll towardes nyght, and then came a galle at the northe, and made sayll allnyght, so that, Godde be thanked, we gatt to Dover Rode, whare the wynde cum somoche esterly, beyng thare, that I thynke this nyght to gett to the Blake Nasche[4]; ande, for as moche as I here that there ys 17 saylle at Etapeles[5] of men of warre, I thynk to morow, in the mornynge, to skower the cost, tyll we come to Sen hede[6], ande then to retorne the shepes, wyche ys a poyntede

[1] He was, in 1545, appointed Lieutenant of the Tower.
[2] This letter is entirely in Sir Thomas Seymour's hand.
[3] The mouth of the Orwell, near Harwich. [4] Blanc Nez, on the French coast, west of Calais.
[5] Etaple, at the mouth of the Canche, south of Boulogne. [6] The mouth of the Seine.

to

to kepe the Narow Sees, to Dover, and the rest to go to the Wyght: prayng your Lordeshipes that I may nott be longe forgotten thare, but that I may be sett a work, for the tyme that I have loyterde be reson of the wynde. The masteres dowthe moche of the entrepryse of Etapeles, for that tharre may no goode shepe come nerre the shorre be 7 mylles at the lest; and yf ony grett galle of wynde come at the northe west, thosse that shall goo in, shall have moche a do to recover the sees; but whan we shall be a genst it, yf ony thynge may be don, it shall not be slakke, God wyllynge.

Yf it shall plesse you to sende the shepes, that kepe the Narow Sees, to mett with me at the Wyght, ande geve us leve to go in to Brettayne, I am in beleffe to sarve the Kynges Mageste well. Ande yf it shall plesse you to sende me that way, I requyre your Lordshepes that I may kno your plesur shortley, for the Frenche men [*hearing* [1]] that we ley a bowght the Wyght, it shall cawse them to fere ony wynde, that shulde brynge us thether.

Yf it may plesse your Lordeshepes to sende me thither, ye may have remayne the 6 saylle that was in the furst a poyntement; for I dowght moche, and so dothe M[r] Care, how the Jesus of Lubeke, the Galyon of Hameberge, ande New Barke, wyche be but weke shipes, and some draweth moche [*water* [1]], wyll [*stand* [1]] the Narow Sees this winter.

I take my leve of Your Lordshipes. From Dover, the 6th of November.

Havinge left out the Lesse Gale, M[r] Care hathe deseyerde me to putt her in, for on, to grett for this place.

Your Lordshipes to command,

(*Signed*) T. SEYMOUR.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very goode Lordes, my Lordes of the Kynges Prevy Counsell.

CCVI. THE COUNCIL *to* SIR THOMAS SEYMOUR. [2]

AFTER our most harty commendations. The Kinges Majestie hath seen your letters, addressed unto us of the 6th of this instant: and understanding by the same thatt yow ar desirous, after yow shall have taken order in all thinges, according to the memoriall delivered here unto, to take somme

[1] These words are torn off, and are supplied from conjecture.

[2] This Minute appears, by the indorsement, to have been made on the 8th of November, and is in the handwriting of Petre.

occasion

occasion to passe to the costes of Bretayne, wher yow trust to doo His Majeste good sarvice, and therfor ar desirous to have the greater nombre of the shippes, appoynted by the later order to kepe the Narrowe Sees, to met wyth abowt the Wight, thinking thatt the nombre only of 6 shippes shuld suffice for the Narrow Sees according to the fyrst appoyntement; yow shall understand thatt His Majestie, for awnswar, hath commawndyd us to signifie unto yow, that His Majeste is pleased thatt, after order taken for the victalles, and the sees clensed, if yow shall se any good oportunete to do His Majestie good sarvice, yow shall, according to your desires, passe to Bretayne; and thinketh the nomber appoynted, by the later order, to remayne allwayes with yow, to suffice for thatt purpose; and therfor is resolvyd to have the 14 sayles remayne uppon the Narrowe Sees. And if the Jesus of Lubecke, the Greate Galion, and the Newe Bark be thought nott strong inough to remayne uppon the Narrow Sees, His Majestes pleasure is, yow shall appoynt three other shippes, about the burden of 300 and upward, with nombers of men accordingly, to supply the places; nott doubting, butt in your passing to the Wight, yow will visit the Frensshe fysshermen, who (as we here) be uppon the sees in greatt nombre; and remember the doing of such other annoyaunces by the waye, as yow may.

CCVII. SEYMOUR *to* THE COUNCIL.

YTT may please Your Lordshippes too be advertisid, that immediatly after the writting of my last letters from Dover unto your Lordshippis, which was on Thursday last, the winde blew up at the aeste, so that we were fayn too forsake Dover Rode, and woolde have com to Bowllen, but the ebbe cast us soo muche westward, that it was 2 of the cloke the nexte day, at after none, er wee coulde reche unto hit; wher, calling the capitains and maisters too gyther, it was resolvyd amongist us, that we shulde make slake sayle that night, soo that wee might bee the nexte mornyng before Deepe, or nere therunto. For it was showid me by my Lorde Saint Jone, that there lay 17 sayles of Frenchmen, wyth whom we purposid, yf they abode our commyng, too meete, or else too saile further a longist the cost of Fraunce, where we shulde meete wyth fyshermen, and soo com to the hedd of the ryver of Sayne; wher also we hadd knowledge lay 17 sailes more of greate shipps. Then we, being on the cost of Fraunce, the wynd rose

at

at easte southeaste, one houer before day, soo extremly, that wee were fayn too trye the sees, and hadd muche adoo too falle, the nexte day at night, wyth Wyght. Soo ther followed me that day, in sight, the Mynyon, the Salmander, the Jenett, wyth dyverse other, to the nomber of 17 sailes, which gatte also the harborowe: of whom I thinke, this present day, to have knowledge, which they bee; for as yet I coulde not, by occasion that in this tempest we all lost oure bottes. The rest, that toke not way wyth us, have tryed the sees this night past, in as sore a storme as ever I sawe. Howbeit, with the grace of God, havyng saye romme, they will gett Darmouth Haven. Also, wher as your Lordshippes spake too me of the putting of the souldiers too boorde wagis here, at Porchmouth, for sparing of the victuailes a shipp boorde, I know not, yf Wynter have any money here or not, for the doing therof; for I am sure the souldiers have none; nor, I am not sure, yf he be any of thos that hath gotten harborrowe here with us, and yf it be soo, that have money. Wherfore I desier too know your Lordshipis pleasures in this thing. And as for the setting forth of the shippis that shall kepe the Narow Sees, I wyll take bottes at Hampton[1] and Porchmouth, such as I can gett, and revitayle them that lake vytailes, as shortly as I can, too send them forth. Furthermore, it was declarid unto me by my Lord Saint Jone, at my being at Dover, that most parte of the victuayles, that shulde goo too Boullen, were all redy conveyd thither; and for that the rest was not in a redynes, I tarryed not for the passage of hit. I lett your Lordships also to understond, that a shippe with 2 mysens, callyd the Mary Jamys of Callice, laid a Frenchman a borde, that cam out of Skottland, on Wensday last, wherin were dyverse Skottes, and fought with hym; who, perceyving that he shulde take the worse, felle a boorde of a Flemmyng, which waftyd the fyshermen neer to the cost of Dunkerke; who claymyth the goodes, for that (as he said) they hadd warre with the Skottes, as we hadd: but as for that that belongith unto the Frenchmen, they said hit shulde be rendryd ageyn to us; wherapon our man, having taken a Skott out of the shippe, whom we have, is gonne too Dunkerke wyth them. I understond that the shippe is of Deepe. Morover the Greate Barke, the Gallyon of Hambrugh, and the Swallow, were not redye at our departing; soo that I thinke they be nowe at Dover. From the Peter, wythin Wyght, the 9th day of November.

Your Lordshepes to commande,

(*Signed*) T. SEYMOUR.

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[1] Southampton.

Since

Since the fynyshing of my letter, ther is arryved here, and gonne into Porchmouth Haven, 10 sayles more, wherof the Pauncie is one, and the Lesser Galle, the Swepestake, and 3 other of the Kinges shippis, which be gonne into Porchmouth Haven; but which they be, as yet I know not. Also on of the marryners, being in the toppe, said that he descried 9 sailes more then cam in, which of lyke were not able to fetch wythin the Ylland. Soo that I thinke the ryde abought Chall Baye, which is apon the southwest-part of the Ylland.

(*Superscribed*)
Too my very good Lordes, the Lordes
of the Kinges Pryvie Counsell.
Hast,
hast.

CCVIII. SEYMOUR *to* THE COUNCIL.[1]

IT may plesse Your Lordshipes to be advertised, that here ys arevyed out of France, be saffcondytte, a sarvant of Mr Sadeleres, the marchant, who departed from Newhaven[2] in Normandy, on Fryday last, ande hath informide me of such newes, as hereafter your Lordshipes shall herr.

Furst, on the 24th of the last moneth, the Frenche Kynge was in Rowan[3], and thare vesetede 4 gales, whyche be alredy fenyshed in the rever before Rowan, and that thare ys on more at Powntdelarche.[4]

Also he sayeth, that the Frenche Kynge hath sent to Marsilles for 25 gales, whyche he hath thare, and also hath comaundede 6 more to be made at Rowan; ande that the galles, whyche be a poynted to come from Marsell, be commandede to brynge with them all maner of grett shipes that they shall mett with all, as Venyseans, Aragoses, Yetalyans, or what so ever they be, ether be fayre menes or fowle, and that all the sayde navy shalbe on the cost of Normandy, in the begenyng of this next yerre.

Also, that the to Aragossages, whyche they toke on this cost, be at Newehaven, whyche be slopes of 500 a pece.

[1] This letter, which is holograph, is without date; and the defect, though supplied by the indorsement as to the month and year, viz. November, 1544, remains as to the day. It is evidently posterior to the storm on the 8th of November.

[2] Le Havre de Grace.

[3] Rouen.

[4] Pont de l'Arche, on the Seine, above Rouen.

Also

Also, that thare ys no men of warre on the see, but two at Feccam[1], whyche vafftes the fycheres or heryngemen, and that all the fleet, that was of latt on the see, war sentt to kepe that the Kynges Heynes shulde nott retorne from Bolen[2], ande that all they be unrygde at Honflew[3] and Newhaven, whare, the nyght before he departede, was bornede the grettest of the thre galles, whyche came from Marselles, namede La Ryall.

Also, that thare ys departede, and redy to depart, outt of Normandy 30 sayle, whyche gothe to Bordyowese[4] to lade wyn, ande that they loke every day for 40 sayle, that come from Bordowes.

Also, that the voyse gothe, that the Emperrour hath sent worde of latte to the Frenche Kynge, that he wylbe frende to frende, and ennyme to enyme.

Also, that the Beshope of Rome hath sent to the Frenche Kynge a Legatt, to declare that yf he wyll mayntayne warre agenst the Kynges Heynes, he offereth to ayde hym, for a yerre, with 10 or 12000 men of warr, at hys proper charges.

Also, that the Frenchemen intendeth to bryng a narme to the wache tower at Bolen, at the begenyng of the yere, whare they shall ly, tyll they have fortefyede a place thare, to pout in men to deffende, that no man shall enter the havien; ande that they sey that they shull soner wyn it so, than yf they lay sege to it with 50000 men.

Also, that the voyse gothe, that the Dolfen dothe asent hym selff from the Corte, be causse that the processe, that ys made betwixt the Frenche Kynge ande the Emperrour, ys not for hys proffett.

Also, that thare ys come to Merselles a grett man, whosse name ys le Pryour de Decapewa[5]; batt what he ys, it ys nott knowen to hym.

I have worde browght me evennow, that M[r] Strowde, and all the men in the Crestover of Breme, savynge 12, ys lost on the Wyght, on Saterday nyght last.[6]

The Strwse of Dansyke, the Swepstake, ande the Trenete Harry, must be browght a grownde, for 2 of them be in a leke.

Herynge that the sees be clerre, I mynde to sende forthe, with Mr Wattres, the vetales whyche ys preparde here for Bolen; for Mr Carry ys so seke, that he hath kept hys bede this three days, and ys nott abell to ryse to

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[1] Fécamp, on the coast of Normandy, between Dieppe and Le Havre.

[2] Boulogne capitulated on the 14th of September. King Henry VIII. marched into it on the 18th, and embarked for England on the 30th.

[3] Honfleur, at the mouth of the Seine, on the shore opposite to Le Havre.

[4] Bourdeaux. [5] Probably the Archbishop of Capua. [6] See p. 780.

come alande. I shall pout in a redynes, to go with the vetayles, the Suallo, the Lyon, the Artigo, the Coke of Hanbrow, whyche ys nott mett to be in the Kynges wages, for that she wyll kepe no compeny for her slow saylyng; also the New Barke, the New Boyer, the Lesse Penes, and the Lesse Shalope. The rest of the shepes, that be here, shall remayne, tyll that I kno whither the Kynges Heynes do mynde to sende to mett with the flettes that cometh from Bordyowes; for yf the Kynges plesur be that I shulde go to mett with them, I wolde have in my compeny, yf I myght chosse, but thesse shepes foloyng, ande the rest I wolde shulde be sent home, or lefte here, tyll the Kynges Heynes plesur ware ferther knone. Furst, I wolde have the Pance, Lesse Galle, the Salmander, the Strwse of Danseke, the Mary of Hanborow, the Premrose, the Menon, the Genett, the Fawcon, the Dragen, the Mary Hanforde, the Tepken; and all the rest I wolde shulde be pout out of the Kynges wages, tyll Hys Heynes haude more nede to kepe the sees. And thus I take my leve of Your Lordshepes, beynge desyrous to know your plesures in thesse thynges.

Your Lordeshepes,

(*Signed*) T. SEYMOUR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorabell
the Lordes of the
Kynges Prevy Consell.
Hast, for they
lyff, hast.

CCIX. SEYMOUR AND HIS CAPTAINS *to* THE COUNCIL.[1]

IT may plesse Your Lordshepes to be advertesed, that I have resevede your letteres of the 10th of this present, and perseve be the same, that I am thowght neclegent in the acompleschement of the Kynges Heynes plesur. Yf it can be so provede, I am both worthey of ponychement and blame; ande havyng don the best that in me was, I am to be exkewsed.

As to the furst poynt, for the wafftynge of the veteleres, it ys nott unknone that I lay in Orwellwanes, a borde the Peter, 5 dayes, and never came a lande, and the 6 day I made saylle, andd came to Dover Rode the 7 day, at nyght, wharre I spake with my Lorde Sent Jonne, and asked hym yf the vetaylers warre redy to go with me to Bolen, for that was on of the grettest charges I hade. He made me ansour, that he hade sent thether a grett delle, so that they warre alredy veteled for 3 monethes; and I, havyng

[1] In Seymour's handwriting.

hard

hard this, and hade nether commychen to cawle for this many quarters whette out of Norfolke, nor this many of malte out of Soffolke, but to convey suche as shulde be redy to be conveyed, I prayed my Lorde Seynt Jonne to sende with me all suche vetaylles as he hade, to be conveyde to Bolen, for the wynde wolde nott soffer me to tary lenger with hym, or elce that he myght sende safly thether, as longe as I was on the Narow Sees, wyche shulde be as longe as vether and vetayles wolde serve: who [*told*] me, that some remaynde in the Perre, whyche shulde nott be long after me; and [*I quitted*] Dover Rode, whether I wold or nott, becawse the wynde was esterly, [*ande*] the ebbe at hande, and so made over to Bolen Rode, but the wynde and the tyde cast us so fer to the west that nyght, that it was the next day 2 of the cloke, at after none, or we colde gett Bolen Rode. And tharre calde all the captaynes ande masteres to gither, and declarde unto them the instrocshens whyche was deleverde me be your Lordshepes. Ande to the vetelynge of Bolen, it was a grede, that they myght brynge what they wolde, durynge the tyme that we warre on the sees. And for the enterpryse of Etapelles, nether captayne nor master, that wolde consent thare unto; becawse the shepes shulde ley 6 mylle from the shorre, at the lest, ande at the nep tydes, whyche was then, thar was nott 4 fotte water, at a fol see, to convey our bottes to the towne, whyche was of latte bernt; and that we ware advertesed be my Lorde Admyrall, a letell before, that 9 saylle was departede thence. Then I demandede, what way they thowght we myght most anoy our enymes. Then it was consederede, that we myght make no long abode on the cost, be cawse none of the shepes hade past thre dayes vetayles, savyng to, that cam from Harwyche. Wharfor it was tho[*ught mete by us*], that we shulde skower all the Frenche cost, a longe to Senne Hede, and tharre Mr Carre, with suche as was a poyntede to kepe the Narow Sees, shulde crosse over to the Camber[1], yf he myght nott recover Dover, or Bolen Rode. And, that nyght the vynde verde to the northest, so extreme, that we warre fayne to forsak Bolen Rode, and to go westwarde, althowgh we hade ment no suche thing; and so came under saylle in the nyght, whyche was darke and wyndy, tyll halff a nower beforre day, and then the wynde rosse so hye, that suche, as was nott fast aborde the shorre, was fayne to go ronne; of the whych I was on, the Menon, the Salmander, with 5 other saylle; and it was as moche as we colde do

[1] Camber Ness, or Camber Head, was a point of land between Winchelsea and Rye, forming the southwestern point of old Rye Harbour. This line of coast has very much altered, as will be seen by a comparison of Speed's map with any modern one, and the name of Camber Ness is lost. Winchelsea Castle was called Camber Castle.

for our leyves, to gett seyght of the Eylle of Wyght be forre nyght; and it was a nower with in nyght, or I colde gett in. Thre holkes, that came after me, colde nott gett syght therof, tyll they warre in a bay on the est syde of the Eylle; of the whyche Mr Strowd, Bramston, and Battersebe of the Garde, God rest theyr sowles, was in on of them; whyche holke brake all her ankeres and cabelles, and she brake all to peses on the shorr, and but 41 of 300 saved a lyve. The other 2 rode out the storme, whyche lasted all that nyght, and the next day. My brother[1], and John Roberds of the Garde, tryde the sees all the furst nyght, and the next day cam in to Dartemowth haven, wharre my brotheres holke strake on a roke, and brest all to peses; but, God be praysede, all the men warre savede, savyng thre; and a nother newe holke, that tryde the sees that nyght, brake thre of her bemes, and with moche a do came into the Wyght.

Ser Ryse Mansewell, Mr Carow, Mr Wendam, ande dyverse other, was drewen to go with in thre fadom a long be the Frenche shorre, for theyer sewerte, who sor 2 men of warre that wafted the herynge men, who made tokenes to the fesshermen; whyche fyshermen, for hast, beyng to the nomber of 200, lett slepte theyer nettes for hast; of the whyche thare was 2 sonke, and the men of the on gatte holde of the Premrose, and savede them selvs, and a nother was taken be Tepken. As yett I here no worde, what ys becom of the Grete Shalop, the Fawcon, and a crayr of 50 ton, of myne.

The Kynges Heynes, nor feyew other that had ony shepe in this flette, but the ordynance flew a bowght, and shoke the shepes, be reson of the holones of the sees, that they warre straynde contynewally to pompe, and speshelly the Suallo, the New Barke, the Trenyte Harry, and Suepstake. Be this it may apere to your Lordshepes, what the wether was, and whether the shepes whyche was a poyntede to kepe the Narrow Sees, and I with them, hade nott as leve reternde bak to Dover, Bolen, or the Camber; whyche we myght have sen in 3 oweres, yf the wynd wold have servde, as to trey the sees all day, and ventur to enter the Wyght in the nyght. Wharfor I deseyer your Lordshepes to cawlle all the captaynes ande masteres, that ware in this jorne, and yf any of them be abell to sey, that we myght ley lenger in Dover Rode, the Downes, or Bollen Rode, as the wynde dede change, with out pottynge our sellves, ande the Kynges shepes, in gretter danger, then lett me barre the blame; and yf we have don but as the wether wolde serve, I shuld desyer your Lordshepes to blame the wether,

[1] Sir Henry Seymour.

ande

ande lett me, with the rest in my company, be exkewsede, to incorage us to serve on the see a nother tyme, rather then to blame us with out deserttes.

As tochyng the 1500 quarteres of whette and melle, that your Lordshepes comanded me to se conveyed hence, I trust wylbe redy with in 2 dayes, whych I trost to see safly conveyede.

Of the 14 saylle, that was a poyntede to kepe the Narrow Sees, thare ys at Dover, that cam nott out with me, be reson that som was nott redy, and som nott beyng vetayled, the Grett Galyon of Handborow, the the Mary James, the barke with 2 mesens, yf she be nott with the preyse she toke at Donkerke. The Grett Penes, the Lesse Shalop, the Grett Galle, the Fawcon, the Grett Boyer and the Grett Shallop, I kno nott whare they be. The rest I shall sende, as sone as I can gett vetayles to pout in them, with out bottes, for here ys nott 6 bottes in all the flett.

The vetayles preparde at Hampton, I fere wyll nott be redy this 5 dayes. We lake caske, for that the most of us was vetayled but for 14 dayes, and now we shall reséve for a moneth.

I deseyr to kno your Lordshepes plesurs for mony, that we lak to pay such sowderes and maryners as was shept at Harwyche; for I kno of non that was reseved thare, savyng Sir Wylliam Wodhowse, who reseved for thre wekes wages; as it is better knone of Your Lordshepes.

I deseyer to kno the Kynges plesur, whether I shall take outt with me in to Bretayne all the flett that shall remayne, or elce suche as I thynke metest, and whare the rest shall remayne; for the Peter ys to longe a shepe for that jorne; ande that yf ony shepes be discharged here, that mony may be sent for the despach of them; for the 400£ wyche M[r] Winter hath, wyll nott skassly pay the bord wages in the Wyght, and elcewhar.

Be cawse that thare may be more credytt geven here unto, I have desyrde the gentellmen under writen to sett theyer handes with myn. From Portesemowth, the 13th day of November.

I feyre our vetyales wyl nott be redy this 4 dayes, and M[r] Care nott mett to go to the see.

Your Lordshepes to commande,

(*Signed*) T. SEYMOUR.

(*Signed*) R. MANXELL. WYLLM̃ WOODHOWS. JHON CARRY.

(*Signed*) JOHN WYNTER. EDWARDE WATUR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable the Lordes of the Kynges Prevy Consell.
Hast, post hast.

CCX. Duke of Norfolk *to* King Henry VIII.

Thies shalbe tadvertise Your moste Royall Majestie, that, accordynge to your commaundement, I have bene at Yarmouthe, and frome thens alongst the costes of the sea, neare unto Orforde Nesse; and as far as my poure knowledge coulde perceive, have marked what thennemyes might doe, in doynge hurte and displeasure in those parties, if they woulde londe there.

Furste, bytwene Orford Nasse and Laystofte Rode[1] is aboutes 20 myles; and notwithstondynge that in dyvers places ennemyes myght londe, yet forasmoche as there is no good rode nor harboroughe, for any armye royall to remayne neare to the shore ageinst strenable wyndes, that blowe frome the sea, as northernlie wyndes, northeast, east, southeast, and southe-southeast, and that allso the wyndes blowing ther but measurablye, being suche sea wyndes, the belowe of the sea dothe ryse so highe, that botes darre not londe there; my poure opynion is, thennenyes woll not tarye upon those shores, nor londe in those parties, with eny greate nombre. And asfor a smale nombre, shall doe but a smale hurte, in comparyson of the chargies that the same shall cost them. And if any subgecte of Your Majesties shall have any hurte done ther, I am sewer to have moste; as in burnynge my poure towne of Alboroughe, and other my londes near ther-unto. But surelie myne advice shall not be to put Your Highenes to costes and chargies for defence of suche thinges, as without infynite costes woll not be done thoroughe all the costes of your Realme.

Now, Syr, asto Laystofte Rode, for smale shippes, as of the draught of 10 or 12 fote, there is two very good rodes, thone called the Northe Rode, thother the Southe Rode; and in either of thies 2 a good nombre of meane shippes may ryde, ageinst all maner of wyndes; having upon sea borde greate sandes, which do make the harborough good, and bytwene the londing place and the towne is, at the leaste, 40 score tayloures yardes, and the londing places is more than haulf a myle in lenghe; where they of the towne have made one bullwarke of earthe, at thone ende of the rode, and another at thother ende of the same rode, and the thirde in the myddest, bytwene bothe, havynge 3 or 4 smale pecys of yron in every of them.

The towne is as pratye a towne, as I knowe any fewe on the sea costes, and as thriftie and honest people in the same, and right well buylded;

[1] The space between Orford Ness and Lowestoff Roads comprises about two thirds of the coast of Suffolk.

but

but surely, if an armye royall shulde cume thither, consideryng the bullwarkes, whiche shulde beate the rode, be but of earthe, as bankes made of turves, and so farre distaunte frome the twone, I thinke it shulde be no greate adventure for a good puyssance to londe there, and burne the said towne.

The towne of Yarmouthe is frome Laistofte 5 myles, and frome the havon mowthe of Yarmouthe to Laistofte is good 3 myles, and suche highe clyffes bytwene bothe, that a fewe men may defende a greate nombre for landynge there, and frome the said haven mowthe unto Yarmouthe is greate 2 myles, and frome Yarmouthe unto a place caulyd Caster Nasse[1] is other two greate myles, and frome the said haven mouthe unto Caster is as good a rode as any is withein your Realme, if it be not the Wight; and in myne opynion none other suche, as bothe my Lorde Admyrall, Syr Wyllyam Woodehouse, and Legge of Harwyche, doe knowe, as well as I, or better.

The same rode is 4 myles alonges the coste, and as faire landyng places, if it be no greate sea wyndes, as ever I sawe any wheare. And where they of the towne have, longe tyme past, by thadvise of my Lorde of Suffolk, made bullwerkes of earthe to defende the rode ageinst the towne, and now of late newly repaired them, they be so farre distaunte frome the said towne, that any galyes and shyppe botes shulde in the nyght cumme on lande there, suche as shuld kepe the said bullwarkes, shulde not onely be in daungier to be loste, but allso asmoche ordenaunce, as wer lefte in them, might be taken awaye by thennemyes, and yet the said bullwarkes made to good purpose, for defence of a fewe nombre to remayne there. For with consideracion I darre not adventure to leave there suche pecys, as Your Majestie dothe now sende thither, but have appoincted those pecys to be layde so neare unto the towne, that they shalbe owt of daungier, if the towne may be kepte; wiche, in mine opynyon, is the properest towne, the best buylded, with moste substancyall howses, that I knowe so neare the sea, in all Your Majesty's Realme; and, as I thinke, more good buyldeng therin, than is in Hampton, thoughe not so faire houses, as some fewe be in Hampton.

The said towne is walled on all sides, saive onely upon the haven syde, whiche wall is of so smale force, that, within fewe shottes, fewe demy canones woulde make batrye sufficient to entre. There is many smale towres, and so evyll walles, that arre not tenable ageinst no good pece. There is no maner of dyke nor bullwarke without the walle, nor rampaire within, nor the walles of the towres above 6 fote thick; so that, in myne opynion, it is the weykest walled towne, havinge eny walle, that ever I sawe, London, Yorke, Hampton, or other.

[1] Caister Ness is north of Yarmouth.

And

And where as I have devised the best waies I can, for to have the towne kepte, untill the contrye myght cumme to the reskewe thereof, most humblye I beseache Your Majestie to sende hither Mr Lee, or summ other expert mann, and I shall, with good wyll, go thither with hym; who, at his returne to Your Highnes, may declaire his opynyon, what he dothe thinke is best to be done, concernynge bothe the said towne and costes of the sea; not puttynge Your Highnes to any chargies for the same.

Fynallye, moste humblye I beseache Your Majestie to pardon me for declairenge myne opynion, concernynge the not cummynge of the Frenchemen in to thesse parties, with any mayne armye, this yeare; wich thies consideracions followynge do make me to thinke. One is, the costes ar so daungerous, with greate sandes, aswell neare the shore, as one sea borde, that I thinke they darre not adventure to go that waye with their greate shippes. Another is, they doo knowe how stronge Your Majesties navye is, reddy to be sett to the sea; and asseuryd they ar, that beinge ones so farre northe as the Frythe[1], they can never returne thoroughe the Naroe Seaes, but that your said navye shall suerlie feight with them; unto which bargayne I do byleve they woulde be lothe to cumm. And as for their returne homewardes, bytwene Scotlande and Yrelond, these sees be so daungerous, that I can not thinke suche a navye darre adventure to go that wayes. Another thinge that dothe leade me to thinke, that they woll not go to Scotland, is, that they do knowe that they shall doe smale good to their purpose, unles they may tarie ther 6 weakes, or a moneth at the leaste. And ther they knowe they shall fynde smale relief of vittayle for suche a navye, as they darre adventure to feight with Your Majestie one the sea, at their returne. And they, being men of suche knowledge as I take them to be, woll never take that voyage, unles they may carye vittaile with them, of all kyndes, for three monethes at the leaste. And what diffycultye they shall fynde to furnishe the same, Your Highnes, of your greate wisdome and experience, cann moche better determyn, than I can wryte. And thus the premisses considered, myn opynion is, they woll not go thither this yeare. Eftesones moste humbly beseachinge Your Highnes to pardon me, for beynge so boulde to wryte unto you my poure opynion concernynge the premisses. And thus the Blessyd Trynitie sende Your Majestie thaccomplishement of your moste noble hartes desires. Frome Kennynghall Lodge, the 12th of Maye, 1545°.

Your most humble Subject and Servant,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Most Excellent Majestie.

[1] Probably of Forth.

CCXI. THE STATE of THINGES, as well within the Realme, as at Calays, and Boullon, and the Marches. [1]

AT Boulloyn, the have victails and men ynoughe, and theris delivred to the Treasorer 16000£ for the same, and Mr Lee hath commaundement, on your behalf, to send 300 pyoners thither more.

Item, Mr Auchar hath commaundement to send thither all such other thinges as Mr Paulmer and Rogers have written for, who hath promised it shalbe don with expedition; to whom, for the provision of thinges necessarye, there is delivred 700 poundes, besydes 300£ for the takling, and other thinges necessarye for the perfection of Your Majestes two newe galeons.

At Calais and Guisnes, thinges be in good cace, saving they lack money, which shalbe sent to them, assone as it can be amassed. And as for victailz, we here of no complaint from them, and they have peculier pourveyours, which loke to the comblement of the same. And as for fyring, the ships, which have conveyed the Spanyardes, be appoynted to return, charged with see cole from Newcastle.

For the Sees.

Your Majestes pleasure is knowen to my Lord Admyrall, who saithe all thinges shalbe hasted, asmoch as can be possible, and we have delyvered tother day 2000£. My Lord St John hath left good ordre for their provision of victailz, and there is, sithens his departing, delivered tow thousand powndes.

For the See Costz.

My Lord Chambrelayn, as Your Majeste knowethe, and the Maister of the Hors, be appointed in one quarter, and also to see to the state of the Isle of Wight. 200 harquebutes, and corn powder sufficient, sent to Portsmouth. My Lord of Arundell appoynted to back the Maister of the Horss, and my Lord Chauncelours tenauntes and rules to joyn with my Lord Chamberlayn, and all their charge in as good order as can be.

The capitain of the Wight hath put the defence of thIsle in good ordre, having received here a convenyent proportion of munition and sum money for that purpos; who hath, as he sayth, gyven also good ordre for espiall by see of thapproche of thennemye, if he minde it.

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[1] This Paper is indorsed with the date 1545, and is corrected, in various places, by Paget, who returned from the Emperor on the 6th of April, in that year.

Mr Seymour hath his despeche at our handes, for his charge at Dover, and Mr Long likewise spoke unto for the backing of the same, with thayde of Mr St Legiers Deputy, and thother gentlemen of the shire, of whom, also, four or fyve have speciall commission to looke to the same.

Mr Auchar, with the gentlemen of Tenet, being furnished with certain peces of artillerye, and 300 men in garryson, when tyme shall requyre, will take upon them the defence of thIsle, til they may be relieved; which thinges they shalbe furnished of, upon the return of Mr Lee, whom Your Majeste hath sent down thither, to gyve advise for the better defence of the same.

Men be sent to se the furniture of thordenaunce, for their stocking, &c. and for the doing of all such other repares, as may be done for the present.

My Lord of Canterbury, having requyred certain peces of artillery to be drawen to and from sundry places upon the cliffes, with horsses at the charge of the cuntrey, for the repelling of thennemyes, shalbe furnished of the same, if Mr Seymour, upon vieu of the places, shall think it expedyent.

Mr Darcy in to Essex; who is spoken withal for the furniture of those thinges.

As for Yarmouth and Leistoft Rodes, there is promised certain bulwerkes to be made, at the costes of the cuntrey, which, having certayn peces of ordenaunce named unto the Counsail, be thought sufficient to defende thennemyes; for the delivery of which peces, by indenture, the Maister of thOrdenaunce hath charge.

As for the Northe, tharmey is described, the division of the same appointed, ordre gyven to the hed proveditours for victailz, for brewers, bakers, and milnes: likewise to the Maister of thOrdenance, for such ordenaunce, munition, yron, smythes, gonners, whelers, and other necessaryes as want for the furniture of the sayd armey; and likewise for the furniture of the fortresses, except Tynmouthe, wherin Your Majestes pleasure must be knowen. For the drawghtes, my Lord of Hertford[1] sayth he will provide theraboutes.

The fortifications at Berwyke be in hand, as fast as can be.

Mr Stucley is spoken unto, and gone to putt himself in ordre to be in Berwyke Castle.

My Lord of Derham is written to, for the fortificacion of the weake places of Norham.

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[1] He was Lieutenant in the North, and invaded Scotland in August 1545.

Lawson

Lawson is written to, for to go to Warke.

Sir Frauncis Leeke putteth himself in arredynes to be at Tynmouthe; and, in the meane tyme, my Lord Lieutenaunte is written unto, to put sum discret man to the charge of the place, with 200 or 300 men, till Your Majestes further determination.

My Lord of Hertford goyth doun upon Mondaye or Tuesdaye. Memorandum — money; which shalbe sent after with asmoche spede as can.

Letters of attendaunce to the gentlemen that go out of thies partes with my Lorde of Hertforde.

Mr Knevet and Mr Darcy appoynted to take musters of thItaliens horsmen, and for the conduct of them doun in to the cuntrey.

The depeche of the Commissioners for the Dyet[1] redy to be signed.

Ordre is given by exchaunge for 2000£ to be sent to Damozel, &c.

Memorandum for Holy Eland and Tynnemowthe: and for thentertenement of those which go to Berwike and Tynnemowthe, with what nombres they shall cary with them out of these partes.

Item, one is sent expressely to the Bastard of Gueldres, to knowe his procedinges, and to hast hym away.

CCXII. Lisle *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Pleas it Your moost Excellent Majestie to be advertised, that their is cum into the Downes 30 sayles of hulkes, wherof sum be tall shipes, being bounde to Bruage and Rochell[3] for salt; three of them be laiden with mastes, which shalbe brought in to Dover pyre, their to staye until Your Highnes pleasour be therin knowen; the rest of them have no lading, but ballest, which I entende shall not departe from Your Majestes fleet, untill we have

1 The Diet at Worms assembled in March, and broke up 4th August 1545.

2 This Paper is entitled, "Copie of my Lord Admiralles Letter to the Kinges Majeste." It is without date or signature. It was evidently written, while Francis I. was preparing for the invasion of England, in the summer of 1545; and from the mention of the "Carracon", which ship was burnt at le Havre, within Francis's sight, in the month of June, it must have been, before that fact was known in England. The copy is written by a contemporary hand, and is indorsed by Paget, "Copie for my Lord of Hertford," who commanded, at that time, on the Scottish Border. The next letter from the Lord Admiral shews that this must have been written about the 18th or 19th of June.

3 Rochelle and Brouage are ports on the Bay of Biscay; the former a little north, and the latter a little south, of the mouth of the Charente.

 a wynde

a wynde to set over with the coste of Fraunce. And suche bases and other ordenaunce, as they have within bourd, for that they be bounde into the portes of your enemyes, and diverse of Your Majestes own shipes, cumming furth with Sir George Carewe, having lack of such peces, I entende to receave of them, by indenture betwen them and me, or between them of such of Your Majestes capitaines as shall receyve the same, for the furniture of Your Highnes oun ships.

And where Your Majeste hath been sundry wayes advertised of the French Kinges ships royall ryding in a place called the Fosse, betwen New Haven and Harflew, I think it not impossible, eyther to make a present of sum of the best of them unto Your Highnes, or at the leest to set fyre on them, wher they be. In attempting of which enterprise I woll adventure non of Your Majestes oun ships royall, nor non apperteyning unto Your fleet; but my minde is, to take 8 of the tallest and biggest of thies hulkes, and to hyre them by the moneth, to serve Your Majeste, as other straungers ships, putting in to them out of every of our ships certain mariners, which be the men that must do the feate.

And yet the more facily to cum to our purpose, I entend that thies sayd hulkes, being thus manned, shall have a false chase made unto them by sum of our small men, and shall folowe them even in to the mouthe of Seane, and shall use the shot of artillery, one to thother; and at thentrey of the said ryver our men shall cast about, and gyve over the chase, and at that instant I entende to shewe Your Majestes hole fleete before the mouth of the sayd ryver, the more tabuse thenemyes, and to gyve them to better ocasion to gase, wherby our men in the hulkes shall do our busynes with lesse a do; for the conducting of which I have French pilotes of that place, who have undertaken to bring the greatest ship of all this armey in to the Fosse, and shall cum in no lesse water then fyve fadom at lowe water. They that shall the charge of this enterprise, shalbe specially warned, by two and twoo, to laye on bourd, at ones, the Carracon, and two or three of the grettest next unto her; which being entred, in cace the wynde or the tyde shall not serve them to departe, they shall set them on fyer, and with the great bootes apperteyning to the sayd great ships, and their own botes, they shall cum their wayes. And for their better soucours, all our great botes and small rowers shalbe in a redynes, well appoynted to receyve them within the ryver, in such sort, that (allthough the galleys be their) I trust we shall lose fewe or non of Your Majestes subjectes. The chief adventur is in the bare hulkes, which is better to be adventured, than any of Your Majestes oun ships.

CCXIII. The Duke of Norfolk *to* Paget.

With hartye recommendationes. Thies shalbe tadvertise you, that sythe my departure frome the Courte, I have bene all alongest the costes of the sea, upon Essex syde, and have loked apon Shobery [1], accordynge to the Kinges Majesties commaundement, whiche standes directlye upon thother syde of the water, ageinst Sheppey [2], and the Isle of Grayne [2], and had with me there dyvers gentlemen of the shire, and other good maryners, and thinke no greate daungier of landynge of any greate puyssance of ennemyes there, the contrye beinge veray stronge of hedges and dyches; and as I thinke, the moste hurte, they can do there, is to burne a towne of myne, called Pryttlewell, and a nother small toune, called Lee [3].

I did allso not onely loke afarre of upon the said Isles of Sheppy and Grayne, but allso commoned with the maryners of those parties, and do thinke His Majesties money spent there to be to good purpose and well employed; for surely the places ar very daungerous, if thenemyes darre adventure to cumm so farre, and bothe good roodes and good londynge.

After my departure thens, I mett, accordynge to myne appoinctement, with my Lordes of Oxforde and Sussex, my cousyn Darcye, M[r] Ryche, and dyvers other gentlemen of Essex; and have put the best order we can devise for those parties, accordynge to thinstructiones. And to morowe (God willenge) I will ryde to the sea costes of Norffolk, and after of Suffolk, and shall in like wise put ordre there; prayeng you to shewe my Lorde Chauncelour, that as yet the commyssion for the antycypacion is not cumen to these parties; desirenge hym to cause the same to be sent to me with diligence, aswell for Norffolk, as for Norwyche, to thintent we here shulde not be behinde others.

I have had here with me the collectors of this shire, and greately blamed them for that the benevolence [4] was not yet all paide; and their excuse was, that a greate nombre of people have lamentably complayned

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[1] Shoebury is the south-easternmost point of Essex. [2] On the north coast of Kent.

[3] Prittlewell and Leigh are a little west of Shoebury.

[4] There remains in the State Paper Office a Paper, indorsed "Mynute of a Letter to "divers Lordes &c. for the benevolence," in which the King, adverting to the "importable "charges' which he has "borne, upon the league with the Emperor, for the benefit of "Christendom, and for the recovery of his right to the Crown of France", calls upon those, to whom the letter is addressed, to "contribute such sums of money as they conveniently "may, by way of benevolence", "as if the same were granted by Parliament", "whom he "hath forborne, at this time, to trouble with their repair to the Court."

unto

unto them, that for lack of paiement for suche grayne, as is taken of them for the Kinges Highenes use, they have no money to paye the same; but that notwithstondynge, I have and shall, this weke, take suche order, that I truste it shalbe shortely payde.

And wheare my Lordes of the Counsaile wrote to me, that His Majesties pleasure was, I shulde take suche ordenaunce, as I thought good, out of the blockhouses within my commyssyon; at Tylbery[1] there dothe lack moche to furnische them: and, as my cousin Darcye saieth to me, in like wise there dothe lack in all suche as he hathe the chairge of. And therefore I shalbe enforced to doe the best I can, without any, unles it shall please His Majestie to sende some to me. Fynally, I thanke you for laienge of the postes. And thus hartely farre you well. Frome Kennynghall Lodge, the 21th of this June.

Your lovyng frend,

(*Signed*) T. NORFFOLK.

(*Superscribed*)
To my right worshipfull Friend, Mr Secretarye,
Syr Willyam Patgett, Knight.

CCXIV. LISLE *to* THE COUNCIL.[2]

AFTER my moost hartie recommendacions unto Your good Lordshipps. I have received your letters of the 21th of this presente, perceaving thereby that the Kinges Majesties pleasour is to have thentreprise, wherof I advertised His Highnes, to be put in ure. These shalbe to signifie unto the same, that sithens my saide advertisementes unto His Majeste, we have been so tormented with stormes and streynable wyndes, the like I suppose hath not been seen this tyme of the yeare, so longe contynuing. And upon Soundaie last, being the 21th of this presente, we were all togethers a quarte sees over, twhart Bechiff[3], lying on hulling, the wynde vering at northest, and being very fayre wether, having with us the flete of the hulkes, wherof I advertised the Kinges Majeste; thinking thereaboutes to remayn, until answere came from His Highnes, or from your Lordeshippes, of suche advertisementes as I hadde written unto His Majeste. And the

[1] Tilbury, on the north bank of the Thames.

[2] This, as appears from an indorsement, was, like the preceding letter from the Lord Admiral, a copy made for Lord Hertford. The date of this letter is stated by the transcriber to have been the 24th of June. And from a memorandum on the back, it seems that both copies were forwarded together, and reached Lord Hertford on the 5th of July.

[3] Beauchef, now called Beachy Head.

same

same night, in the darke of the evenyng, the wynde begynyng to blowe upp, divers of the hulkes came under theire sailes, thynking to have stollen from us; which being perceaved, we folowed with sundrie of the swiftest shippes of this flete, whereof Sir John Barkleye, in the Lesse Galleye, was formost: who, thinking with the shoting of a piece to have caused them to have turne againe, commaunded his master gonner to shote of a saker, which being fyred, brake all to pieces; and standing him self at the recoile of the same, one piece, not so muche as haulf the quarter of a hasell nut-shell, strake him besides the pappe, and out at the toppe of the sholder; of which misfortune I suppose your Lordeshippes be before this advertised from the capitaign of Portesmouth. Yt was the next daie, at 9 of the clocke in the morning, before we colde gett all the hulkes togethers, and with folowing of them, we were putt westwardes, a rennyng beyonde the Wight. And that night folowing, there came downe so unreasonable peres of wyndes, at the southe and south southe west, that it was asmuche as many of our shippes coulde do to broke the sees; by reason whereof, we were constrayned to holde upp againe with the Narrow Sees, or elles to putt our selfes in with the Wight; whiche I thought not convenyent, conjecturing that with those streynable wyndes, the rest of tharmye comyng out of Thames, and also the Henry, with the Mary Roose, sholde be in the Downes: whiche place, althought it was more paynfull, thenne to have come in with the Wight, we made towardes, were we arryved in savetye, yesterdaie, at after none; fynding there the Harry, and the Mary Roos, and none of the shippes that cometh out of the Thames, neither smale nor great, saving only the smale shalopp, that conveyed my Lorde Great Master[1] to Quynbroughe, which came unto me uppon Saturdaie last, in the morning, and hath been with me ever sythens. The resydew remayned at Gravesende, upon payment, which I woolde hadde been differred, untill there arryvall in the Downes; for they hadde no wyndes sythens to bringe them aboute the Forlande. In this foule night we lost the company of all the saide hulkes, saving 7, which I trust shall serve for the purpose, that shalbe putt in ure with asmuche diligence as wynde and wether woll serve, God willing. Yt maie please your good Lordeships, also, tunderstande that by sundrie hoyes, whiche, sythens my comyng into the Narrowe Sees, have passed out of Roan[2] in to Flaunders, whereof I have advertised your Lordeshipps of sundrie of them, I hadde intelligence of certaine Brytayn shipps, that came with the Burdeaulx flete, whiche sholde be ready to departe from Roan with

[1] The Duke of Suffolk.

[2] Rouen.

the

the nexte esterly wynde, newly fraighted with marchaundize for the parties of Brytaign. Whereupon I appointed two of the shipps of Bristowe, and my two shipps, with one hansome barke, which a servaunte of Mr Southwelles hath here upon his owne adventure, and John Winters barke, and tooe of the botes of Rye, which departed from us upon Soundaie last, the wynde being at northest, to lye in wayte upon the commyng furthe of the said Brytaign shipps; of whom as yet I heere no worde; but if the wether hath done them no harme, there is no doubte of them, for there is not a man of warre abrode, on thisside Brest. And the same daie, I sent the Newe Barke, and the Jennett, with two of the botes of Rye, to scoure the quoaste asfarre as Diep; who mett with two hoyes laden with canvais, comyng from Roan, which seemeth to be freemens goodes; and theye mete also three Flemishe pynckes, laden with pouderd codde, bounde for Roan, and chased them 5 myles, before they coulde take them; which hoyes be brought in to Rye, for that theye were not able to holde upp to this place. And the masters of them being examyned of the towardenes of the Freenche navie in Newhavon, and those parties, seying that the same will not be ready to comme furthe this moneth and more, and that theye tarie for the comyng of the galleys and armey from Brest, which they looke for earlie. The said pynckes, with the fishe, I entende to cause to be delivered unto Thomas Rolf, the Kinges Majesties purveyour of victualles, untill your Lordeshipps shall advertise him of His Highnes pleasour theren. And as tooching the saide hoyes with the canvays, and the like, whenne theye shalbe mete withall, I beseche Your Lordeshipps, that I maye be also advertised of the Kinges Majesties pleasour in that behaulf. And thus &c.

CCXV. Lord Russell *to* The Council.

Right Honorable, and my verie good Lordes, after my right hertie commendacyons unto Your good Lordeshippes. Wher as Master Hugh Stuycklye, Shiriff of Devonshire, hathe, upon your commaundement, laid owt certen summes of monye for the conduyt and prest monye of such maryners as he towke up to go to Portesmouthe, I shall verie hertelie desire your good Lordeshippes for hime, that, throff your goodnes, and my requestes also, he maye be allowed therof wythe suche expedicion, as your Lordshippes shall thinke convenyent. I can do nolesse then coumende him to your

your Lordeshippes, for suche painfull diligence and desirous mynde to serve, whiche I have well noted in hime, in this litle tyme whiche I have ben in the cowntrey[1]. Ther hathe not passed on daie, this 8 or 9 daies, in whiche he hathe not ben on horsebake, to travaile to and fro to see the Kinges bulwarkes and fortresses, some alredy on makinge, some newly devised, some fallen in decaye to be repaired, in suche places, wher he, other by his office, other otherwise, might have to do. If your Lordeshippes shall thinke it good to geve him thankes therefore (althowgh he looke for none), no dowte you shall not onlie cawse hime to rejose to have emploid his labor so, but also yow shall miche encoraged many other gentilmen to do ther uttermost, to folowe suche ensamples, as other dothe give before them. This night, God willinge, I entende to be at Plymmowthe, to see in what case it standeth, and to direct some order ther, for the more sure fortificacyon of the same. And from thence I will take my jorney a longe the seycostes, towardes the Mownte[2]. Here, in this shire, ther ar taken prisoners many Frenchemen and Britaines; the whiche by them that towke them, for the underfull great troble they have in kepinge of them, shulde have ben all sent sent home againe, had not I staid ther so doinge, to thentent I wholde firste know your pleasure herein. For which I desire your good Lordshippes, that I maie be shortelie advertised from you, whether you thinke it best they shulde be sent home againe, or no. This the Almightie God have Your good Lordshippes in His kepinge. From Dartemouthe, the 10th of Julie.

Your Lordeshippes assured,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and my verie good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Pryvie Cowncell, be thes yeven.

CCXVI. RUSSELL *to* PAGET.

RIGHT Worshipfull, after my most harty commendacions. This is to signifye to yow, that I have receved your letters yesternight late, dated the 19th of this instant, att Portesmouthe[3], for whiche your most gentill remembrance of me, I hertely thanke yow.

[1] Lord Russell, on the 14th July 1545, received a Commission of Array for the Western Counties of England.

[2] St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall.

[3] Where the King was.

I perceve

I perceve by your letters, that the Kinges Grace, by the advise of my Lorde Great Master, hathe taken an ordre that the beekins, and suche other markes, whiche may lead in to Temmys, ar plucked done; whiche advise and cowncell is surely right good.

Also I understonde by your letters, that the Emperors Ambassadours have ben with the Kinge, and with yow, the Lordes of the Cowncell, for the treatie of suche injuryes, as they suppose their subjectes to have recevid att Englishemens handes. In whiche thinge I like verie well the order which yow have taken, and shall endevor here, also, to folowe the same, as nere as we may.

I perceve also, that the Ambassador had accesse to the Kinge, to declare his commission from the Emperor, to be a meadyatour for an ende and some good way betwene the Kinge, our Master, and the Frenche King, whiche thinge hath ben longe in doinge. I beseche God it may be well performed att the laste.

I am verie sory of the unhappy and the unfortunat chawnce of the Mary Rose; whiche, throwghe suche rechenes and great negligence, shulde be in suche wise caste awaie, with thos that werr within her, whiche is a great losse of the men and the shipp also; notwithstanding ye give me good hope, by your letters, that the shipp shalbe recovered againe, which I praye God may be so.

I understand, also, that their ar besides Saint Ellens Point to the nomber of 8 score seale, and that the Kinge hath determyned that my Lorde Admirall shall give them battaile, if they abide. And that even then, att the wrytinge of your letters, 17 of the galleis cam in the order of battaile to the fight, of the whiche on was sonke, and the shippes begane to retyre, whiche I beleve will not come againe.

Sir, I shall hartely desire yow, that forasmuche as Mr Bryan is here with me, then who (if I shulde chawnce to be visited with sikenes) ther is no other more mete, in all this contrey, to do the affaires therof, yow will do so muche as move the Kinge, that his gracious pleasure may be, that Mr Bryan may alwaes putt his hande to suche letters, as I hereafter shall sende to His Highnes, or his Cowncell. This I bid yow hertely well to fare. From Bodnam, the 23th of July.

Your owne assured,

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Worshipfull Sir William Pagett, Knight, Chief Secretary to the Kinges Highnes, be thes yeven.

CCXVII. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King.

Pleaseth Your good Lordeshipps to be advertysed, that having taken order with the Mayer and Aldermen of London, for the spedye transporting of the thousand men to Calleys, we sythens receyved letters from M[r] Treasorer, and Sir Thomas Seymour, the copye wherof we sende you hereinclosed [1]; and thereapon have made staye of thenbarking of the same, untyll your pleasure be knowen, aswell in that, as for the men commyng fourthe of Bedfordshere, and other sheres adjoynyng. Wee have also wrytten unto the sayd M[r] Threasorer, and M[r] Seamour, to use diligence in advertising of the Frenchemens being where, without peryll, wee maye make transportacyon, according to your former commaundymentes. Thus, humble prayeng God to sende the Kinges Majestie, and your good Lordeshipps prosperous proceadinges in all your enterpryses, we take our leave. From Lyncoln Place, the laste of July.

Your good Lordeshippes humble to commaunde,

(*Signed*) John Baker. Robert Sowthwell.
(*Signed*) Edward Northe.
(*Signed*) Ric. Sowthwell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honerable the Lordes
of the Pryvye Councell.
Haste, haste,
poste, haste.

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[1] "After our hartie commendacions. Haveng receyved letters from the Kinges Majesties "Counsaill, dated at Portesmouth, the 27th of this present, for the transportacion of fyve thou- "sand footemen, whiche His Grace hathe apointed to be sent from Norfolk, Suffolk, and "London, to Caleys, and that the same men sholde enter the sees within tenne daies after "the date of the said letters; and further His Majestie hathe willed us to cause the shippes, "apointed to the keping of the Narrowe Sees, to escrye abrode, and discover whether the "passage for them sholde be clere or nott, to thentent that you maye provide for the suertye "and salf garde of the said footemen, wee have thought it good to signifye unto you, that "all the Frenche fleate liethe in Saint Johns Roode [2], and all alonge the coste over against "Boloyn; wherfore wee think it is not possible for them to be transported without ther greate "daunger. Trusteng, therfore, that ye will staye them, untill ye shall knowe of thenmyes "departure from thens. This fare you hartelie well. From Dover, the 30th of July.

"Your loveng Frendes
"T. Cheney.
"T. Seymour."

(*Superscribed*)
To the Consell at London.

[2] St. John's Road lies off Ambleteuse, between Boulogne and Point Gris Nez.

CCXVIII. Duke of Suffolk *to* Paget.

Master Secretary, I commend me right hartely unto yow. Having this after none, betwene twoo and three, receyved your letter, whereby I perceyve that the Kinges Majeste doth moch mervell at the want of towles[1]; for aunswer wherunto you shall understand, that asfor sholves and spades, we have had som from London; but as for mattockes, we have had none, which ys the thing that we chiefly lack; these wourkes cannot be doon without them, the grounde here is suche. We have putto making to Winchestre, Southampton, and other places in these partes, many mattokes, soo that I trust by Monday wee shall have a good nomber of them; and thenne, God willing, there shalbe asmoche diligence used as is possible; trusting, or it be long, that this town shalbe put in that force and good order, as it shall defende thennemyes.

And as concernyng the Mary Rose, we have consulted and spoken together with them, that have taken uppon them to recover her, whoo desyreth to have, for the saving of her, suche necessarys as is mentyoned yn a sedule herein enclosed[2]. Not doubting, God willing, but they shall have all thinges redy accordingly, soo that shortely she shalbe saved.

And as touching the western men, we here as yet nothing of them, which is no lyttel mervell to me, and my Lord Admyrall; saving there is com from Poole 60 and odd maryners; and my Lord Admyral ys determyned, when the western shipps be com, to take suche as he shall think most mete to serve, and lay down the rest, and to take the maryners, orde-

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[1] This want was complained of, in a letter from the Duke, of 31st July.

[2] "A remembraunce of thinges necessarye for the recovery, with the help of God, of "the Mary Roose.

"Fyrst 2 of the gretest hulkes that may be gotten, more the hulkes that rydeth "within the havyn.

"Item 4 of the gretest hoys withyn the havyn.

"Item 5 of the gretest cables that may be had.

"Item, 10 greate hawsers.

"Item, 10 newe capsteyns, with 20^{ti} pulleys.

"Item, 50 pulleys bounde with irone.

"Item 5 doseyn balast baskettes.

"Item 40lb. of talowe.

"Item 30 Venyzians maryners, and one Veneziane carpenter.

"Item, 60 Inglisshe maryners to attende upon them.

"Item a greate quantitie of cordage, of all sortes.

"Item Symond, patrone and master in the Foyst, doth aggree that all thynges must "be had for the purpose aforseid."

naunce,

naunce, and men, and to putt them into such ships as are here; soo that if they were com, I trust, God willing, yt shall not be long, that all his thinges here shalbe in good order and aredynes to set forward my Lord Admyral.

And further yow shall understand, that this day the Lord Admyral taketh vieu of all the men in the shipps, to thentent he woll see howe many be syk men; and he, that shalbe thought by hym not able to serve, to be brought to land, and wee here tappoint unto hym hole men for them, and so to furnishe the shipps again with fresshe men.

And as touching newys from the ennemyes, I have herd none, but suche as ys sent to me by yow, from the Court, this morning; saving that my Lord Admyral sent this morning Fletcher to me, declaring to me that ther was a bote of Rye cam to my Lord Admyrall, which he had sent furth before, to see where the ennemyes were becom; which bote of Rye was chased with a couple of gallyes, and by reason of a good gayle of wynd yesterday, in thafter none, he eskaped from them; and furder he sayd, as farre as he could judge, the French men tooke theyr waye towardes the cost of Bulloyn.

Fynally, I trust befor my Lordes Admyralles departure from hens, the cheyne shalbe redy to be layd over the haven, with lyters, and all thinges mete for that purpos, put in aredynes to furnishe the same, for the defence of the ennemyes accordingly.

And as we shall have here, from tyme to tyme, advertysment of newys from the see, doubt you not but to be partaker in all thinges, as muche as I shall knowe. Thus fare you hartely well. From Portesmouth, the first of August, 1545.

Your assured Frend,

(*Signed*) CHARLYS SOFFOLKE.

Where ye appoynted to send hether 4000*£*, I pray you with diligence to take order to send hether 5000*£*, for yow shall understand that there is owing here allmost 2000*£*.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right worshipful and myn assured loving Frend, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principall Secretaries.

Hast, hast,
post, hast,
for thy lif.

CCXIX. The Duke of Suffolk *to* Paget.

MR Secretary, I commend me right hertely unto yow. Sithens I depeched a letter unto you, was there with me Mr Wynter, who cam from my Lord Admyrall a see boord, with a letter to me, aswell mencyonyng the cause of the westorn mens tarrying soo long from hens, as also for other thinges; which letter I have thought good to send to yow herewith.[1]

Yow shal understand that Mr Wynter hath enformed me, that oon Lokyer of Bristow, being a very good capitain, oon of the Gard, ys dede. Fraunces Finglos, captein of the Sampson, ys also departed from hence very sore sik. Sir William Woodhouse, also, ys soo syk, that he shall not be hable to serve a gret while. I trust by Monday or Twisday, at the furthest, the Mary Rose shalbe wayed upp, and saved. There be twoo hulkes, cabulles, pulleces,

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1 "Thies may be tadvertyse Your Grace, that this evening late ys aryved here, within this army, "too smalle barkes of Mydellbourghe, within the haven of Plimmouth, sent by my Lord Privy "Seale; and beinge demandyd of theym what other schippes they kno of thos partyes, comeng "hither, they saye the kno noone, but that thies sayde too bottes, beinge the one of the bourden "of 38th tonnes, and thother of 40. Saith they wer commandyd to departe in soche haste, that "they had no leyser to vitayle, so that they be nat vitayled, at this present, for 4 dayes; and they "came fourthe of Plimmouth haven, upon Wensdaye morning laste. And they saye that as they "came from home, they harde that 4 barkes, belonging to the sayde porte of Plimmouth, were "newly aryved at Faulmouth, and had taken certeyn prices of Frenchemen, to the nomber of 10 "or 12 sayles. I askyde how they dyrste goo forth, and the Kinges Majestes proclamations to "the contrary: and they saye they harde no soche proclamation made in thos partyes. I have "thought good herof to singnify your Lordeship, to thintent that if the reste, which shall come "from thos partys, come after this sorte vytayled, that they shall be hable to do the Kinges "Majeste small servis, consytheringe the scarsite of vitayle here all redy. Ferder I have thought "yt mete to advertys your Lordschip, that this daye, uppon our new survey, and new musters taken "in this flete, yt dothe apere that ther ys a great desease falln emonges the soldyers and maryners, "all moste in every schipp, in soche sorte, that yf the same shold contynew, which God for byde, "we shold have nede to be newly refreshed with men. Ther desease ys swellinge in theyr "hedes and faces, and in theyr legges, and dyvers of them with the blodye flyxe. The certeynte "of all that ar fallen thus sike within thies thre or four dayes, Your Grace shalbe advertysed to "morro one tyme of the daye; for as yet we have nat gon thorro the hole musters, nor the "survey. Allso we ar a bout to make a perfyte survey of the state of every schipp, for vitayles; "the which beinge knowne, I wyll come and wayte uppon Your Grace therwith myselffe. I fear "me that the flete, lokyde for out of the weste partys, will nat be to soche nomber as the Kinges "Majestes expectacion ys that they will; and that the tarying for theym will, in the meane tyme, "consume our vitayles, and allso men. Thus I comytt Your Grace to the tuision of All Mighty "God. Scribled in the Hary, the fyrste of Auguste.

"Your Graces assured to comande,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) "John Lisle."

"To the Dukes of Suffolkes Grace, the Kinges Majestes "Lieutenant of the South partes."

and

and other thinges made redy for the waying of her. Fare you most hartely well. From Portesmouth, the 1st of August, 1545.

Your assured Freend,

(*Signed*) Charlys Soffolke.

Yf it be so, that men fall so syk in our flete, there is no remedy, as far as I can perceyve, but that we must take order to take upp men here, next adjoyning, to furnishe the shipps with freshe men, both for maryners and souldyers.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Woorshipfull, and my very loving Frende,
Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majesties
twoo Principall Secretaries. In hast.
Haste, poste, haste, hast, for thy lif,
for thy lif.

CCXX. The Duke of Suffolk and Others *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Grace to be advertised, that sithens Your Majestes departure from Portesmouth, many of Your Hieghnes maryners and souldiours have fallen sick, and many of them not able to contynue the sees, whiche we thinke groweth by the greate hete, and the corrupcion of ther victuall, by reason of the disorder in the provision, and strayte and warme lying in the shippes. For the which sick men, in the lieu of them, other must be brought in their places, wherein we shall use asmoche diligence as may be. And freshe vyctuell must be renewed, for that it is not good, and so we purpose to doo ymmedyatly; that is to saye, to vyctuell, with good vyctuell, for 14 daies, by Saterday next comming, above the good vytaill allredy left aborde the shipps, and that that is decayed to make good, if it may be; which wyll soo take of the provision in Portesmouth, that your garrisons there, and in thIsle of Wight, and the renewing of Your Graces flete, the 14 dayes being spent, will not here be had, onles the provisions nowe being at Rye, Dover, and in the Thamys, may com to the relief. And for the staye therof, the Frenche fleete lye from Rye to Bulloyn, onely, as we judg, to staye Your Graces provisions; for that it seameth they can do lytell other harme, in any place of Your Graces domynions. And by that tyme the fleete be vyctualled for 14 dayes of newe vytaill, thArrogasye, and other shipps in the fleete, wylbe all redy, and the shippes in the west cuntrey cum by that tyme, as many as will cum, as we think. And as touching Your Graces woorkes,

they

they be in such forwardenes, as Your Hieghnes town and port we trust shalbe well kept from your ennemyes.

Uppon all which matter restyth no more but Your Graces pleasour and commaundement, whether your flete, being vyctualled as aforesaid, shall staye, or sett furth to see against the ennemyes, to sett your passage and vytall at libertye, or otherwyse, as Your Hieghnes, of your most excellent wysdom, shall thynk most expedyent. Which, uppon knowlege, we shall not fayle to followe, and fullfyll in all that we may, as apperteyneth.

Thus we besech Allmighty God to preserve Your Grace in prosperous helth and felicite. From Portesmouth, the 2d of August, 1545.

Your Graces most humble
Servauntes and obedient Subjectes,

(*Signed*) CHARLYS SOFFOLKE. JOHN LISLE.
(*Signed*) W. SEINT JOHN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Majestie, our most dradde
Soverayn Lorde.

CCXXI. LISLE *to* PAGET.

AFTER my harty comendacions. Haveinge received your letter by Mr Constable, wherby I do perceyve the Kinges Majestes plesser, as for the placeing of him in on of the fayre hulkes, when the same shall come frome London, which shalbe accomplished accordingly, God willinge; in the meane tyme he shall contynew with me. Forder I do perceyve by your letter, this daye deliverede unto my Lord Great Master, that for asmoche as the Kinges Majeste, beinge enfourmyde of the dissease of Sir William Wodhous, and Englos, and other capitaynes, beinge of late fallen sike, His Highnes plesser is, to have certeyn other gentyllmen named, aswell soche as be attending in the Courte, ase others mete for the furniture of thos places, now beinge destytude of capitaynes, to thintent His Majeste may determyne His Highnes plesser therin. Astocheinge any capitaynes to be named within this army, other then be all redy placed, exceptt yonge Mr Cary, and the sayde Mr Constable, I kno noone mete to be named to His Majeste; which too gentyllmen be very desyerus to serve, and a very good aparance of towardnes ys in theym. To morro I will sende unto you a boke of all the schipps, which be now in redynes to serve in this army; and allso the names

names of all the capitaynes, and how many schipps dothe lakke capitaynes, to thintent His Majeste therin may determyne His Highnes plesser accordingly. We have moche a doe to frame every thinge for the Mary Ros, but all that may possibly be don, ys don for the same. The worste ys, we muste forbere thre of the greatyste hulkes of the flete, tyll the thinge be don, which muste be emptyd of all her vitayles, ordnance, and baliste, during the busynes, which wilbe a great weakening to the navye, yf any thing in the meane tyme shall hapen. And wher His Majeste, as yt aperith by your sayde letter, in passage yesterdaye over Porche Downe[1], founde a disorder with lying of the schipps, and that His Majestes plesser ys, the shall repayr to the straytte on thisyd Saynct Elyns Poynt, I requyer you to signify unto His Majeste, that the hole flete remaynith in the same place, that they came unto ancker by His Majestes comandement, the same daye His Highnes departyd frome this towne, savenge the Gret Venezian, which ys brought nerer the haven to take in baliste, and the too hulkes, the Jhesus, and the Sampson, which ys brought unto the Mary Ros, be caus they muste wey her upp. Reservinge thies, all the hole flet abydith, as His Majeste left theym. And thus I byde you farewell. To morro I wyll visite yow with my sayde boke of the schipps and the captaynes. Scribled at Portchemouth, in haste, this present 2[d] of August.

Your assured Frend,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Woorshipfull and my very loving Freende, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majesties twoo Principall Secretares.

CCXXII. THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK AND OTHERS *to* PAGET.

MAISTER Secretary, we commende us right hartely unto you. Advertising the same, that, for sundry skilles and weighty consideracions, we have at this tyme thought yt mete to signifye unto you our opinions in certain thinges, as ensueth, which if you shall soo think it good, to shewe unto the Kinges Majeste accordingly.

That is to saye, if the French fleete doo remayn in the Narrowe Sees, soo that threnforcement that shal com from London, and the men of warre

[1] Portsdown Hill.

in the Narrowe Sees, and the vyctaill not to com hether, nor yet His Graces crewe to passe over, thenne we think it not amysse, that I, the Lorde Admyrall, with the fleet and force that is here, shuld, according to His Hieghnes mynde and pleasour, goo all alongst the cost, which shuld be most for myn advauntage, in case I shuld fight with thennemyes.

Yf the fleete of Fraunce be gon to their owne cost, soo that threnforce, that shuld com from London and Dover, and the vyctail, that is there in those partes, might come hether without daunger, thenne wee think yt were better, that the said renforce and vyctail shuld com hether, for these resons folowing:

First, if thennemyes wold attempt any thing to be doon in these partes, His Graces fleete lying here, with thole force together, no doubt, God willing, but His Hieghnes shuld have a fayre day over them.

Secondly, if the French fleet will this yere no more cum furth, then, if His Hieghnes will have me, the said Lord Admyrall, and His Graces fleete, to doo any thing uppon thennemyes, this place of Portesmouth is most propice to goo owte of, and allso best for vyctualing. For in cace the vytaill in London, Kent, and Sussex were com hether, with that that ys here allredy, no doubt, God willing, but the fleete shalbe full vyctailled till the first of October, which shalbe performed by me, the Lord Chamberlein. And, this waye, all thinges, by Goddes grace, shalbe preserved to His Graces honour. And otherwyse it might chaunce, that the French flete, perceyving His Hieghnes fleete to be gon in to the Narrowe Sees, might happen to retourn hether again. Thenne what daunger might ensue therof, harde yt is to knowe; or howe long yt shuld be, or His Majestes fleete shuld retorn hether again, to succour these places. Wee do not speke, ne yet wryte, these for the weakenes of the town of Portesmouth; for assure yourself, before my Lorde Admyralles departure from hens, I, the Duke of Suffolke, entend to putt the town in such force and strenght, as it shalbe a busye pece of woorke for thennemyes to wynne. But our opinions ys, not to putt thinges in that hazarde or adventure, whenne they may be otherwyse preserved. And again, if they be uppon theyr own coste, thenne the spiall beyond the see, might lykewise, from tyme to tyme, make advertisement.

We thinke yt were very requisit to get as moche intelligence of thennemyes procedinges, where they be becom, and what they doo, as possible may be, soo that His Hieghnes might order his affayres accordingly. As we think it shalbe good, that some of the botes of Rye, and other places, mete for that purpose, doo skoore the Narrowe Sees; lyk as I, the Lord

Lord Admyrall, have sent to vieu the cost of Normanday; and also it were not moche amysse to send to the Lordes beyonde the sees, that theyr espiall there may get spedy knowlege, as moche as they can.

And as touching the Mary Rose, her sailes and saile yardes be layd on land, and to her mastes there is tyed three cables, with other ingens to wey her upp, and on every syde of her a hulk to sett her uppright, which is thought by the doers therof, God willing, to be doon to-morowe, one tyme in the day; and that doon, they purpose to discharg her of water, ordenaunce, and all other thinges, with as moch diligence as is possible, and, by littell and litle, to bring her nerer to the shore; and as we shall, from tyme to tyme, woork with her, to save her, His Majeste shalbe advertised accordingly.

Fynally, where the Kinges Majestes pleasour is to have fyve great shipps com from London, to be manned with 16 or 1700 men, and vyctailled for a moneth, I, the said Lorde Admyrall, think it good, that if the best ship of the fyve at London, be well manned and vyctailled, furnished with ordenaunce, and soo sent to Dover, to joyne with thother 4 there, to serve as the case shall require, the same shalbe sufficient, with twoo great hulkes, which I, the said Lord Admyrall, have allredy stayed here, that cam from Bowrwage[1] with salt, in the company of tenne others; but no more of them are mete to serve, for that they be clynchers[2] very weake. As for the salt wherwith they be laden, theyr desier ys, that eyther yt may be bought, orrelles to be bestowed in some place mete for the saulfty therof, for the tyme which twoo great hulkes shalbe manned and vyctailled here. And if His Grace shalbe herewith contented, thenne this berer, Watson, being fully instructed howe the same shipp at London shalbe manned, speaking for theyr monethes to the servantes of me, the Lord Chamberleyn, who shall see it doon accordingly.

And as touching the disciption of the 2000 men, with theyr capitayns, appointed to repayr to this town uppon the fyrst warning, the said Lord Chamberleyn hath aswell declared the same to me, the Duke of Suffolke; as also the men that shall goo into thIsle of Wight, and warned them for that purpose.

To conclude, we daily wishe to here som newes from yow at Bulloyn; hartely desyring yow, that we may be partakers with yow, whenne they shall

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[1] See p. 787.

[2] Clinker-built.

com. Fare yow hartely well. From Portesmouth, the 5th of August, 1545, at six of the clok at afternone.

Your assured loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) Charlys Soffolke. John Lisle.
(*Signed*) William Seint John.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Woorshipfull and our loving Freende, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes twoo Principal Secretaries.

CCXXIII. Lisle *to* Paget.

MR Secretarye, after my veray hartie recommendacions. Theis shalbe tadvertise you, that I have seane your letters, sent unto my Lord Greate Master, to me, and my Lord Chamberlayn; the which, at this present, we have aunswered, and have thought good to staye Watson here, untill aunswer be retourned from you agayne of the Kinges Majesties furder pleasour. For wheras His Highnes pleasour is to have fyve hulkes oute of Thames, it apperith unto us by the saied Watson, that foure of them be clenchers, which (we think, and so doth those that have good experience of them) be no shippes to rencounter thenimies, for they are not hable tabyde the bourding with an other shipp, withoute daunger of perisshyng, and so they shall but disceave His Majestie.

And wheras I omitted the sendyng of the capitaignes names, with the booke of shippes, by my last letters[1] unto yow, ye shall understand that before I had finisshed my saied letters, beyng in the Kynges Majesties letill tyrrett, with my Lord Greate Master, I escried a greate nomber of sailes beyond Saint Helynes Poynt, to the nomber of 20 or 30, which made me make some hast towardes my chardge, so that I did clierly forgeate the finisshing of the booke of the capitaignes; and this was the cause, which I pray you to declare unto His Highnes for myne excuse. The saied sailes

[1] The list alluded to was inclosed in his letter of the 3d of August. Both the letter and list are extant in the State Paper Office, but are not published, because the letter has no particular interest, and the list is superseded by a more complete one, hereafter inserted. The list of the 3d of August distinguishes the ships and boats appointed, while the King was at Portsmouth, from those prepared, or arrived from the West, since His Majesty's departure. The total of the former was 69 vessels, and 10390 men; and of the latter 23 vessels, and 1839 men.

were

were certen small western men, and 11 sailes of hulkes, laden with salte, that came frome Burwaige, which the Kinges Fawcon, the Hynd, and the Marlion, dyd mete in the mydd sees over, and brought them hethur, whereas they do yet remayne; of which 11 hulkes, I have chosen too fayre carvilles [1], thone of 250, and thother of 300 tonnes, veray mete to sarve, if it shall so stand with the Kynges Majesties pleasour. The resydue of the saied hulkes be all clenchers, bothe feble, old, and oute of fasshion.

And forasmoche as it is not knowen, where the French Fleete ys at this present, nor what they doe, if His Majesties armye shuld now repayre into the Narrowe Sees, thenimies beyng alredy departed thence, and shall chaunce, in the meane tyme, to comme hethur, and the wynd contrary for us to fetche this place agayn, as it is possible it mought be; and so might the Kynges peeces here be in some daunger, which God forbydd; and then wold they of Kent and Sussex seye, "Loo, now thenimies be goon hence, "the Kinges Majesties fleete ys come hethur, and nowe that the French-"men be come agayne to Portesmouthe, now my Lord Admirall ys come "aweye". Wherfore, as it ys more at large written unto you in my Lordes said aunswers, at this present (if the same may seame mete to the Kynges Majesties greate wisdome) it is thought unto us here, for all respectes, and for moast suertie unto all His Majesties peeces here, and the greater stroke to his enimies, that his armye do remayne intierlye here, untill it shalbe more perfectly knowen unto His Highnes of the beyng of the Frenche armye. For, if they shall repayre agayne into the Narrowe Sees, then may His Majesties armye departe hence, to fight with them to our most advauntaige. And if they be retired home, it is to be thought that ther hole armye shall no more come furth this yeare. And incace His Majestie shall appoint his armye to do some enterprise uppon ther quoast, then shall the same be most apte to departe oute of this place.

The certentie of the beyng of the saied enimies, I trust His Majestie shalbe shortly advertised, for I have three of the bootes of Rye, and too of the best barkes of the west parties, uppon the quoast of Normandye; three of them havyng chardge to discover betwene Diepe and Seane Heed, thother too to discover betwene Seane Heed and Barfleete [2], and so to the Hague [3], which fyve have promesed either to bryng certen newes of the armye, orrelles to dye for yt.

Wheras the Kynges Majesties pleasour is, to have certen of his shippes brought to passe to rowe, to kepe compenye with thothers of that sourt,

[1] Carvel-built. [2] Cape de Barfleur. [3] Cape de la Hogue.

tattend

tattend uppon the French gallies, ther shalbe asmoche doon unto yt, as stuf and tyme wooll sarve to performe the same. But the Mary Roos (which I trust, with the leave of God, shalbe brought uppe right ones to morowe) hath so chardged all the Kynges Majesties shipwryghtes with makyng engyns for the same, that they have had no leasure tattend any other thyng, sithens His Majesties departure hence; which I beseche you to signifie unto His Highnes. And thus I wisshe you moast hartilly well to fare. At Portesmouth, the 5th of August.

Herwith[1] you shall receive a booke of all the Kinges Majesties shippes, now being in this army, besydes the too hulkes that be stayde tyll His Majesties plesser be knowne, and besydes thos that come out of London and Dover, with the names of the capitaynes, that be in the sayde army. And where you dyd write unto me to sende you the names of as many other gentillmen, as I dyd kno, mete to be capitaynes, I do assure you, I can not remember me of any others, then be now in this Flete, saveng on Hussy, that was one of the Rodes, for whome here that he sholde be a bout Poule[2], and desyerus to serve, I have sent for.

Yours assuredly,
(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray especiall Frend, Sir William Pagett, Knight, one of the Kinges Majesties too Principall Secretaries.
Hast. hast.

CCXXIV. THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK *to* PAGET.[3]

MR SECRETARY, with my most hartie commendations. These shalbe tadvertyse you, that ymmedyatly upon the receipt and perusing your letters, dyrected to me, the Lord Admyrall, and the Lord Chambreleyn, dated at Cowdrey, the 6th of this instant, the Lord Admyrall being then on shipp boorde, I sent the same letters to hym, who, and the said Lorde Chambreleyn, for their partes, have, I doubt not, fully aunswered the same accordingly, which youe shall receyve herewith.

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[1] This last paragraph is in Lord Lisle's hand, the preceding part of the letter being written by a secretary. The list of the Navy, here promised, does not appear to have been preserved.

[2] Poole.

[3] This is the last letter from the Duke of Suffolk, who died at Guilford, on the 22d of this month.

First,

First, where you saye that I wrote not to you, in my former letters, myn opinion for the comming hether of Mr Grymson and Mr Sandes, who shuld have had the principal charge of the twoo thousand men here; now, for aunswere whereunto, you shal understand, that I thought the Kinges Majestes pleasour had been, that my Lord Chambreleyn (after my departure from henc) shuld have had the charge of the hole towne, and the ordering of all them, that shuld have comme owte of the cuntrey for the relief of the same. Whoo, I assure yow, can doo more theryn, thenne any man that I knowe, aswell for the defence of the town and cuntrey, the vyctailling the same, and thIsle of Wight, from tyme to tyme, which he hath promised to doo, as also for the levying of them, that shuld com in to defend the same; and also, again, for that he is knowen, and knoweth every man, soo that for his great wisdom, sobrenes, cyrcumspeccion, and forwardenes to serve, he is the man that shall stand His Majeste in best sted. For that purpos, he hath allredy putt them in good order, with capitaynes, and all thinges necessary, in suche sorte as they shalbe in aredynes to com to hym upon an howres warnyng. Howe be it, if His Highnes pleasour be to send hether the said gentelmen, mencyoned in your last letter, to be under my Lord Chambreleyn, and to helpe hym, as the cace shall requyre, I think they shal do good servyce, if nead shuld be.

Secondly, I desyer you tadvertys His Majeste, that (God willing) this towne and haven, before my Lorde Admyralles departure from hence (which wilbe on Wensday next), or soner, if it be possible, shalbe putt in suche force and strenght for the defence of thennemyes, as, by Goddes grace, yt shalbe kept, till suche tyme as a greter succour may com for the relief of the same, if the cace shuld so requyr.

Therefor myn opinion is, (if it be His Graces pleasour tappoint my Lord Chambrelein to the charge for the defence of this town and cuntrey, having with hym Sir Richard Le, the capitayn of the towne, with such other gentelmen and capitaynes as he hath appointed) I doubt not but, if thennemyes wold attempt any thing, my said Lorde Chambreleyn, and the rest, as is aforesaid, shuld doo unto His Hieghnes right acceptable servyce, for the defence of the said town and cuntrey.

Soo that nowe I trust (my Lorde Admyral being gon, and the town put in good order and force, as is prescribed, for which purpos His Majeste left me here to helpe forwarde, which I have doon, and will doo, for my being here, the best I canne) that His Grace wylbe pleased I shall retorn to His Hieghnes presence accordingly.

My Lorde Admyrall, being this present Friday at dynner with me, told me

me that he had a good hope of the waying upright of the Mary Rose, this afternone, or to morow. Thus fare you wel. From Portesmouth, the 7th of August, 1545.

Your assured loving Freende,

(*Signed*) CHARLYS SOFFOLKE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very loving Freende, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes twoo Principal Secretares.

CCXXV. LISLE *to* PAGET.

AFTER my moste harty recommendacions. Havyng received your letters, this morninge, wherin I do perceyve the Kinges Majesties plesser, as concerninge the settinge forwardes of His Majesties navy towardes the Narro Sees, wher, as it aperith, the Frenche men doo tryhumphe, I truste ther shalbe no tyme forslowyde in the advauncement and settinge forth of His Majesties plesser in that behalfe; and I moste humbly thanke His Majestie, that it hath plesed the same to gyve me libertye to look towardes theyme, for I never thought my selfe in prisone tyll now, syns the tyme of our lyinge here, and doe no servis. I truste in God that we shall departe hense uppon Tusdaye, yf the wynde will serve us.

Yester night one of my botes of Rye, wherof I dyd make mentyon in other letters unto you, that I had sent uppon the coste of Fraunce, ys retourned, and bringith this newes folloinge. Fyrste he seth, that the too other bottes, which I sent with him, departyde frome hym uppon Tusdaye night laste, and they keptt theyr course, este and by northe, and sett over este southe este, and, uppon Thoursdaye morninge, fyll with Dyepe, and percevinge the lande a hyghe, dyd strike all sayles, be caus he wolde not be discovered, and so rode ther all that daye, being caulme, and abought 11 or 12 a cloke at noone, he hard a great pele of goones shoott off, in the Rode of Depe. Yt was so calme, he dyrst not putt him selffe no nerer the shore. The next night he halyd a longes the coste, towardes the Seane Hed, and ther he escriede 6 great shippes lying within the Poynt; wherof he saith that one of theym was as great as any schipp with in this army, except the Harry, thother 5 being very great schippes, but nothing so great. Thos syx schippes, he saith, rode at ancker all moste a gaynste the towne, in the mydes of the chanell. And with out the forlande[1] of the sayde Seane Hedd, he saith ther rode to gethers, at the least, a hondreth sayles; whether they were all men of warr or not, he coulde not telle, for that he was escryed and

[1] Cape de la Héve.

chased

chased with 4 small men. This ys one of the beste botes of Rye, and he, that ys owner and capitayne in her, ys name ys Andrew Kyrke. I do thinke veryly, that the pour man saw no les than he shewith, for he ys notyd to be a very honest true man. Yf this be so, yt ys to be thought, that either theyr hole army, or the moste parte, ys retyred, either to newe vitayle theym, or to laye upp. Wherfor I wolde moste gladlyeste know the Kinges Majesties plesser, in case the wynde serve for yt, at our departinge hense, whether we shall loke towardes thos partyes, and take yt in our waye; for so the wynde may serve us, that yt shalbe most for our advantage to gett theyr coste, and so alonges theyre coste into the Narro Seas. And yf we chaunce to mete with theyme devydyd, as yt sholde seme they be, we shalle have some sporte with theym. And wher as His Majesties plesser ys to have to capitaynes and leaders of His Highnes rowyng peces, I do think, yf it may so stande with His Highnes plesser, that one shall do His Majestie better servis then too. For if theyr be too rulers, one will have his mynde, thother wil have his; if any thinge frame a mys, thone will excuse him by thother; the resydue under theym will excuse theym by too comanders; "he "bed me do that, and tother this". Yf theyr be butt one, having chardge, nether he that hath the chardge commyttyd only to him, nether thos which be under one, hath any soche excuse. Never the les, yf His Majestes plesser be to have yt comyttyd unto too, I shalle accomplisshe yt accordingly. Albe yt that I could do no lesse, then of my pour opynyon to signifye unto His Majeste, referring all to his great wisdome, besechenge His Majeste of this my boldnes to pardon me.

And wher as yt aperith to me, by other letters sent this morninge unto my Lord Great Maister, His Majesties plesser ys, that, calling unto my remembraunce the plattes of the fortifycations of thOld Man at Bolleyn, I sholde theruppon advertys His Highnes of my opynyon, what myght be don by the enymys for the noyaunce of thentry of the Haven ther; the same shall understand, that as I do remember the grownd, and situation of the place, thOlde Man dyd beate the hill syde over againste the Haven, that with motche difficulty, as I take yt, thenymys could fortify ther; for it over lokith the sande hylls, and betyth right againste the hill frome the fote to the toppe of the same; and allso the hill lith so slantt, and so styepe, and so moche under the grownde of thOld Man, that I canot consyder how they could make theyr trenches to come in savety, but that the sayde Olde Man shall all most discover the botome of theyr trenches. And at the laste tyme they dyd attemptt to fortefye ther, they founde the same very defuse; but what other place they have founde, at theyr now beinge

ther, I do not kno. But, as I remember, they have non other comodyus place to lett the entry of the Haven, but to fortefy eether of the sayde sandhills, or elles uppon the poynt in the sayde hill, over against the Olde Man, which ys so over lokyd with the same, that I suppos yt hath coste a greate nomber of theyr lyves, be fore they coulde any thinge prevayle in thos places. And against Base Bolleyn, in the myddes of the vilage called Oultre Eaue, I doe remember they have ther, in a howse, which semyde to be a gentillmans house, a comodyus place to make a mount or a fortres to bete all the Haven with, and to beate Base Boleyn uppon the Haven syde; which place laye more out of danger for theym to worke at theyr plesser, then any other place, that I can call to remembraunce: yet the same ys with out the levell of any colveryn in England, or in Fraunce; but never the lesse, yf they fortefy the same place, they may so order the shootinge of theyr peces, that no schippes nor vessell shall well abyde within the Haven out of danger. Thus I bydd you aswell to fare, as I wold wishe my salffe. Frome Portsmouth, in haste, the 9 of August.

Your assured loveing Frend,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To myn assured loving Freende, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestyes twoo Principal Secretaryes.

CCXXVI. THE NAMES of the SHIPPES with ther CAPITAIGNES.[1]

FOR THE VANWARDE.

Capitaignes.	Shippes.	Tonnes.	Men.
Admirall Sir Thomas Clere	The Aragozia of Hampton - -	[a]700	450
John Seinctclier - -	The Jhesus of Lubick - -	[b]600	300
Thomas Bell - -	The Sampson - - -	[b]600	300
Thomas Fraunces - -	The Morian of Dansick - -	[c]400	250
John Chichester - -	The Struce of Dansick - -	[d]400	250
Sir John Luttrell - -	The Mary of Hambrough - -	400	246
Thomas Sherborn - -	The Gallion of Hambrough -	400	240
Thomas Hennege - -	The Trickill of Dansick - -	300	180

[1] Seven of the vessels, included in the List of the 3d of August, are not found in this List. Their tonnage amounts to 465, and their crews to 384 men. The vessels marked with an † in this List are not in the former. There are many differences between the two Lists in the tonnage, and number of men. Where they differ, the numbers of the first are here noted.

[a] 600. [b] 700. [c] 500. [d] 450.

Capitaignes.	Shippes.	Tonnes.	Men.
Thomas Bieston - -	The Spanyarde Deva - -	[e] 300	120
John Elyott - -	The Harry of Bristoll - -	[f] 200	120
Alexander Carvanian -	The Trinitie Carlion - -	[f] 200	120
William Butler - -	The Margaret of Bristoll - -	[f] 200	120
Robert Renneger - -	The Trinitie Renneger - -	[f] 200	120
Geffray Vaughan - -	The Christopher Bennett - -	180	120
William Courtney - -	The Mary James - -	[g] 160	100
Thomas Gye - -	†The Thomas Tipkyn - -	160	120
Thomas Robertes - -	The Mary George of Rye - -	140	115
Edward Treford - -	ThEvaungelist Norton - -	160	120
Jaymes Parker - -	The Trinitie Smyth - - -	[h] 160	100
Thomas Cheynye - -	The Peter of Lowestof - -	140	100
John Cutte - -	The Pilgrym of Dertmouth -	140	100
William Raunger - -	The George Brigges - -	140	100
James Spencer - -	The Thomas Mawdalen - -	140	100
John Merick - -	The LArtigoe - - -	[i] 120	80
Summe of Shippes for the Vanward -	24		
of Men - -	3800		

FOR THE BATTAILL.

The Lord Admirall -	The Henry Grace a Dieu - -	1000	[p] 700
Peter Carewe - -	The Greate Venizian - -	700	450
Sir John Clere - -	The Peter Pomgarnarde - -	600	400
The Lord Clynton -	The Pauncye - - -	[d] 500	300
Gawen Carewe - -	The Mathewe Gonson - -	[a] 500	300
Thomas Apowen - -	The Aragozia of London - -	500	300
Thomas Wyndam -	The Greate Gallye - -	500	300
Roger Basyng - -	The Lesse Gallye - -	400	240
Clement Paston - -	The Pellican of Dansick - -	[j] 300	210
Sir George Cornewall -	The Swepestake - - -	[k] 400	240
Arthur Wynter - -	The Savior of Bristoll - -	[l] 350	200
Thomas Coten - -	The Minion - - -	300	220
Morgan Mathewe - -	The Sallamaunder - -	300	220
Androwe Dudleye - -	The Swallowe - - -	[m] 250	160
Richard Brooke - -	The Unicorne - - -	[m] 250	160
Edmond Hussye - -	The Newe Bark - - -	200	120
Bauldwyn Willoughbye -	The Jennet - - -	[f] 200	120
Gilbert Grice - -	ThAnne Lisle - - -	200	160
Richard Greye - -	The Fawcon Lisle - -	200	160
Thomas Boyes - -	ThEvaungelist Judd - -	[n] 180	110
Auncell Gyes - -	The Dragon - - -	[g] 160	110
Donston Nudigate - -	The Lyon - - -	[g] 160	100
John Wallwyn - -	† The Trinitie of Totnes - -	120	90
Thomas Fletcher - -	† The Julian of Dertmouth - -	120	74

[a] 600. [d] 450. [e] 260. [f] 180. [g] 140. [h] 150. [i] 100. [j] 400. [k] 300. [l] 340. [m] 240. [n] 160. [p] 730.

Capitaignes.	Shippes.	Tonnes.	Men.
Mathew Hull - -	† The Nicholas of Dertmouth -	120	70
John Chrocher - -	The Mary Marten - -	120	[o] 80
Thomas Roodes - -	The Mary Fortune - -	120	90
William Dryver - -	The Mawdalen Dryver - -	[i] 120	80
John Renneger - -	The Galigoe Renneger - -	80	80
John Toppe - -	† The Mary Katheryn of London -	80	40
William Baker - -	The Mary and John - -	100	80
William Lee - -	The Marten Bullye - -	60	60
Thomas Hudston - -	The Mary Fortune of Lowestof -	100	80
Fraunces Barney - -	The Mary Bullern - -	100	100
Henry Goldyng - -	The James of London - -	[o] 80	68
William Harman - -	The Mighell of Newcastle - -	80	60
Anthony Dogate - -	The Trinitie of Foye - -	80	60
James Spicer - -	The Marlion Russell - -	60	60
William Candish - -	The Mary of Grenwiche - -	[i] 80	70
John Calerde - -	† The George of Falmouth - -	60	56
Summe of Shippes for the Battaill - -	40		
of Men - -	6846		

FOR THE WYNG.

Capitaignes.	Galliasses and Shaluppes with Ores.	Tonnes.	Men.
Admirall William Tyrrell -	The Graund Mystres - -	450	250
Vice Admirall Robert Legge	ThAnne Gallaunt - -	400	200
Edward Joones - -	The Gally Subtill - -	300	250
William Broke - -	The Greyhound - - -	200	120
Thomas Hardyng - -	The Fawcon - - -	100	[q] 60
William Haull - -	The Hynde - - -	80	50
John Burley - -	The Sakre - -	60	60
Richard Fletcher - -	The Marlion - - -	60	50
Edward Woulf - -	The Phenix Hertford - -	80	80
John Basyng - -	The Brigendyne - -	40	50
Thomas Hutton - -	The Hare - - -	30	30
Walter Solye - -	The Roo - -	100	80
William Bell - -	The Lesse Pynnes - -	60	45
	Boates of Rye.		
Androwe Church - -	The George - - -	—	37
William Blakye - -	The Mawdalen - - -	—	37
Black Jonson - -	The Jhesus - - -	—	30
John Bredes - -	The James - - -	—	30
James Jonson - -	The Mary George - - -	—	30
David North - - -	The Trinitie - - -	—	30
John Emery - -	The Mary James Fletcher -	—	30

[i] 100. [o] 90. [q] 80.

Capitaignes.	Galliasses, &c.	Tonnes.	Men.
Luke Lambarde - -	The Unicorn of Poole - -	30	32
Richard Myller - -	The Gallion of Lyme - -	—	40
George Stuckley - -	† The George of Totnes - -	40	32
Giles Calawey - -	† The George of Ditsam - -	40	32
Thomas Nycoll - -	The Fawcon of Plymmouth -	20	[r] 26
Christopher Stoughton -	Rennegers Pynnes - -	—	24
John Peers - -	The Pikpurce - - -	—	21
Robert Austyn - -	The Redbrest - -	—	15
William Graye - -	Grey of Lowestof - - -	—	20
Walter Hollyes - -	† The Hackney of Plymmouth -	35	31
Leonerd Willes - -	† The Figge of Plymmouth - -	30	38
William Stephen - -	† The Mary Wynter of Plymmouth -	40	32
Thomas Gooddale - -	† The George of Dertmouth -	60	50
Thomas Hollyes - -	† The Mary of Fowye - -	—	30
Thomas Cock - -	† The James of Foye - -	—	29
Richard Whyte - -	† The George of Truroe - -	—	32
Thomas Even - -	† The Katheryn Whyte of Lowe -	40	31
David Lloyd - -	The Sholder of Moton - -	—	[s] 20
Olyver Burton - -	† The Mary of Hastinges - -	—	32
Thomas Norres - -	† The Cakaphogo - - -	—	15

Summe of Galliasses, Shalupes, and Boates of Warr for the Wyng - 40
of Men - - - 2092

Thorder for the saied Flete, taken by the Lord Admirall, the 10th day of August, 1545.

1. First, yt is to be consithered, that every of the capitaignes, with the saied shippes, appointed by this order to the Vanwarde, Battaill, and Wyng, shall ryde at ancker, according as they be appoynted to saile by this saied order; and that no shipp of any of the saied Wardes or Wyng shall presume to comme to an ancker before thAdmirall of the said Ward.

2. Item, that every capitaign of the saied Wardes and Wyng shalbe in every thyng ordered by thAdmirall of the same.

3. Item, when we shall se a convenient tyme to fight with thenimies, our Vanward shall make with ther Vanwarde, if they have any; and if they be in one compenye, our Vanward (takyng thadvauntaige of the wynde) shall

[r] 30. [s] 15.

set

set uppon ther foremost ranck, bryngyng them oute of order; and our Vice-Admirall shall seake to bourd ther Vice-Admirall, and every capitaign shall chose his equall, as nere as he maye.

4. Item, thAdmirall of the Wyng shalbe alwayes in the wynde, with his hole compenye; and when we shall joyne with thenimies, he shall kepe still thadvauntaige of the wynde, to thentent he, with his compenye, maye the better beate of the gallies from the greate shippes.

5. Item, the Lord Admirall shall beare one banner of the Kinges Majestes armes in his mayne topp, and one flag of Saint George Crosse in his fore topp, and every shipp appoynted to the battaill shall beare one flag of Saint Georges Crosse, in his mayne toppe.

6. Item, thAdmirall of the Vanwarde ys appoynted to beare too flagges of Saint Georges Crosse, thone in his mayne topp, and thother in his fore topp. And every shipp appoynted to the Vanward, shall beare one flag of Sainte Georges Crosse in his fore toppe.

7. Item, thAdmirall of the Wyng shall beare a flag of Saint Georg Crosse, in either of his mesyn toppes; and every shipp, galliasse, pynnesse, and shalupe, appoynted to the Wyng, shall have in ther mesyn toppe one flag of Saint George Crosse.

8. Item, the Lord Admirall shall beare 3 lightes in the night, one greate light in the poupe behynde, and too smaller lightes in the myddes of the bonaventure mesyn shrowdes.

9. Item, thAdmirall of the Vanward shall beare too lightes in the night, to be a knowledge to all that Ward, and those too lightes to be borne in the saied bonaventure shrowdes, withoute any other light in the poupe.

10. Item, thAdmirall of the Wyng shall beare one light in his saied bonaventure shrowdes, withoute any other light, for a token to all that Warde.

11. The watch wourde in the night shalbe thus, "God save King "Henrye"; thother shall aunswer, "And long to raign over us".

CCXXVII. Lisle *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

At this present yt may like Your Majeste, that thenymyes and we have sight one of thother, stryving who shalle gett thadvauntage of the wynde; theyr gallys rowth faste for yt, and our Wyng dothe thayre beste; they have yet thadvauntage of the same; never the les they make no haste, soche as they mought do, and yf they were disposed to fyght. Wherfor I thinke we shall not fyght this daye. They have wether, as they wold wishe, for it blowth littell wynde; and yet, if they were better disposed to the matter, then they seme at this tyme to be, yet may we dayly with theym a daye or too, before we nede to fyght, exceptt we see a better advantage with opertunyte. I intend nat to omytt to see, what God will send in the meane tyme. They seame to be many more shippes in nomber then we be; but the victorye restyth not allwayes in the nombers of shippes, nor men, but only in the goodnes of God, workinge with Him, as moche as men maye, to serve the towrne; wherin, God willinge, we shalle do that may ly in us, accordinge to our dutys. And if it shalle plese Him to sende us a comodyus wynde, I have good hope Your Majeste shalle here soche news of our procedinges with theym, as shalbe extable unto the same, to the lawde and prayse of Allmyghty God, who graunt yt so. Amen. And albe yt that they be issuede out of the Narro Seeas, to come to seke us, as it sholde seme, for I have perfytt intelligence that by a hulke, which stale from us the fyrst night that we departyd out frome the Wight, who, in the mornyng early, dyd willingly strike theyr sayles to too gallys, that were lurking to escrye what your armye dyd; and in case that the Duche man wolde have helde uppe with thre of Your Majesties shaluppes, which were in the leghe of the sayde hulke, she had nat nedyd to have byn taken; for the sayde thre shaluppes, with the helppe of our gally and foyst, dyd rescue the sayde hulke; never the les they tooke the master of the same a waye with theym; by whome it aperith that theyre army have been perfytly advertised of our settinge forth frome the Wight, with all the syrcumstances of the same; that they have lefte yet behynd theym some to kepe the passage of the Narro Seas, bothe of theyre gallys, and allso other shippes, or elles they have sett the passage at large, which I fearre they have nat. The place, wher we be at this present, ys thwartt of Shorham, too kennys allmoste frome the shore. The

[1] This letter is holograph.

wynde,

wynde, ever syns the fyrst nyght of our commeng out, at mydnyght, hathe byn at este southest, and at este, that we coulde not fetche by este of Bechiefe, and it hathe been allmoste callme ever syns. I pray God send us a fresher gale of wynd, and then I truste theyr shalle no advantage forslowyd, that may be taken of theym. As knowith the Lyvinge God, who ever preserve Your moste Excellent Majeste in longe and prosperous felicite, with the contynewall desyer of Your moste royall hartte. In the Harry Grace a Dieu, the 15th of Auguste, at 10 of the clokke be fore noone.

Your Majesties moste and obedyent
faithfull Subject and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges moste
Excellent Majeste.
In haste,
haste, haste.

CCXXVIII. LISLE *to* GAGE.

AFTER my right hartie commendacions. Theis shalbe tadvertise you, that the Kinges Majesties navie ys arrived twhart of Beauchif; where, for lack of wynde, we be at this present comme to ancker, to stopp this ebbe, and with the nexte fludd, which wooll be aboute foure of the clock in the mornyng, we entend (God willing) tapplye towardes Dover. I had thought the French fleete wold have been here before me, to have stopped us at this place, for uppon Saturdaye night last, both they and we came to ancker within a leage togethurs; and all the same daye, frome noone untill night, they assailed us with ther gallyes, but ther hole fleete approached us not, untill it was after son settyng; before which tyme ther gallies were repulced, and then both they and we came to ancker, within a leage one of an other: and yarly in the mornyng they were dislodged; for by the tyme yt was daye, they were asfarre into the wynde of us, as we might escrye them oute of my mayne topp, halyng into the seawarde, the wynde beyng somwhat fresshe; so that, if they had taried, ther gallyes could have doon them letill pleasour. And wheras, the daye before, they came togethurs, like an hole wood, they kepte now, in ther removing, noon order; for some of our small boates, which could lye best by a wynde, (whome I dyd purposely send to se what course they helde, and what order they kept) brought me wourde, that they lay est with the sailes, as though it shuld seame that they mynded to fetche

fetche the Narrow Sees before us. Ther was five myles in lenght (as they thought) betwene ther foremost and ther hyndermost shippes. And seyng that they be not here in this baye (which we have alredy seane) I cannot perceave, howe they can be before us in any part of the Narrow Sees. Wherefore I have thought good to desyer you to send me some of your intelligence, and allso that you wold gyve knowledge to Rye, that all the shippes, which be there with the Kinges Majesties victualles, may comme and mete with me to morowe at the Nasse [1], as I goe towardes Dover; where, (God willyng) if the wynde wooll suffer me, I wooll be with thole flete to morowe at night. Herof I requier you, with diligence, tadvertise the Kinges Majestie. And if ther armye, or any parte of them, remayne in any parte of the Narowe Sees, whethur it be uppon ther owne quoast, or uppon oures, I doubt not but I wooll have some knowledge of them, ones ere to morowe night; wherof allso (God willyng) I wooll not faile to signifye unto His Highnes. And thus I byd you right hartilly well to fare. In the Harrye, under Beauchif, this Mondaye, the 17th of August, at 9 of the clock in the night.

Your assured loving Frende,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honourable, and my veray loving Friende, Sir John Gage, Knight, Comptroller of the Kinges Majesties moast Honourable Household, and one of His Highnes Privie Counsaill.

Hast, hast.
hast.

CCXXIX. RUSSELL *to* PAGET.

RIGHT Worshipfull, after my very hartie commendacions. You shall understonde, that I no [2] newis to write you from hence, but that a longe time we have looked for the Frenchemen here, for whos comminge we ar metlie well provided, and shalbe every daie in better aredines then other.

This morninge I have receaved a letter from Sir John Horsei [3], signifienge that in divers places abowte Shirbrone, and in the towne of Shirbrone also, commawndement was brought, from place to place, by men of honestie, as is supposed, to the constables and tithingemen in the seid parishes, that the howses of pristes shulde be diligentlie serched, and all kindes of weapons,

[1] Dungeness. [2] Sic. [3] Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset.

bookes, letters, and spittes, wherwith thei roste their mete, shuld be putt in save kepinge. And forasmoche as it is not knowen, that other the Kinges Highenes, other His Majestes Counseile, have this commaunded to be so done, and therfore their procedinges therin may be suspected justelie, I thought it good and nec[*essary*] immediatlie to addresse my letters to Sir John Horsey, by the postes, desiringe hime to take some paines, and to use all diligence for the triall and findinge owte of thos, whiche ar the beginners and setters on of the seid serche.

Sir, you shall understonde, that divers newis ar commonlie bruted here, the trewthe wherof I knowe not. It is noised amonge us, that my Lorde Great Master, my Lorde Marques, and my Lorde of Arundell, dothe or shall go to raise and levie the sege of Bolloigne. In likewise it was constantlie affirmed here, that the Isle of Wight was taken and burned, and divers other most false lies, the awthors wherof I have punished in the pillerie. For whiche cause I hertelie praie yow, that some times, at your leasure, ye will bestowe on me a small pece of paper, conteininge the trewthe of suche newis and affaires, as you shall judge worthie the writinge. Wherin, I assure you, ye shall do me a very frendlie pleasure. Thus moste hartelie I bidd yow well to fare. Frome Exceter, the 18th of August.

Your oune assured,

(*Signed*) J. Russell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Worshipfull Sir William Pagett, Knight, Chief Secretarie to the Kinges Majestie.

CCXXX. Lisle *to* King Henry VIII.

Yt may please Your moast Excellent Majestie to be advertised, that your hole armye, at this present, ys here under Beauchif, the wynde taking us yesturnight at the north est, and bloweng so round a gale, that we are constrayned to remaine here, for it bloweth right in our waye as we shuld goe into the Narowe Sees. I trust Mr Comptroller[1] (whom I dyd ymmediatly advertise of oure being here) hath signified the same unto Your Highnes, and allso that Your Majestie hath been advertised of the proper skirmisshe that the French gallyes made us, uppon Saturday last, wherof at

[1] Sir John Gage.

that

that tyme I dyd breifly certifie Mr Bellingham [1]; requiring hym to signifie unto Your Majestie theffect therof, by my Lord Chamberlayn. And whereas in the same it maye appere, that the French fleete (if they had been desyrous to have joyned with your armye, as it shuld seame they were not) mought have endevoured them selves moch more towardes us, then they dyd; albeit I mynded, asmoche as mought lye in me, teschewe the fight that daye (for a better daye, than the same was for ther gallyes, they could not wisshe), yet notwithstandyng that the tyde and the wynd was so favourable, at that tyme, unto them, that if they had been yernestly determined to have taken thadvauntaige of the same, it wold hardly been avoyded from a battaill; wherin we dyd put our confidence in the goodnes of God, and shewed our selves to be nothyng affrayed of them, but kept togethurs, close by a wynde, putting oure shippes that could not rowe, and such, as had no peeces tannoye the gallyes, furdest of, and our roweng peeces, and such others of Your Highnes greate shippes as were best ordnaunced, nexte unto them; yf we shuld streight have gyvon them place, the gallyes wold have been to busye at oure poupes; wherby ther fleete might have taken occation of couraige, which I thought not mete to gyve them; assuryng Your Majestie the Mystres, thAnne Gallaunt, the Greyhounde, with all Your Highnes shalupes and roweng peeces, dyd ther partes right well; but especially the Mystres, and thAnne Gallaunt, dyd so handle the gallyes, aswell with ther sydes, as ther prowes, that your greate shippes in a manier had letill to doe. Ther hole fleete dyd still kepe thadvauntaige of the wynde, makyng no hast towardes us, untill the son was almost set, by which tyme ther gallyes were well beaten, and repulsed towardes them. And beyng no tyme, then, for too such armyes to begyn a fight so nere night, gave me occation to thynck, that they rather mynded to make us affrayed, then to do us any harme. And when they were comme within a leage of us, I caused our flete to comme to an ancker, to thentent they shuld perceave we were not affrayed of them. And theruppon ther Admirall shot of too warnyng peeces, as though they wold do the like. But in the mornyng, when the day brake, ther whole flete was asfarre of from us, as we could escrye them oute of my topp gallaunt; sithens which tyme we have had no sight of them. I dyd verilly thynck, that they mynded to have comme with this place agayne, to have been here before us, wherfore (seyng they be not betwene this and the Camber Nashe [2], wherof I have perfect knowledge) I cannot judge where they shuld be at this present. The wynde ys nowe at the northest, which

[1] Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight.

[2] See p. 779.

caused

caused us to stopp here, for that it is right agaynst us, as we shuld goe to Dover; but if it doth not overblowe, I trust, neverthelesse, to get thethur within theis three tydes, there to be in redynes with Your Highnes armye, taccomplisshe Your Majesties furder pleasour, in such thynges as shall please the same to commaund us. And in the meane tyme, as I shall have furder knowledge of the procedynges of your enimies, I wooll advertise Your Majestie therof accordinglye. As knoweth Allmightie God, who evermore preserve Your moast Excellent Highnes in long and prosperous felicitie, with the continual desyer of Your moast royall hart. Scribbled in the Harry Grace a Dieu, the 18th day of August, at eleven of the clock, be fore noone.

Your Majesties moste humble
and obedyent Subject and
faithfull Servaunt,
(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges moast Excellent Majestie.
In hast, with dilligence.
From the sea.

CCXXXI. LISLE *to* LORD ST. JOHN.

MY veray good Lord, after my hartie recommendacions. Theis shalbe tadvertise you, that the Kinges Majesties newe shipp, cauled the Maistres[1], ys in such cace, with laboryng in this foule wethur, that she ys not hable to kepe the sees, without spoilyng of her mastes and tacle overbourde. Her mayne maste ys lowse in the pawtners, and the crosse trestles both of her foremast, and also of her mayne mast, are broken. And forasmoche as the wynde contynueng yet straynably at est north est, that by no meanes, as yet, we can plye no furder towardes the Narowe Sees, then twhart of Beauchief, wher thole armye lyeth a hullyng in the sea (as this berer can shewe you), I have thought good to send the saied Maistres back into Portesmouth, to thentent the Kinges Majesties shipwrightes may loke uppon her, and devise for her amendment, as shall seame best to ther connynges; and assoone as the wynd wooll suffer me to send to Rye, I wooll cause the master carpenter, that made her, to repayre unto Portesmouth to her. When your Lordshipp shall have spoken with the connyng men that be there with you, and when they shall have certified you of the state of the saied shipp, I

[1] The Great Mistress, commanded by Admiral William Tyrrell.

requier

requier your Lordship to signifie the same unto the Kinges Majestie, with diligence.

There be also sondry shippes of this flete veray evill appointed with anckers and cables, especially marchaunt shippes, and some straungers shippes.

Your Lordshipp shall allso understand, that I have intelligence, by a French fisher boate, which was taken by one of the boates of Rye, that the French armye shuld be retired unto Seane Head. Whethur they wooll retourne any more this yere, or not, it is uncertayn. But inasmoche as they be retyred in the fayre wethur, (havyng victualles, as theis fisshermen do repourt, for besydes ther too monethes victualles, that they came oute withall, ther hath commen unto them, wekely, 20 or 24 sailes, with victualles oute of Diepe, Newhaven, Feckham [1], and all those partes, in such sourt that the countrey there ys almost faymisshed through the furneishing of them) yt is liklye that they entend not to comme furth agayne this yere, with the hole army. Ther Admirall shuld be rydden in post (as the said fisshermen do seye) to the French Kyng, who lyeth at a place cauled Arkes [2], a leage from Diepe. The poore fisshermen seyen that there was never journey so costlye to Fraunce, as this hath been, for so short a voiage, nor more shame spoken of emonges them selves.

My Lorde, I dyd send wourd by lande from Beauchief to Rye, that the victuallers shuld comme furth and mete with us, because the wynde was good for them to come to us, but yet I here no wourde of them. Others of the same compenye, ladon with corne and grayne, passed by here yesturdaye, towardes you, and those with victuall mought have comme as well, if they had wold. Here ys some of our fleete, receaved no part of ther proportion of drynck, at ther laste victuallyng at Portesmouth, but were assigned to receave yt of those victuallers, at our commyng into the Narrowe Sees. For them we have made shift to fornish for the tyme. And the moste part of the flete, as your Lordshipp knoweth, receaved drynck there, but for a fourtnight, so that, at this presente, there ys no greate stoore of drynck in tharmye. Wherefore if the wynde shuld contynue here, and the victuallers will not comme unto us, a good meynye of this fleete may happen to drynck water; but I trust they wooll comme to us, seyng they have the wynde so good for them, and, for our lieffes, we cannot comme to them.

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[1] Fécamp.

[2] Arques, on a river of the same name.

I have

I have allso stayed here three greate hulkes; part of ther ladyng is copper, bound, as they sey, for Lusshborne[1]; the leste of them ys 500 tonnes a peece, and the best appoynted shippes that I have seane, of hulkes, both with ordnaunce, and for close pavesyng and nettyng. Those that have commenly seane the hulkes passe this waye, seye that they have not lightly seane them so well appointed, nor so warlick.

I have allso stayed too smaller hulkes, ladon with wheate, rye, and some meale, who allso seye that they be ladon for Lusshborne; but forasmoche as I knowe the skarcitie in divers places, I have thought good, allso, to staye the saied shippes with corne, untill the Kinges Majesties pleasour may be therin knowen. And allso concernyng the said three hulkes, which (if His Majestie shuld have neade of any straungers shippes) I sawe noon of that kynd this greate while like unto theis. Wherof I requier your Lordshipp to send with all diligence, to be advertised of His Majesties pleasour in thies behaulfes, and therof that I may be certified accordinglye. For the straungers desyer moche to knowe ther aunswer. Wherefore I thynck it for the more suertie, that aunswer might be sent aswell to Dover, or Rye, as allso to your Lordshipp, because of the uncertentie of the wynde. And thus I byd Your good Lordshipp right hartilly well to far. In the Harry, twhart of Beauchief, the 20th of August.

Your Lordshipps assured Frend,
(*Signed*) John Lisle.

Postscript. I have stayed an other hulk, passing by, ladon with wheate and meale, and entend to staye asmany as shall comme ladon with grayne, untill I shall be furder advertised, in that behaulf, of the Kinges Majesties pleasour.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray good Lorde, my Lord Seint John,
Lord Chamberlayn to the Kinges moast Excellent Magestie, now beyng at Portesmouth.
Hast, hast.
hast.

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[1] Lisbon.

CCXXXII. Lisle *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your most Excellent Majestie, that this evenyng, Thomas Hardyng, and those which I sent with hym, to get intelligence of the French fleete, are retorned, and seyen that they sawe a greate nomber of the said French fleete rydyng at the Seane Heed. They could not well nomber them, for that it was night, before they fell with the same, but they esteame them to be 200 sailes, or thereaboutes. And in castyng aboute from the said fleete towardes the shoore, for feare they shuld be discovered, they escried a small vessell under saile, the which they made towardes, and toke her, beyng a Flemisshe pynck, the which came that night oute of Newhavon, where they had made sale of certen fisshe and herynges, and was retourning into ther countrie. The master and marchaunt I have examined, who seyen that the French fleete arrived at the Seane Head on Monday last, in the mornyng, and thAdmirall went on lande to the towne of Newhavon, with a greate nomber of gentlemen in his compenye; but there was neither shotyng of ordnaunce, nor any other apparaunce of rejoysyng at his commyng. They seye that ther fleete diminisshith daillye, and part be retired towardes Homflewe [1], parte towardes Hartflewe [2], and some brought into Newhavon. And the fleete purtaignyng unto Diepe (wherof ther ys 18 sailes) are appointed to goe thethur, with the next wynde that wooll sarve them. Whethur theis shippes, that drawe thus apart from tharmye, are appointed to revictuall in sondry places, or not, they cannot seye; but ther men of warr comith daillye from ther shippes, bringyng on land ther harnes, ther coffers, with other ther necessaries; and such a nomber of sick and miserable creatures, as comith oute of the shippes, they never sawe. They seye it is not possible for ther armye to retourne any more to the sea, this yere, both for skarcitie of victualles, and for lack of men. For the moast part of theis, that have been oute, had rather be hanged, than go furth agayne. There ys no maner of couraige nor gladnes, nor apparaunce of comforth amonges them. The common people (talking as they dare) grudgeth, seyeng ther Kyng hath been at greate chardges and nothyng doon. Fourtene of ther gallyes ryde togethurs at ancker, betwene Hartfleete [2] and Newhavon, and foure are sent up to Rouen; fyve or syxe moe ther shuld be at Diepe.

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[1] Honfleur.

[2] Harfleur.

Theis

Theis are theffecte of thintelligence, that I can learne at this tyme; but I shall not faile (God willyng) as oportunitie wooll sarve, to gyve order for the recoveryng of furder intelligence of ther procedinges, wherof I wooll advertise Your Majestie, from tyme to tyme, according to my moast bounden duetye; and shall thynck it veray long, untill God wooll send us a wethur, that we may do Your Majestie some service, to thannoyaunce of your enimies. And thus the Lyving God preserve Your Majestie in long and prosperous felicitie, with the continuall desyer of Your moast royall hart. In the Harry Grace a Dieu, at Saint Helynes Poynt, the 21th of August.

Your Majesties moast humble
and obedient Subject and Servaunte,
(*Signed*) John Lisle.

Yt may please Your Majestie to be advertised, that after the writing herof, My Lord Chamberlain dyd send unto me, to know, whethur Your Highnes armye shall receave in ther nexte victualles at Dover, or at Portesmouth; wherin I can make hym noon aunswer, untill such tyme as Your Majestie hath determined your pleasour in that behaulf. But Dover, I know by experience, if ther chaunce to be any foule wethur aboute the tyme that tharmye shuld revictuall, they shall not be hable to receave yt in, the shippes must lye so farre into the sea, and the billowe goith so high, that neither boate nor hoye dare comme nere the shippes. Wherfore it is no place for your armye to trust to be victualled in, and especially for Your Majesties greate shippes. And in the Downes, it is as evill for them, or worse. Wherfore I knowe no place for Your Majesties greate shippes to have recourse to victuall in, so well as at Portesmouth. And incase that the French armye comme no more abrode this yere (wherof it cannot be but Your Majestie shall shortlye have perfect knowledge), I suppose Your Highnes wooll then otherwise determyne your pleasour concernyng your greate Shippes.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges moast Excellent Majestie.

CCXXXIII. Lisle *to* Lord St. John.

After my right hartie commendacions unto Your good Lordshipp. Theis shalbe tadvertise the same, that wheras, in my last letters, I dyd signifie unto you the state of this armye, especially for drynck; and wheras I wrote unto you then, that incace the victuallers dyd not come unto us the soner, dyvers of this flete were like shortly to drynck water, I assure your Lordshipp, that sondry of the same had tasted it too dayes before the wrytyng of my said letters, which I dyd not then knowe. And sithens that tyme, I have been so cauled uppon in tharmye, for want of the same, that I have been wery to here yt, and have been fayne to delyver beere oute of myne owne shipp, to releve some of them; and allwayes we have loked for the commyng of the victuallers oute of Rye unto us, which (if they had well consithered the waight of such affayres) they wold have doon ere this tyme. We have kept the sees so long, in hoope of ther commyng unto us, that dyvers shippes of this armye do feale the fowle wethur, that hath been of late; and nowe we were constrayned to repayre hethur, as well to have present ayde of such thynges as we want, as allso, if we shuld have layne a hullyng any longer in the sees, we shuld have been so farre put to the lee, that we could not have fetched this place agayne, aslong as the wynd doth hold in this quarter, but shuld have been fayne to have held upp with some other havon in the west parties, where we shuld have found neither victualles, nor other provision for us.

And wheras I dyd write unto your Lordshipp of certen hulkes, which I have stayed, some laden with corne and meale, and some with other merchandises, bound (as they seye) for the parties of Lusshbourne, wherof (as I dyd then advertise your Lordshipp) there ys three or foure as goodly hulkes, and as well appoynted, as I have seane; I have, sithens that tyme, stayed other too, which, in beautye and well appoyntyng, are beyond thothers: and one of theis, that I have last stayd, ys a ship of 600 at the least, and hath 5 toppes; she ys of the town of Dansick, and ladon in Flanders for Lusshbourne: thother shipp passith not twelve score, but she ys veray well appointed, and made after the gallias fashion. She was in my compenye the last yere, when thAdmirall of Flaunders and I kept the sees togethurs, and was one of the best shippes that he had in his flete. I have also stayed a hoye bark, ladon with sea cooles, bound for Rochell. Whethur the same be in cace of forfaiture, because it is a kynd of munition, I referr it to my Lordes of the Counsaill. But forasmoche as, at my departure from Portesmouth,

mouth, the smythes, workyng uppon dyvers thynges for the Kinges Majesties necessarye affayres there, had great lacke of the same, I thought good to staye the said cooles, which were bound to the Kinges enimies countrees. And in cace they be not forfaight, yet if you have neade of the same for the Kinges Majesties said busynes, you may take them uppon His Majesties price, for His Highnes affayres, as you shall thynck good. Requiryng your Lordshipp so use expedicion for thattaignyng knowledge of the Kinges Majesties pleasour concernyng the said hulkes; for the truth is, that dyvers of them are richely ladon, and desyer moche to have aunswer with spede, what they shall doe. Wherfore I requier your Lordshipp, assoone as you may have aunswer from my Lordes of the Counsaill, that you wooll gyve order with them accordinglye. For I wooll send them into the haven, because if the wynd comme aboute, that I may goe towardes the Narowe Sees, I wooll not forslowe it, God willyng. And incace aunswer come unto you, whiles I shall ryde here, I pray you let me have some knowledge from you with spede; and if I chaunce to be departed frome hence, before thaunswer do comme, that you wooll advertise me by the way of Dover, by land.

I trust your Lordshipp have advertised the Kinges Majestie of the state of the Mystres, and of the Gallye Subtill, and the foyste, which I suppose wooll be hable to do no more sarvice, untill they be amended. And if the French armye shuld retourne agayne this yere to the sees, which verilly I rather thynck they wooll not, we shuld have no small mysse of those three peeces.

There be allso in this armye dyvers shippes, which, after another storme, wooll be hable to loke no more abroode this yere. And I thynck our enimies be in as evill cace, or worse. For emonges such a nomber of shippes, as they have, and as we have, all cannot be strong, nor all cannot be well tackled. But when His Majestie shalbe furder advertised of the determinacion of his enimies, and of ther proceadinges, His Highnes accordyngly wooll dispose his pleasour therafter; and, in the meane tyme, I wold wisshe that this flete mought be releaved with ther wantes of drynck, and other thynges, which if the victuallers wold comme unto us, according as you commaunded them, wold soone be at a poynt; and so shall we be readye to undertake any thyng that shall please His Majeste tappoint unto us. As knoweth God, who have you in His kepyng. Scribbled in the Harry, this 21th of August.

Your Lordshippes assured loving Friende,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)

To my veray good Lord, my Lord Seint John,
Lord Chamberlayn to the Kinges Majestie,
this be delivered, at Portesmouth.
Hast, hast.

CCXXXIV. RUSSELL *to* THE COUNCIL.[1]

AFTER my moste affectuous commendations unto Your goode Lordeshippes. The same shall understonde, that there hathe ben no small sturr and busynes, bothe in Dorset and Somersetshiere, in the searching of priestes; being bruted as a thing commaunded by the Kinges Majestie: and yet, havyng no commission under writyng for the same, the matter passed after suche sorte, from counstable to counstable, and from tything man to tything man, that lyke as they, being igno[*rant p*]eople, taking none advyce of the justices, or gentylm[*en roundabou*]t theym, that myght, in suche a case, gyve theym [*good advice*], being otherwayes afearde to do, by reason the s[*earch is made*] in the Kinges Majestes name; so they ranne as hedlong [*in*] such a kynde of searche, as I have not hard of. Your Lordships shall understonde that this brute hathe troubled the priestes of thies partes, whiche stoode in feare to be used, lyke as they were in Dorset shiere. But taking suche ordre, thorough the direction of my lettres, aswell to the justices, as counstables, baillifes, and other the Kinges Majestes officers of this shere, I trust I have stayed hit so, that no searche shalbe so practised there; and also have caused the same to surcesse, bothe in Dorsett and Somerset shiere; whiche I ensure your Lordshipps hathe ben no small trouble to the Shriefe, and all the gentylmen of the countrey, or that they coulde bryng hit to passe. And to thentent your Lordshippes shuld be advertesed of theyre procedinges in the same, I send you hereinclosed Sir John Horsseys[2] lettres to me, with the copies of suche preceptes and obligacions, wherein dyvers tythyng men and others stonde bounden to theyre goode abearyng, and to the staye of this searche, that that maye be don for the triall and knowled[*ge of*] the orygynall thereof. How soever thise mat[*ers may be*], I ensure your Lordshippes hit was but evyll in suche a tyme as this.

Thies shalbe f[*or to make known*] unto your Lordshippes, that the Frenchemen aboute the coostes here, and h[*ave taken thre*]e or fowar of our fissher men bel[*onging to Ly*]m, betwene that and Dartmouth. And by [*thaccount of*] our fissher men here, many of them, or the most parte, are taken from hence as marryners to serve the King, and all the coost here so barreyn of theym, that there is no fisshe allmost to be

[1] Several parts of this letter have been destroyed by damp. Some of the defects have been supplied from conjecture.

[2] His letter enters into the detail of the proceedings.

gotten here for money, but that suche as we have, the women of the fissher townes, eight or nyne of them, but with oone boy, or oone man with theym, bryngeth hit in, adventuryng to sayle 16 or 20 myles into the see a fysshyng, and have ben somtyme chaced home by the Frenche men. And I myselffe, being uppon occasion on the coost, have seene the fissher bootes brought in with women, whiche I thincke hathe not ben seene.

There hathe ben of late dyvers Frenche men, prisoners, stollen over into Fraunce, bothe from Mylbroke [1] and Dartmouth. And dyvers Englishe men, that were prisoners there in Fraunce, of late being come over, have reported that the Frenche prisoners have declared in theyre contrey the state of thies partes, asmoche as they knowe, and the lacke of marryners and men, specyally uppon the coost, and in the porte townes; advauncyng them selves, so that they durst, with a fewe nombre of men, adventure [*to*] do us greate displeasour: but notwithstonding theire bragges, I trust they shall fynde hit a hoote comyng unto, as ever they hadd, whan so ever they be mynded so to doo.

But as concernyng thies Frenche wafters, [*which*] take and keape in our fissher men after this sorte, if I myght be advertesed of the Kinges pleasour, they shuld be matched well ynough; for there are many marryners nowe come in, that were abrode, whiche I fournysshe parte of every porte; whereby I doubt not, but that the Frenche men shuld have small joye to hawnt thies partes. Wherefore I beseche yow, my Lordes, that I maye, with expedicion, know the Kinges pleasour therein.

No goode niewes I have none to sende you, but that the Frenche men have taken a Spanyarde shipp worth the least, whiche I discharged from hence of all that ever he hadd, insomoche that not oone dropp of water, nor victuall; and s[*ithence a*] Spanyarde came into Fowye for victuall, declaring the maner of the Frenche men towardes hym, as I have shewed. And also they have in lyke wise taken a nother Spanyarde, within thies 3 or 4 daies, being, I ensuer your Lordeshipps, verry moche worth. Besides this, I receyved a lettre this daye from Dertmouth, by the whiche I ame advertesed that a Spanyarde now being in Dartmouth, whiche came from Rochell, saieth that a Skott hathe taken twoo Spanyarde shippes, being laden with wyne and oode; and hathe cast all the men over borde; whiche Skotes the capitaine of Brest hathe in pryson, for the drownyng of tne men. So that I ame gladde nowe they begynne with the Spanyardes; at whose handes the Spanyardes shall see if they shall

[1] In Plymouth Sound.

have

have lyke restitucion, as they have hadd at owres. And thus I beseche Allmyghty God to sende Your good Lordeshipps longe life, to His pleasour. Written at Excetour, the 22 daye of August.

Your Lordeships [*assured*],

(*Signed*) J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honourable and his verry good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges most Honourable Counsaile.

Hast, post, hast,
for thy lif, hast,
hast.

CCXXXV. LISLE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

YT may plese Your moste Excellent Majeste to be advertysed, that the second daye of this present, Your Majestes army to the nombre of 6 or 7 thousand, landyd at a certeyn place in Normandye, callyde Memovale, thre myles be weste Treporte; where as we founde, in redynes to defende our landyng, thre ansynes of your enymys, in soche a place, that with smalle diffyculty they mought encombred us, moche other wys then they dyd; but they were so sharply assayled, that within a while they gave us place. The maner wherof, with allso our mercheng by lande towardes Treportt, styll in the face of your enymyes, who assemblyd more and more in gret troupes, and now and then, with some horsemen, sceirmished with us, as they dyrste; haveing with us certeyn smalle peces, drawne by force of men, with allso thentry into the sayde Treporte, with one of our wynges only, the resydue of your army kepinge the felde in battayle the mane tyme, and burning to or thre villayges next adjoyninge unto the sayde Treporte, with a gentyllmans howse or too in theym; and, fynally, the bourninge of the sayde Treporte, and the Abbey ther; with allso our retyre, and imbarking agayne of our men; this berer, Sir Peter Carew, can better acerteyn Your Majeste, then I can write: who dyd Your Majeste, for his owne parte, soche servis, that I can do no les of my duty, but comend the same to Your Highnes. The forewardnes, allso, of all other gentyllmen, and all Your Majestes subjectes, I shall moste humbly beseche Your Majeste that I may declare unto the same, at my comenge to Your Highnes; which, God willyng, shalbe asone as I have gyven order, in suche other thinges as I have in chardge of Your Majeste to do.

[1] This letter is holograph.

Ferder

Ferder more, my fello, Wynter[1], Your Majestes Tresaurer here, hathe desyeryde me to signifye unto Your Highnes, that yt shalbe moche requisyte that some money were sent hither unto him, for the payment of your army; which, as he saythe, will amounte, at this next paye, unto seven thousand 500£, which he declared unto Mr Secretary, at his laste beynge with Your Majeste.

And thus I beseche the Lyvyng God allwayes to preserve Your Excellent Majeste in longe and prosperous felysite, with the contynewall desyer of Your most Royall harte. Scribled in the Harry Grace a Dieu, the 3 of September, thwartt of Arrundell, at 8th in the morning, comenge towardes Porchemouthe, where I truste, with all your army, recerving thos which be apoynted for the Narro Sees, to be this daye, by too of the clokke in the aftre noone. And have not loste of your subjectes thre men; wherof too of them wilfully caste a way theymsylves, and moo wolde have don so, yf they had nat byn lokyd unto.

Your Majestes moste humble,
moste obedyent, and moste bounden
Subject and Servant,
(*Signed*) John Lisle.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges moste Excellent Majeste.
Hast, hast, for
thy lyffe.

CCXXXVI. Wriothesley *to* The Council with the King.[2]

It shal like Your good Lordships tundrestande, that this mornyng, betwene 4 and 5 of the clok, I receyved your letters, writen yesternight, signifieng aswel the levieng of 4300 newe men, with your desire for preparacion of money for their cotes, conducte, &c., as your desires for my cummyng to the Courte, at my tyme appointed, or before, if I may conveniently. My Lordes, if I had my horses here with me, I wold be with you this night; but the same standing so farre abrode, that I cannot conveniently soo doo, I shall not faill to set forwardes on Wednesday, according to the Kinges Majestes pleasure, and my former advertisement. As concernyng the preparacion of money, I shal do that is possible to be doon; but, my Lordes, I trust your wisdomes do considre, what is doon and paid already. You see the Kinges Majeste hath, this yere, and the last yere, spent 1300000£, or theraboutes; and his subsidy and benevolence ministring skant thre hun-

[1] John Wynter, Treasurer of the Admiralty.

[2] Holograph.

drethe

drethe thousand therof; as I muse sumtyme, where the rest, being soo greate a summe, hathe been gotten; soo the landes being consumed, the plate of the realme molten and coyned, wherof moche hathe risen, I sorowe and lament the daunger of the tyme to com; wherin is also to be remembred the money, that is to be repaid in Flaunders, and, that is asmoche and more then all the rest, the great scarcitie that we have of corne; being wheat, in al places in maner, Norffolk excepted, at 20^{s} the quarter, and a marvelous smal quantitie to be gotten of it. And thoughe the Kinges Majeste shuld have a greater graunt, then the realme could beare at oon tyme, it wold do litle to the contynuance of thise charges, which be soo importable, that I see not almost, howe it is possible to beare the charges this wynter, tyl more may be gotten; being the greate parte of the subsidy paid, the revenney received before hande, and more borowed of the mynte, then wolbe repaid again thise 4 or 5 monethes. Wherfor, good my Lordes, thoughe you write to me styll, "pay, pay; prepare for this, and for that", consider it is your partes to remembre the state of thinges with me, and, by your wisedomes, to ponder, what may be doon, and howe thinges may be contynued. I have doon nothing in thise money matiers alone. You were all privy to the state of them, bothe before and after the Kinges Majeste cam to Portesmouth; at whiche tyme thinges were considered and drawen to thuttermost. And therfor you shal doo me wrong, if you seame to chardge me thus alone, without remembrance of thinges, as they have passed. Good my Lordes, pardon my playnes in writing; for if this matier were not of so greate importance towardes the Kinges Majeste, as it must be considered in season, I wold not write thus to you. But God is my judge, what care I have that waye. And yet concernyng the preparation you nowe write for, and all thinges elles, that I can possibly doo or helpe in, I shall doo it with suche good harte, as shall I trust soo sufficiently declare the same, bothe towardes His Majeste, and the world; as it shal appeare, I shal shrink as litle as any man living. And yet I saye again, thise thinges must be remembred in season, and directed by wisedom, whiche God hathe given to the Kinges Majeste, who long preserve His Highnes in healthe, and sende Him the victory of his enemyes. From Ely Place, in hast, whiche craveth pardon, this Monday mornyng.

Your good Lordships most
assured loving Freend,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very good Lordes, my Lordes of the Privy Counsail, attendant on the Kinges most Royal Person.
In hast, hast, post, hast,
for thy lief.

CCXXXVII. Lisle and Others *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleaseth it Your Majestie to be advertised, that synce the arryvall here of us, the Lord Admyrall, and Sir Thomas Semour, we have conferred with my Lord Chamberlein, upon the state of Your Majesties armye here; and also with Sir Thomas Clere, John Wynter, and others of the Councell of thAdmyraltie, concernyng the same: by whome we do perceyve, that the plage rayneth sore in this said armye, and that dyvers of those shippes, whiche Your Majestie appoynted for to kepe the seas with me, Sir Thomas Seymour, are infected; as it maye appere by the margyne of a boke of the said shippes names, being noted with a pricke ageinst every of the said shippes; whiche booke[1] herewith Your Majestie shall receyve. And forasmoche as it is thought that the same ships, so being enfected, wyll not be mete to send fourthe at this present, for that fewe or none will willinglie enter into them; and also we thinke that none of those maryners be meate to be placed into other shippes, we therfore most humblie desire to knowe Your Majesties pleasour in that behalf. And as touching the musters, whiche shuld have ben taken before me, the Lord Chamberlein, and others of the Admiraltie, of all the soldiours upon the shore, we have respected the same tyll this tyme, for lacke of money, that now is arryved here. And forasmoche as the plage begynneth to be universall within this armye, we have thought mete to mustre onelye the soldiours of those shipps which be not infect, and therupon to make our booke of the hole nombre, being clene, and shall take the best ordre we can so to preserve them; albeit ther is no suerty therin, for that thei falle sicke nightly, and some have dyed before me, the Lord Chamberleyn, and the Admyraltie, when thei have comen to receyve ther money, full of the markes. We verylie thinke that the musters of clene men will amount but to a fewe, in respect of those whiche Your Majesties pleasour is to have to Calice; and whether the same, commyng out of this infection, shall be mete to joyne with the rest of Your Majesties armye at Calice, we reserve it to Your Highnes great wisedome. And where Your Highnes hathe appointed the great hulke, that came last, to be one of the shippes that Your Highnes will have to the sea, and the same shippe to be unladen for that purpose, Your Highnes shall understand, that her ladyng is coper, and other marchandise, of great value, and the goodes of dyvers marchandes, harde to please: and therfore the capteyne, being therof

[1] Of 34 ships in this list, 13 are marked as being infected.

moved

moved at severall tymes for aunswer, saythe that Your Majestie maye do your pleasour, he will not be ageinst it, but he dare not take upon him to consent to the doyng therof; and if it shalbe Your Graces plesour to have it done, ther is no place to receyve it nerer than Hampton; whiche will have a long tyme, bycause the ship can not come nye the towne, and yet there must be one apointed to take the charge therof: wherin we desire the knowelege of Your Majesties pleasour. And thus the Holie Trynitie preserve Your Majestie in long lif, helthe, and victorye, to reygn and contynew. At Portesmothe, the 11th of September, 9 at clock at night.

Your Highnes most humble Servantes,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE. W. SEINT JOHN. T. SEYMOUR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges moast Excellent Majestie.

CCXXXVIII. LISLE, AND OTHERS, *to* THE COUNCIL.

AFTER most harty commendacion to Your good Lordships. Upon the receipt of your last letters directed to us from Wyndesore, of the 13th of Septembre, we have consydered the musters of the Kinges flete, last taken the 12 or 13 daie of this moneth, and can finde no mo remayning in healthe upon that musters but 8488; of the which nomber ther ben discharged with the botes of Rye, for ther fishing, 152, of the maryners of Suffolk and Norffolk, for their fishing, 200, and for keping of the Kinges shippes within the havon 266, and left with the shippes of Bristowe 324, and with the ships of the West contree 198, and taken from the shippes infecte 903; and theis being dyducted, ther remayneth but 6445: of the whiche nomber, ther is apointed for the Kinges armie upon the sea 5740; that is to saie, for the armie upon the sea 4784, for the ships of London, remayning with Sir Thomas Seymour, 524, and for the Narowe Seas 432: whiche nombre deducted, ther resteth no mo but 705, whiche be fewe in nomber, to make good the said able men for the sea, at the tyme of their setting a seabourde, for that the men fall daylie sycke. And of the garrison in the Yle of Wight can not be had above 500 men, and of the garison in Portsmothe ther can be no men taken, thei be so infecte with agues and sicknes. And now your Lordships knowe what may be done with us, we doubte not, but that ye will give order for the rest. And wheare Mr Belingeham remayneth, by the Kinges commission, Lieutenent in the Ysle of Wight, your Lordships shall understand, that his

comission expireth upon Wednesdaye next; and therfore we think very good the Kinges pleasour be knowen, aswell for the order of garyson in the said Yle, as for Mr Belyngehams abode there, or repaire to the Kinges Highnes, with suche gentylmen, the Kinges servantes, as ben there in his companye. And lykewise I, the Lord Chamberleyn, desire to knowe His Majesties pleasour for the garyson in Portesmouth, which ben men full of sicknes. And where the Kinges pleasour was, that the hulke, which last came into the haven, shulde serve the Kinges Majestie, in this voyage, with Sir Thomas Seymour, we do perceyve suche difficultie in the setting of her fourthe, that wyll long protracte tyme, as I, the Lord Admyrall, can declare to His Highnes at my repare to His Majestie; wherupon Sir Thomas Seymour hathe chosen the Mathew Gonston in her place, so as the Kinges Majestie shall be fullie served. And thus we byd Your Lordships hartelye well to fare. At Portesmothe, this Monday, 14th of September, 4 at clock after none.

Your Lordships loving Frendes assured,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE. W. SEINT JOHN.

Postript. And bicause your Lordships shall understand what nomber of men came home with me, the Lord Admyrall, from the brennyng of Treport, there were found in the musters, taken the 4th daye of September, 12000 men, syck and hole. And bicause ther was no money to paie the armie at the said musters, ther was new musters taken, by the commandment of me, the Lord Admyrall, the 13th of the said moneth; at which daye was mustred of hole and able men 8488, so that betwen the said musters, it doth appere that ther was sick, deed, and dimissed by pasport, 3512.

And where, by our other letters, we advertised the Kinges Majestie, ther was 9 shippes infected with the plage, we trust it wyll prove no more to be of the plage, but 4; of the which Mr Seymour maketh mencion in his letter to Mr Secretary; in whose placis, also, he hathe chosen other, and desireth to knowe whether he shall vitell them, and the rest, ymediately, or not.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and our very good
Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majesties
Privie Counceyle, in haste
haste haste.

CCXXXIX. WRIOTHESLEY *to* PAGET.[1]

MAISTER Secretary, aftre my right harty commendacions. I sende unto you herwith the declaracions of the Treasorours, at length; all, saving Mr Tukes, which is left, and could not be made soo perfite as the rest, bicause his bokes be partely here, and partely at the Courte in thandes of Michael; and in dede he hathe paid litle or nothing towardes our garrisons, of all this yere past, neither shal the newe Treasorour there fynde oon grote remayning, but thoffice moche in debt.

It may like you also to declare to the Kinges Majeste, that against Monday next, he shal have in aredynes here to be conveyed, whither it shal please him, the summe of 20000*£*, whiche is gotten aftre this sorte; the Myntes, our holy ancre, dothe prepare 15000*£*, thAugmentacion thre thousand poundes, the Duchie 1000*£*, and the Wardes 1000*£*. The Tenthe and First Fruictes hathe nothing, the Surveyours nothing, nor thExchequer above 1000*£*, whiche must serve towardes the setting furthe of your shippes nowe in preparing to the sees, to relieve the debt of the Ordenaunce, and to helpe other necessaryes. I have faithfully promised Mr Cofferer, that we woll borowe no more there, tyl all be paid again. I pray you let me knowe the Kinges Majestes direction, howe it shalbe employed, and who shal have the conveyance of it. We had the thre thousand pounde, last sent to Bulloyn, also out of the Mynt.

The Mayour of London, and his brethern, have been with me, declaring that, sithens harves, there hath not com two hundrethe quarters wheate to London, and lesse flower or meale, then was accustomed; declaring, also, that, at this present, they have a greate lack; whiche if it be not provided for before the Parliament[2], will brede a greater derthe then were expedient. I have growen to this point with them, that namyng certain personnes, for whom they woll undretake, that their provisions shal holly comme to the comen of the citie, and not be employed to their singuler benefites, I wold be a meane to the Counsail, to write to all the provisioners, to permyt them to make provisions for their money, not hindering those made for his Majeste: wherof they seame glad, and have named the personnes, that shal provide for them accordingly, as shal appere by their several letters, whiche I sende unto you herwith, subscribed with my hande, prayeng you to get

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[1] Holograph.

[2] Parliament met on the 23d of November 1545.

the handes of the rest of the Counsail to them, and to remyt them again to me, assone as you can.

There is cumme to my hande, this mornyng, a licence for Marten Pirry to bring bullion in to the Mynt, monethly 2000£, for four yeres, and to have his return every moneth, within four dayes after he bring in his bullion. I require you to shewe His Majeste, that I have stayed it, tyl further knowleage of his pleasour: first, bicause it is not possible to paye him so sone, onles bothe His Majeste shal lak al nedes, and the debt due shall, by that meane, be long unpaid, whiche wold be considered, seing it serveth to so greate purpose; for if all be not converted that waye, for a tyme, that men may, at the last, have their oune again, it woll destroye the trade of it; whiche might hinder the Kinges Majeste asmoche, in every yere, as all Pirryes bullion for a yere shalbe worthe: an other cause is, that I think the Kinges Majeste, if he wold give thadventure of his greate losse, by suche preferrement of oon man, might have for such a licence 2000 markes, and I dare saye more; for I have been offered, not ones, 100£, to get a man thexchaunge of 500 a monethe, for 6 monethes, to be paid within 6 dayes after his bullion comm in; and I am sure Mr Cofferer hathe been wel tempted that waye. But as for myn oune parte I never gat grote by it, directly nor indirectly, nor never holpe any man to any gaynes that way; soo I am assured he is clere as I am, and wold almost wepe, if he thought such a thing shuld prevail. And if it please His Majeste to sende for him, and to here him in it, I trust His Highnes shalbe satisfied. And this I write for my dieuty.

If Marten Pirry woll tarry 3 or 4 monethes, as other men do, yea summe be constrayned by these lones to tarry lengre, he shuld have thank; but when he seaketh only his oune greate gayn, and the Kinges Majestes extreme losse, I cannot awaye with him.

Thus most hartely fare you wel. From Ely Place, this Thursday[1].

I thank you for your nothing. It woll, I doubt not, brede oon daye sumwhat; which shalbe a riddle, of nothing to cumme sumwhat.

Your assured loving Freend,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL.

(*Superscribed*)
To my veray loving Frend, Sir William Paget, Knight, on of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaries.

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[1] This letter is manifestly prior in date to that of the 11th of November; and, as it is stated, in the indorsement, to belong to the month of November, it must have been written on the 5th, which was Thursday.

CCXL. WRIOTHESLEY *to* PAGET.[1]

MAISTER Secretary, aftre my most harty commendations. If I did not considre, that you be contynuelly occupied and troubled with greate and weighty affayres, whiche sumtyme soo disquiet and distempre the body, as a man laden with them, as you be, shal seme almost wery of himself, and soo sumtyme interprete all thinges sumwhat frowardly, I wold complain of you to yourself, that canne soo overthwartely take thinges writen by your freende, to his small power, as I perceyve you toke my letters, which yesterday I wrote unto youe. But when I remembre, howe men in that place be sumtyme over layd with greate and weighty [*affairs, which*] in themselfes have many tymes suche a deformytie and repugnance, that they engendre presently a melancoly humour in him, that hathe the mayning of them, and wolde fayne joyne them in a bettre concord and armony, then their disordre woll, in any wise, permytt and suffre, I must impute your hole letter to have passed, when you mynded sumwhat elles, then the only remembrance of me, or of that whiche I wrote unto you; and I must leve you, and chide with that naughty humour, that could not expresse and shewe himself in other place, then in those letters to me. Thise letters cam to me in thende of my supper, whiche were suche a rere supper to me, as, if I had not, within a while after the reading of them, conceived as I have before writen, I shuld I thinke have taken a surfet of them, and slept the worse all night. For first, I am charged in them, with that I said to youe apart, when I was at Wyndesour, whiche as for that present it rested moch uppon the money levied of the revenuez, soo the rest was but an estimate, and partely spoken to relieve your sprites, whiche semed to be moche troubled with that matier.

In those letters I fynde mate uppon mate, blynde mates and seing mates, with suche diversitie of descant uppon oon poore note, merely pricked, that if I referred not all to that I have doon, I had nede take the helpe of good musicions for the true singing of it. In those letters I fynde jealousy spoken of; oon of the three synnes against the Holy Goste; with a feare of that, I have, nor never shal have cause to feare; with two matiers for oon; with staves endes, nippes, and twenty prety thinges, soo couched, that and if Maister Melancoly himself had not uttred them, or

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[1] Holograph.

if

if they had not cumme to him, that is clerly purged and voyd of that humour, they might brede 100 bees in a mannes hed, and cause oon to think that, was never thought, [*and to*] write that, for neither parte were expedient.

[*But*] to returne your oune termes to you again; I shalbe alwayes towardes you and yours of most freendly disposition, be you as jelous as you woll, and descant of my doinges, asmoche out of tune as you list; and this I write with al myn harte. And nowe let me knowe, whither I may sumtyme write a mery word, without suche tragedyes, or whither I must nedes work by lyne and level, thoughe you ministre the argument. And yet suerly, when I write to youe, me think I write even to meself; and that maketh me sumtyme to forget meself, if you woll so take it, when I write frankely and freendely, and call it stomake, which is as faynt in me, as in any man. I woll contynue this brawle no lengre. I wold my Lady sawe your letter, and whereuppon it is grounded. I dare saye, thoughe my gentle nature cannot chide, she wold say sumwhat for me, whom you shall never fynde but a perfit freende; havinge a perfite and most assured trust, that I have the like of you, and shal soo fynde, in worde and dede, as I am, and ever wolbe to youe accordingly. Thus the greate feld is foughte. God be thanked no hurte doon, who sende us both to serve Him and our Maister, and his Realme, as we be most bounden, according to our callinges. From Ely Place, the 8th of November.

Your fast Freende,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL.

You write of an old letter, but I wot not what youe meane by it.

(*Superscribed*)

To my veray loving Frende, Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majesties two Principal Secretaries.

Hast, hast,
post, hast,
hast with all
possible diligence,
To the Courte.

CCXLI. WRIOTHESLEY *to* PAGET. [1]

MAISTER Secretary, aftre my most harty commendacions. Thise shalbe tadvertise you, that, uppon the receipt of your last letters, I have eftsones perused the state of all the Treasorours, and doo perceve that, in my former letters, I have goon even as farre, as they shalbe all hable to furnishe, of a good season. For first, touching the Mynt, we be nowe so ferr out with it, that, and you take any peny more of it thise thre monethes, in whiche tyme they shalbe hable to pay, I trust, half the debt, you shall utterly destroye the trade of it, and men shal clerly withdrawe their reasorte thither; whiche what it wold import, you knowe. I doubt not, but you remembre, that sithens the vieu of the debet in that office, we have nowe had almost 20000£ more, and it hathe not ministred sithens, clere, towardes the Kinges Majeste above 10000 merkes; soo that you owe 10000£ more then was owing then; whiche makethe the debet there, above 100000 merkes; a greate thing to be soo forborn; and yet, if we spare but thre monethes, whiche woll not bring clere to His Majeste, at the most, above 20000£ towardes the payment of that 100000 merkes, I doubt not but we shalbe hable to shift for 10000£ a monethe there again, for four or five monethes after, and no man bark at it. As to thAugmentacion, it shall not be hable to pay the 5000£ to Bonvix yet thise six dayes; and as to the state of it, there remaynethe not past 10000£ to comm in, of all the sales. And of the revenuez, they all what not what, nor yet could I ever get any boke, that could declare any convenient estimate to me. But I gesse there is yet to com in, of the revenuez of that office, 15 or 16000£, but when we shal have it, God knoweth. As to the Tenth and First Fruictes, there remaynethe not due above 10 or 12000£, whiche is not paiable tyl aftre Christmas, and then hathe he many ordinaryes to be paid of the same. The Exchequier shal not be hable to ministre above 10000£, and that at Candlemas, of the remayn of the subsidy. The Surveyours Courte, whiche is the Chambre, owe somoche, that when all shalbe com in that is due in it, whiche I esteme to be about 20000£ of the revenuez, debtes, Wardes, and Duchie, they shal not be hable to render towardes the outward chargez, past 5 or 6000£; and when that shalbe, God knowethe; soo that if you tary for more money to be sent to Bulloyn at this tyme, you may percase tary to long, or you have the summe desired. And therfor

[1] Holograph.

my

my poore opinion is, to let this 10000*£* go onward, and if it be possible to make it twelve, it shalbe doon, whiche is the haulf of the debt, as I take it. The 6000*£* is dispeched to the North, and ordre is taken for the 4833*£* to Bonvix, and the thousand poundes to the see shalbe rid when they com, and 1000 merkes to thOrdenaunce. And if His Majeste woll have the 10000*£* go to Bulloyn, we shal not nede then to care for robbing. I assure you, Mr Secretary, I am at my wittes ende, howe we shal possibly shift for thre monethes folowing, and specially for the two next. For I see not any greate lightlywod, that any good summe will comm in, tyl after Christmas, and then no more then the relevainthes, wherof befor I have made mention, whiche is no greate matier. And yet, if ever I offended men in any thing, I offende in this matier. I am, as summe think, to sore in it; but I serve Him, that I trust woll susteyn me, doing nothing but for his service; and God is my judge, I wold I, and all myn, were bounde to drynk water twies in a weke, whilles we lyved, uppon condition that His Majeste might compasse all thinges to his hartes ease and contentacion.

Maister Secretary, I sende unto you herwith a bill, which was let fall yesterday, as I was going to Masse, in my dyning chambre. I pray you shewe it to His Highnes, and knowe his pleasour, what he woll shuld be doon towardes it. You knowe that when those naughty bokes were brought unto me, I could do no lesse then sende them to His Highnes, and also travail, asmoche as I could, to fynde out the auctour; wherin thoughe I have not moche prevailed, yet summe be angry with my doing. Upon your answer of His Majestes pleasure, I shal doo, as the same shal commawnde me. I pray you return the bill agein to me.

I sende unto you, also, the certificat of the deaths in London the last weke.

And all your letters, whiche I received last from you. And thus I pray God to sende you as good healthe, as I wold have meself. From Ely Place, the 11th of November.

Your assured loving Freend,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃.

I pray you let the paquet, sent herwith, be delivered to Mr Denny. It touchethe the Shirefes for Wales.

(*Superscribed*)

To my veray loving Frende, Sir William Paget, Knight, on of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaries.

CCXLII. LISLE *to* PAGET.

AFTER my most hartie commendations. Thies shalbe tadvertise the same, that yester day I spake with one Blakey of Rie, who had bene lately uppon the cost of Normandie, where he tooke a victualler comynge from Rochelle, and a fissher man of Polyte[1]. The victualler declareth, that in the river of Burdeaux there is a hondreth saile of shippes, laden with wyne and other victualles for the parties of Pycardye and Normandye, redye to come fourth, and be waftyd, with thre newe galleiasses, maid at Bayon, of 300 apece, and too gret shippes, of the same place, of 400 a pece, and one gret shippe, maid in Brytayn, of 600; thies (saith he) be appoynted to conduct the said Burdeaux flete. The fissher men of Pollyet[1] sayen, that there is in Diepe 16 sailes, whereof the Sacre is the greatyst, and too galleis. And at Newhavon there is 15 saile of tall shippes, all redie riggid, lacking but the putting in of their souldiers and victuallers. At Homeflet[2] thre gallies latelye com dowen from Rouen, being in redines to go to the sees. And before the towne of Rouen there is 18 galleis, wiche be a rigginge. Thies be the intelligence that I can yet lerne, albeit I looke howerly for more certeyn newes; but the wynd hath bene so longe at the south and southwest, and so extreme withall, that no man nor shippe can aplye over with the cost of Fraunce.

Sir William Woodhowse and William Browke are verie sore sicke, and faien to be carried to the shore. Theye, that watched with Sir William Woodhouse this last night, doth mistrust his liffe. William Broke is not so sore sicke; but the jandys is so sore uppon hym, and therewith a great fever, that he must be sparyd awhile from the shippe, or elles hit will cost hym his liffe. William Tyrrell was set aland at Mergate verie sore sicke. Of thies thre the Kinges Majestie shal have great lacke, if it shuld come to eny service. Sir William Woodhouse and Broke did kepe the shippe so long, after that they were verie yll taken, and by no meanes wold go to the shore, that I feare me they have putte them selves in more daunger thereby, then if they wold soner have bene ruled by councell.

Furdermore, I have thought good to signifye unto yow, that there is nother Spanyard, Portingall, nor Flemynge, that cometh from by south, but they be spoyled and robbid by our ventureres, some of them namynge them selves Scottes, and some with vissers; so that if remedie be not pro-

[1] Le Pollet, near Dieppe.

[2] Honfleur.

vided

vided in tyme, the Kinges Majestie shalbe moch molested with complentes and suetes by thEmprours subjectes. I loke everye day for His Majestes 10 royng barkes, and one talle shippe, which are comeyng from the said west parties with Master Reskymer; and when they shall come unto us, forasmoch as nothinge is to be concludid for Estaples, as in my former letters[1] to the Kinges Majestie it may appere, I suppose we shall be in cace, if it shall so please His Highnes, to appoynt one good company, hable to distres the said Burdeaux flete, and to leve a sufficient company for the keping of the passage of the Narrowe Sees. And in cace we shuld mysse of the said Burdeaux flete, we mought land, and born, in some part of Base Normandie, or otherwhere, wherein I wold be glad to be advertised of His Majestes pleasur. Withe this wynd that hathe blowen this 6 or 7 daies, there is no victualles can come from the cost of Norffolke and Suffolke. I have sent fower masters mour to mete with them, according as I wrote unto my Lordes in my last letters. Uppon Sonday I caused above 30^{ti} sailes to departe owt of Dover Peare, laden with victualles, ordinaunce, and tentes for the campe, wich maide no small difficultie to depart hence. Theye entrid all yesterday at noone within the Hable Escue. I write it, as it is found written in old presidentes, in the Frenche tounge, because the haven is rownd like a tennes ball. Other I have not to write at this presentes, but comyte you to the tuision of Allmightie God. From Dover, the 7th of Aprill, Anno 1546.

Your assured Frende to comand,

(*Signed*) JOHN LISLE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CCXLIII. THE COUNCIL *to* PETRE.

MR SECRETARY, after our harty commendacions. Yesterday, in the morning, we had Mr Crome before us, unto whom, according to the Kinges Majestes commandement, we objectid his misbehavour at Paules Crosse, contrary to the Kinges Hieghnes expectacion, and his owne promes. Which matter we engrevid as the qualite thereof wourthily required; being then present the

[1] In a letter from Lisle to Paget, of the preceding day, it is stated that the French were fortifying Etaples; and that they could not be prevented, unless the English fleet remained steadily off the town.

Busshopes

Busshopes of Lundon[1] and Wourcester[2], Maister Coxe[3], the Deane of Paules[4], M[r] Robynson, M[r] Redeman, and M[r] Rydley[5]. Whereunto when he had aunswered with grete asseverations, and with a mervaillous constante behavour, that he had so doon and fulfilled his promes at Paules Crosse, as no man ought to fynde faulte with his doinges, and layeng his hande on his brest, saide he knew himself better, then any other man did, and he thought he had doon so well, as he shuld never have been charged, or blamed, but rather comendid, therefore; it was then replied, bothe by the Busshopes of Lundon and Wourcestour, and eache of the others, for their parte; but speciallie M[r] Coxe, making a substancial rehersal of M[r] Cromes sermone from the begynning, with touching every substancial parte thereof, and noting the manour, behavour, gesture, couraige, and voice of the saide M[r] Crome in the saide sermone, with alteracions of the same in eache parte, farre contrary to their expectacion; declaring also certaine digressions of the saide M[r] Cromes by certaine vaine tales, owte of the purpose there intendid; did so plainely, evidently, and manifestly refelle the asseveracion of the saide M[r] Croime, as we have not herde any matter more lyvely, sobrely, and playnely handled, to the playne confusion of the saide M[r] Crome; with a spetial expostulacion with the same M[r] Crome, for so deluding him, who had travailed with the Kinges Majeste in his favour. And there was remembrid, how the Deane of Excetour, M[r] Haynes, did admonishe specially the saide M[r] Crome to be ware of his brethern of Lundon, and nat to yelde to their fantasies; and to beware that he saide nat theise wourdes, "that he cam "nat to recante". And finally, seing it was truthe, that the Kinges Hieghnes had ordred to be sett furthe, that he shuld do it ernestly and fully, for thedificacion of thaudience. This matter was fully confirmed by all the reste of the Kinges Majestes chapleyns, wherein every man saide somwhat. But, because M[r] Coxe did so notably use himself, we thincke it our partes specially to signifie yt, and thought the matter was so playnely testified, to the reprouf of Crome, nat onely in that he did so frustrate the Kinges Majestes expectacion at the Crosse; but also the saide Cromes untrue asseveracion, appearing before us so unshamefully, to deny and coulour, that he had the daye before doon and saide in suche a presence, as we thought mete to leve of that matter, and to procede in thexaminacion of that was preached by the saide Crome, at the Mercers Chappel, appon Passion Sonday, according to the Kinges

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[1] Edmond Boner.
[2] Nicolas Heath.
[3] Richard Coxe, Tutor to Prince Edward.
[4] William May.
[5] Nicolas Ridley, afterwards Bishop of London.

Majestes pleasure in that behaulf. At our entrey into that matter, Crome furste saide, precisely and absolutely, he would make none aunswer; but yet he was nat so constante in that frowardnes, but, apon declaracion of the daunger, he yeldid. Whereapon he was sworne, and was examined apon certain interrogatories, whiche, with thaunswers, ye shall receyve herewith. We have also sworne certaine witnesses to depose therein, who, examined apon their othe, have deposed, as shall appere to you by their depositions. Theffecte of which aunswers and examinacions we re[*quire*] you to comprehende, to be by you, in fewer wourdes, signified to the Kinges Majeste, then we can in our lettres expresse. But forasmuche as apon Cromes aunswers we see plainely, that sondry persons, of divers qualitees, have otherwise used themselfes with the saide Mr Crome, then in our opinions is tollerable, we be more desyrous to know the Kinges Majestes pleasure, how we shall use the calling and ordring of them, as a matter wherein we woulde be lothe to offende in doing to muche, or to litle, but as may be agreable with the Kinges Majestes pleasour; whereof we requyre yow, we may by yow be advertised, as sone as ye can, with sending againe also the depositions and examinacions, which we now sende unto yow, for they be our originalles.

Ye shall perceive that Mr Crome notith in his aunswer, to be comeforted by oon Lasselles, whome we have in examinacion, nat called apon Cromes detection, but because himself boosted abrode, that he was desirous to be called to the Counseill, and he would aunswer to the pricke.

There appearid here this daye, also, Doctour Hewike, the phisition, uppon a complayncte made againste him, in the variaunce between him and his wief. And so, because he came so to hande, we have entrid examinacion of him, whose aunswers we shall hereafter signifie unto yow, to be declared to the Kinges Hieghnes.

This daye was also presentid unto us an informacion, subscribed by certaine of thinhabitauntes of Tenterden, Kent, of a mervaillous, abhominable, and sedicious sermone made at Tenterden uppon Easter Wednesdaye, which we sende to yow herewith, to be signified to the Kinges Hieghnes. In the meane tyme, we have sente tapprehende the preacher; and therefore praye you sende again unto us the saide instructions, which is the original.

And thus farre we have laboured in thies combresomme matters, which although they have consumed muche of our tyme, yet have we gotten leysour to fashion thinstructions, with the minute of a letter for practising of a contribucion; which we sende unto you, to be signified to the Kinges Majeste, and thereapon his pleasure to be knowne, what shalbe added or diminished.

As

As touching the names of Commissioners, we shall divise suche as we thincke good, and sende them unto yow likewise, to be chaunged or alterid at the Kinges Majesties pleasure. We consider the matter requyreth haste, and muste be dispached this weeke, and doubte nat, but ye will use it thereafter.

We forgett nat the description of men to be in a readynes, but will steale tyme for yt; and yet to-morowe we muste have greate matter with the auditours and receyvours, whiche we shall passe with like dilligence, and advertise accordingly. We have received your letters, and perused them, and sende them unto yow again, and thinke the Kinges Majeste hath taken a verie good order, to signifie the facions of those men to thEmbassadour; and also we doo like the repayre of my Lord Admyral to the see. We have sent the commissions to my Lorde Grete Maister, my Lord Wardein, for Kent, and my Lorde de la Warre, for Sussex, to put the Kinges Majestes people in order, and for the watchinges of the beakons, if the Frenchemen now abrode wold attempte any thing in those parties.

We have also sent letters to my Lorde of Hertforde, to be in a readines, in case of the breache of communicacion of peaxe, to prevent the Frenchemen in taking of the poincte againste Boleyn Haven, on the other side the water, for fortification of the same.

And thus moste hertily we bidde you well to fare. From Grenewiche, the 11th of Maye, 1546.

Your assured freindes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY, CANCEL. J. RUSSELL. W. ESSEX.
(*Signed*) CUTH: DURESME. STE: WINTON. JOHN GAGE.
(*Signed*) ANTONY WYNGFELD.

(*Superscribed*)
To our assured loving Freinde, Sir William Petre, Knight, oon of the two Principal Secretaries to the Kinges Majeste.

CCLXIV. THE COUNCIL *to* PETRE.

MR SECRETARYE, after our right harty commendations. Where thies berers, my Lord of Worcestre, and others, the Kinges Majesties chaplayns, doe repayre, at this tyme, to His Majestie, to declare unto Him the procedinges with Crome, sithens our last advertisement, wherunto they shall make you pryvey, we shall require you to helpe them to His Majesties presence, and

to

to knowe whither His Hieghnes woll heruppon commaunde us any further, touching this matier, then is alredy signefyed unto us.

This daye we looke for Latymer, the Vicar of St Brides, and summe others of those that have specially comforted Crome in his folye.

Crome, sithens the last depositions sent to His Majestie, hath confessed that Huick, uppon the sight of tharticles, which he shuld have sett furth at Pole Crosse, shewed himself to mislyke the same, and thought they could not be mayntened with good conscyence, and that he doubted not, therfore, but the sayd Crome could declare them honestly; by the which, and such other thinges, as Crome hath confessed, it appereth that he, and summe of those folkes that he named in his depositions, be asmuch to be blamed, or more, then himself.

We sende unto you a lewde bil, set upp lately uppon a church doore in London, agaynst oon of them, which deposed against Crome, sent unto us by the Mayor of London; from whom, and from the Chief Baron of thEschequyer[1], we have receyved, also, other lewde bokes and writenges, with knoweledge of somme other light personnes, which medle further in thies matiers, thenne theire capacities be hable to comprehende. As we shal procede, we shall advertise.

We sende, also, unto you a warraunt, to be signed, for the commissions to goo fourth for the contribution.

We requyer you, also, to shewe the Kinges Majestie, that we have had here the marchauntes, for the matyer of their credit, and have taken ordre for fowre thowsand poundes, to be delyvered unto them, for an entree to that matier. And we have, also, taken lyke ordre for oon thowsaund poundes for Leg, of thAdmiraltye. Thus fare ye right hartely well. From Grenwich, the 13th of Maye, 1546.

Your assured loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃. J. RUSSELL. W. ESSEX.
(*Signed*) CUTH̃ : DURESME. STE : WINTOÑ. JOHN GAGE.

(*Superscribed*)
To our assured loving Frende, Sir William Petre, Knight, one of the Kinges Majesties two Principal Secretaryes.

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[1] Sir Roger Cholmeley.

CCXLV. PETRE *to* THE COUNCIL.[1]

MY duetye remembred. It may lyke Your good Lordeshippes to receyve herewith the book of the names of such Commissioners, as your Lordesshippes have appoynted to be in commission for this contribution; which book is remytted by His Majeste to your Lordesshippes, withowt any alteration or chaunge, to bee used as you shall think mete.

As for the maters of Crome, and others, His Majeste taketh your travayles in most thankfull part, as I doubt nott my Lord of Worcester, and thothers, wyll more amply declare unto your Lordesshippes; who doo repare to yow agayn, with such commission as them selfes wyll declare unto yow.

The French galeys remayn styll uppon our costes, between the Camber Nasshe[2] and Folkstone, and have taken some victalers. The wynd hath blowen this 3 or 4 dayes so straynably, at sowth west and sowth sowth west, thatt my Lord Admyrall cann nott come owt of the Downes, allthough he have travayled by all wayes and meanes possible.

The warraunt, sent hithar by your Lordesshippes, shall be signed this day.

The Kinges Majeste, considering thatt Crome, in this his last submission, affyrmeth agayn the former articles, wylleth thatt your Lordesshippes shall cause one book to be made of tharticles sent hithar, now, by my Lord of Worcester, and of those which were last agreed uppon to be sett forthe by hym; and the same, being joyned togethers in order, His Majeste wold have hym putt his hand to the same, to be sent to His Highnes. Thus I rest att Your Lordeshippes commawndment. From Westminster, this 13th of May, att two of the clock.

Your good Lordsshippes att com[*mand*]ment,

(*Signed*) WILLM̃ PETRE.

I have wryten agayn, by His Majestes commawndment, to hast the commyng of Rogers.

It may lyk your Lordeshippes to signett this warraunt, sent herewith, for the 100 crownes to the Duke of Meclingburghes servant.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable, and my most singuler good Lordes, and others of the Kinges Majestes Prive Counsell, at Grenewich.

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[1] Holograph.

[2] See p. 779.

CCXLVI. THE COUNCIL *to* PETRE.

MR SECRETORYE, after our right harty commendacions. We sende unto yow herwith Cromes boke, both of tharticles which he shuld have set fourth at Poles Crosse, and of his last submission, signed according to the Kinges Majestes pleasure. At the delyvery wherof, it maye like you to declare unto His Hieghnes, that we had, yesterdaye, Latymer before us; and after a declaracion made unto him, that he was accused for oon that had devised and counsailed with Crome, touching his last sermon, wherin he satisfyed not his promesse to the Kinges Majeste, but craftely sayed and promised oon thing in apparance, and ment in dede an other, wherby he mayntened his yvel doctryne and opinions, to the confirmacion of them, that be of his faccion, and to the dainger of many others, which harde him; he made aunswere, that he had, in dede, been sundry tymes in his cumpany, sithens he was at the howse of me, the Lord Chauncelour, and that he had sayed somwhat touching his recanting, or not recanting; couching his wordes so, as he neither confessed the matier, nor yet utterred his mynde so clenely, but somwhat stak, and appered by the waye. Whereuppon we ministred an othe unto him, and delyvered him certeyn interrogatoryes taunswere, appoynteng him a place for the quiet doing of the same; where, when he had aunswered to two or three of them, he sent unto us, desiring that he might eftsones speake with us, without the which he coulde procede no further in his aunswere. Uppon which request, beeng moch busied with thexamynacions of Huick, Lasselles, the Vicar of Saint Brydes, and the Scottishe Frere, it was ordered that I, the Beshopp of Duresme, and I, the Comptrolour, shuld goo to him, to knowe what he wolde with us; to whom making generall aunswere, that he could not procede with his conscyence, tyll he might agayn speake with us, we lefte all the rest, and sent for him. Att his cumming, he told us he was light to sweare taunswere thinterrogatoryes, before he had considered them, and that charitie wolde, that somme man shuld have put him in remembraunce of it. He tolde us it was daungerous taunswere to such interrogatoryes, for that he might by that meane be brought in to daunger; noting the proceding therin to be more extreme, then shuld be ministred unto him, if he lyved undre the Turke, as he lyveth undre the Kinges Majeste; for that he sayed it was sore taunswere for an other mannes facte, and besides he sayed he doubted whither it were His Hieghnes pleasure, that he shulde be thus called and examyned; desiring therfore to speake with His Majeste himself,

himself, before he made further aunswere; for he was ones, he sayed, deceyved that waye, when he lefte his Bishoprich; beeng borne in hande by the Lord Crumwel, that it was His Majestes pleasure he shuld resigne it, which His Majeste aftre denyed, and pitied his condicion. And finally he sayed, he thought there were somme, that had procured this agaynst him for malyce; and so descended specially to me, the Bishop of Winchestre, grounding himself uppon twoo thinges, thone uppon certeyn wordes that passed betwen him and me, in the Kinges Majestes presence, at Westminster; thother, for that I wrote to the Lord Crumwell, agaynst a sermon that he made in the Convocacion; which parte he engreved moch, and therin occupied a good tyme: wherunto, for that poynte, I, the said Bishop of Winchestre, made to him a true and playn aunswere, conteyneng in effect, and proving by rememberaunce of thinges passed betwen us, that he dyd me moche wrong; for I declared planely, how moche I had loved, favored, and doon for his person, and that he had no cause to be offended with me, though I were not content with his doctryne, when the same was not of that sorte that apperteyned. Which matier passed betwen him and me, he was aunswerid to thole of his tale, in such ordre, as he could not denye, but he ought taunswere thinterrogatoryes, unsene, before his othe, neither that he used his langage touching his beeng in Turkye, as becam him. And as for the matier of thinterrogatoryes, it was planely declared, that they were not captious, wherby any daunger might ensue to him, that purposed truly and planely taunswere them, for they conteyned no matier of doctryne, but only of his facte. And as for his doubte of His Majestes pleasure, touching his calling, our injurye was not somoch therin, for that he semed not to beleve us, as the injurye that he dyd to His Majeste; in that he wolde enforce Him to speake himself with every particuler person, which shulde be called; as though no credit or estimacion shuld, nowe a dayes, be gyven to His Hieghnes Counsail, or to His Hieghnes ministres, who, in their charges and offices, have their ordinarye commissions remayneng, and for the tyme invested in them; pressing him, therfore, to procede according to his dieutie, in thanswere of thinterrogatoryes, which finally he resolved to doo, and hath in dede sithens aunswered them, but in such sorte, as we be, for the purpose, as wise almost as we were before; saving by the same he doth so open himself, as it shuld appere that he is, as Crome was; which we shal this night knowe thoroughly, for this after none my Lorde of Worcestre, and the rest of the doctours, talke frankly with him, in the matier of tharticles, to fishe out the botom of his stomak, wherby His

Majeste, at his cumming, shal see further in him; and thus we shal leave to cumbre His Hieghnes any further with him, tyll His Graces commeng hither.

We travailed also yesterdaye, with the rest before named; and of Huick have long writenges, and smal matyer; and he trusteth us so wel, that he desireth, in his writeng, that twoo or three of the Gentlemen of the Privey Chamber maye declare his writenges to the Kinges Majeste. And bicause we be entred to speake of Huick, we must tell you, that hering at lenght, this daye, the matier betwen him and his wief, face to face, we never, in all our liefes, harde matier that more pitied us: somuch crueltie and circumvencion appered in the man, so litle cause ministred by the woman, whom we loked to have founde of an other sorte; as, when you shal here it at length, you wil moche marvail at it; and yet, by the waye, he was not afrayed to saye, which he hath also sayed and writen, as it was avouched to him, that the Kinges Majeste commaunded him to put her out of his dores, without calling her before justice, or commen officer, or hering of her by any indifferent persons; wherin we tolde him, he delt not wel so tabuse His Majestes clemencye, whose lesson to us all is, as He is a Prince of justice, by Him lerned of his most noble and prudent Father, "Audi alteram partem".

Lasselles wil not aunswere to that parte of his conference with Crome, that toucheth Scripture matier, without he have the Kinges Majestes expresse commandement, with his proteccion; for he sayeth, it is neither wisdom, nor equitie, that he shuld kyll himself.

Thus you see His Hieghnes must pardon, before he knowe if Mr Lasselles may have his will; and in dede his answeres be therafter.

The Vicar of Saint Brides sheweth himself to be of the same sorte, but yet not so bolde as the rest.

And as to the Scott, he is more mete for Dunbar, then for London; for neither hath he any maner of wit, or lerning, mete for a preacher, but is a very ignorant; and hath framed his sayenges after his audience, as, to be rydde, he will saye nowe what you wil byd him.

This daye we have also had the men of Tynterden, who affyrme that bil; but the prest we have not yet apprehended. And this daye we, the Lord Chauncelour, the Besshop of Winchestre, and Sir Anthony Brown, have commetted two of the receyvours to the Marshalsie, for keping in their handes, and employeng of His Majestes money to their oune purposes. We require you to shewe the Kinges Majeste the summe of our procedinges.

procedinges. And so byd you most hartely fare wel. From Grenwich, the 14th of May, 1546.

Your assured loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL. T. NORFFOLK. J. RUSSELL.
(*Signed*) W. ESSEX. CUTH : DURESME. STE : WINTON.
(*Signed*) JOHN GAGE. ANTONE BROWNE. ANTONY WYNGFELD.

(*Superscribed*)
To our assured loving Frende, Sir William Petre, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretoryes.
In hast,
hast,
post.

CCXLVII. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[1]

AFTRE oure right hartie commendacions to Your good Lordships. It maye lyke youe to declare to the Kinges Majeste, that the Emperours Ambassadour cam yesterdaye to Westminster unto us, and declared that he was desirous to have wayted upon the Kinges Majeste; but being putt in choise, whether he wold repayre to His Hieghnes, or communicate his thinges to us, here, he wold not importune His Majeste, but was glad tattende upon us. The matiers, whiche he had to declare, he said, were these.

First, he said the Quene Regent, whose letters he had with hym, desired to knowe, howe we stode with the Skottes, whether we were in peax or warre; declaring that Mr Kerne shewed them, in Flaunders, an autentique exemplificacion of an article of the treatye with Fraunce, touching their comprehencion, but he wold in no wise delyver it unto them; with a long discourse, howe they be annoyed with them daily, and doubting, whether it be warr or peax betwene us, have forborne to provide for themselfes, trusting that the Kinges Majeste wold participate in what termes he standeth with them.

Seconde, he said unto us, that it was comme to his knolege, that there was a lewde booke, written and printed against thEmperor, suffred to goo here abrode, and embraced for a certain truth, with great rejoyse of many, although thende shuld declare, that it conteyned onely lyes, forged by them, which, being dryven to their extremyties, seke all the waies they can to gett them a lytle fame for the tyme; and make lyke shiftes every where to gett somwhat,

[1] Written by Wriothesley.

somwhat, wherewithal to meynteyn their litle tyme against their lorde and Emperor. He knewe, he said, that lewde folkes wold lewdly doo, and feared not but the Kinges Majeste ded more gravely waye thinges, thenne others of lesse estate and experyence; but yet they, that take uppon them to knowe moche in these thinges, note the secrete comming hither, and treatye with Sturmius, and Doctor Bruno, and say plainely that the Kinges Majeste hathe determyned to geve ayde against the Emperor; but, for his parte, and soo he said he had written, he woll think, and doubteth not, but the Kinges Majeste woll shewe himself a wise and a vertuouse Prynce. He said thEmperor handled not his owne cause, but the comen cause of all Princes and comen wealthes; and concluded that what lyes soever they spred, and howe variable soever these thinges of the world be, he doubted not, but thEmperor shuld be well able, with Goddes helpe, even with suffrance onely, to tempre them.

Thirde, he said that the Quene had specially written to him, to be a meane to the Kinges Majeste, that suche thEmperors subjectes, as had landes in Bullonoyes, might enjoye them; reasonyng the matter, howe they were freendes, and could not by any lawe or reason loose them: and, for that Mr Kerne had not satisfyed them, on thother side, therein, he prayed us, that he might here receyve some good aunswer.

To the first, wee made him aunswere, that in dede wee were not yet in any certain peax with the Skottes; for though they were comprehended, yet the comprehencion wrought no more an absolute peax to them, thenne thEmperors comprehencion of us, in his treatie with Fraunce, wrought an absolute peax to us; nor the Skottes themselfes tooke it not for soo certain a thing to them, but they sue, even at this present, for a further establishment of yt: and whenne it were established, yt is but an abstynence from warre, as tharticle of comprehencion purporteth. And as for the dammage and annoyance which they complayn of, wee tolde them the Scottes were naughtie people, and sought ever avauntage, whenne they might gett it; and so, even nowe, they had, upon the conclusion of this peax with Fraunce, knowing the Kinges Majeste to have withdrawen his naval powre, armed owte certain shipps, and therewith doon us some displeasure, in so moche that His Majeste mynded to provide otherwyse for them: and this was the certainte of the peax wee had with them. And as concerning the refusal of the delyvery of thautentique article of the comprehencion, it was sithens written that it shuld be delyvered.

To the seconde, wee said, we knewe of no suche booke, nor of any suche rejoyse as he spake of; and whatsover light folkes might brute, himself

self knewe the vertue and wisdome of the Kinges Majeste to be suche, as he neyther wold rejoyse in any mannes hurte or displesure, nor suffre others, forasmuche as it might conveniently be provided for, to speke otherwise of any Prince, thenne apperteyned. And as we cannot thinke, wee tolde him, but thEmperor hathe forseen his thinges, lyke hymself, soo those, that favor thother partie, wold sometyme saye more thenne truyth, which tyme trieth. Of Sturmius, and the other, we said we knewe nothing.

And as to the thirde, wee tolde him we merveled those landes shuld be demaunded of the Kinges Majeste, which, being in the possession of the Frenche King, by reason of the warrs betwene him and thEmperor, were aftre conquered by His Hieghnes, and by pact also left with him.

He seamed to be reasonably satisfyed with these aunswers, saving he said, he trusted to fynde more grace at the Kinges Majestes hande touching the last; and therwithall entred certain pryvate matters, wherein we partely satisfyed him. And thenne turned wee to him, declaring that was reaported touching thEmperors leage newely made with the Bisshopp of Rome, and the lettre of mark graunted by the Prince of Spayne; sumwhat quikly engreving those mattiers unto hym. Whereunto he aunswered, with greate asseveracion, that he knewe thEmperor neyther had nor wold, during his lief, make any leage prejudicial to the Kinges Majeste; and for thother, plainelye denied it. He wold, he said, oon daye doo his dewtye to the Kinges Majeste, eyther at Oking or Guildford, and trusted then to fynde some more grace at His Majestes hand touching those landes in Bullonoyes; and, by that tyme, to here some more certain newys to declare to His Majeste.

The Frenche Ambassador cam, also, on Thursday, to the house of me, the Lorde Chauncellor, and aftre a fewe wordes of office, sayd unto me that he was commaunded by Monsieur l'Admiral, at his departing, to call uppon the publicacion of the peax with the Scottes, which was promised shuld be doon both here at London, and on the Borders. And because he said he thought it shuld passe by my handes, he cam to me, specially; praying me it might be doon, assone as might be convenyently. I tolde hym that I had yet receyved none instruccion for it, neyther coulde it be otherwise settfurth, thenne tharticle of the treatye purporteth, that is, without prejudice of their treaties with us. I wold, I said, write yn it, and as I shuld receyve commaundement, I wold execute accordingly. He might be suer, I tolde him, that, on this side, there could nothing lacke, that may tende to thestablishment of thamytie. Aftre this, he delyvered unto me twoo billes, thone conteynyng complaintes for certain depredacions, which

you

you shall receyve herewith, to be delyvered to my Lorde Admyrall, for order to be taken in them; thother touching certain griefes, which all the Frenche merchantes complayn of, as, of thActe of ymployment[1], the scavage, thActe of hattes and capps[2], with certain exaccions, whiche they pretende the customers take of them, in larger sorte thenne hath been used. Whereunto I promysed he shuld be soo aunswered, as he shuld perceyve they compleyned, for the more parte, without cause; and if any thing were otherwise used by thofficers, thenne apperteyned, it shuld be amended. Which bill wee have delyvered to the Lorde Chief Baron of the Exchequier, to consider; and uppon examinacion of the customers, and others, to frame suche aunswere to it, as shalbe reasonable; having geven unto him our advises for the bettre doing of the same. Soo that, if your Lordshipps retourn unto us aunswere of the first bill, wee shall, we trust, this weke that cummeth, satisfye him in both. He was very mery and pleasaunt in thende, and offered himself to come somtyme famyliarly to visite me; wheruppon I bad him to supper tomorowe night, and so he departed.

Wee have receyved your Lordshipps letters touching the matters of Irelande; which allthough wee think might soner have been dispeched ther, yet wee shall beate them here to you, as partely wee have begonne allredy, and soo remytt them to be determyned at the Kinges Majestes pleasure.

The saulfconducte for the Skottes[3] ys dispeched, according to your lettres.

As for money, all the shift shalbe made that is possible, but yet the store is very small; the contribucion commeth very slowely in, which wee shall helpe with letters, if it amende not; the Mynt is drawen drye, and moche owing for bullion; and the rest allege that they have litle, but they shall have litle reste, oneles we see they bestyrre them, as apperteyneth.

Oure dayly travail is with suche, as appeare here for the Kinges Majestes debtes; and we sende owte letters in greate nombre, for more debters; which, whenne wee consider, we think this matter, directly or indirectly, will touche the great nomber of any havor in the Realme, which is requisite to be considered, for the tyme of the Parlyament.

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[1] This seems to refer to Stat. 7 H. VIII. c. 5. by which artificers were allowed to take the best wages they could get.

[2] Stat. 21 H. VIII. c. 9. prohibited the sale of any foreign-made hats, bonnets, or caps, above a specified price.

[3] For the Scottish Ambassadors, who were coming to the English Court.

Wee

Wee have called for Sir John Gressham, and spoken with him yn the matter of Vaughans[1] letters; and fynde, whatsoever Vaughan wryteth, Sir John Gressham woll meynteyn thaccompt of fourty thouzand poundes sterling, and moch merveyleth of Vaughans thwarting herein.

I, the Bisshopp of Winchestr, have spoken with Master Rither, and we shall toguither remember the furnitiere of Boleyn, with all the spede may be.

Wee sende, also, unto you an other memorial, sent unto us this daye from the French Ambassador, which it may like you to consider.

Wee have entred thexaminacion of the matter of Jersay, and sende unto you another bill, nowe exhibited unto us for other matiers in that Isle, as ye shall perceyve by the same.

Being here at London, the place enforcith us so much the more to remembre the Mayres sute, for asmoch favour, at the Kinges Majestes handes, concernyng venyson, as his predecessors have had, lest the want therof shuld be a token abrode of the Kinges Majestes myscontentement with hym. The Mayors havor of late, at the cummyng of thAdmyral, hath been couragous, and to the Kinges Majestes honnor, and in the lak herof, shuld be a gret discounforte. Thus we wryte a gret meany of wordes, in a smal matier, and yet we wold wishe it wer remembred; and that in the speking herof, it wold like youe to adde a worde more for us, that we might, at summe laysour, to refreshe ourself, have licence to resorte to summe of the Kinges Majestes groundes heraboutes; and therwith desyr youe, in our bihaulf, to geve most humble thankes to the Kinges Majeste, for such venyson as it hath pleased His Highnes to send unto us. And soo byd youe hartely fare wel. At Westmester, the 4th of Septembre.

Your good Lordshippes
assured loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY, CANCEL̃. W. SEINT JOHN. STE: WINTOÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the
Kinges Majestes most Honorable Counsaill,
attendant upon His most Roiall Person.

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[1] Vaughan was the English Agent in Flanders, and was much employed in pecuniary negotiations.

CCXLVIII. The Council with the King *to* The Council in London.[1]

After our most harty commendacions unto Your good Lordeships. It may lyke the same to undrestand, that the Kinges Majeste, havyng herd your letters, discoursing to us your procedinges with thEmperours Ambassadour, willed us to gyve you his herty thankes for your wise handlyng of the same. And yet, bycause it semyth that thAmbassadour hath done that, by an indirect meane, at this tyme, to you, which we do, directly, by thEmperours Ambassadour at Venyce, to Ludovico de Lavinis, viz. layd, as it wer, to His Majestes charge, a practise with the Protestantes by Sturmius and Brewno, contrary to the treaty betwene them; and, as it wer, made a chalenge, for the overmoche avauncyng and setting furth here to the world, of the doynges of the Protestantes, and the depravyng and defacyng of thEmperours procedinges; His Majeste, mynding to have thEmbassadour thorowly answered, aswell in that poynt, as you have answered hym right wisely on the rest, desyryth your Lordeships to take the payne, eyther to resort to hym, or to cause hym to cum to you, whider you shall think convenient; and takyng occasion of your conference now, that having, uppon his spekyng the last day, of Sturmius and Brewno, thought good to send to the Court, to know whider ther wer any thing more in it, then you knew, you shall say His Majeste hath sent you answer therof, and willed you to comunicate the same unto hym. And furst, as toching Sturmius, His Majeste had never to do with hym, nor non of his, saving before Christmas, at Calais, when they wer to treate uppon the peax with France; to whom Sturmius is holy gyven, and hath thre pencions, and is for them the gretist practisioner they have in Almayn. And asfor Brewno, at the sayd tyme of the treaty, knowyng the man to be of sum experience, and, before that tyme, to have served in Fraunce, with County Guillaum, bycause the treaty of peax brak at that, and the warre contynewed, we wer then gladde to make sumwhat of hym; to thentent he might be made an instrument for thempeche of thAlmayns passage into Fraunce, eyther by the meanes of County Guillaum, or of the citie of Stratisburgh, with which he shewed hym self to be in sum favour; and offring a sone of his to the Kinges Majestes service, he wold, at that

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[1] This Paper is in the handwriting of Secretary Paget. It is the rough minute of the despatch, and is indorsed, "The Counsaill here to the Counsaill at London, 6 Septembr "1546."

instant

instant have gladly repayred into England, aswell to have sene His Majeste, as also to have to presented his said sone to the same, had he not bene sodenly called away, by those which sent him, at that present; and havyng had, at that tyme of our beyng in the warre, charge to commyn with the sayd County Guillaum and Cytie of Straitburgh, for the Kinges Majestes service, as aforesayd, repayred hither, both to reaport what he had done, and also to know whider His Majeste woold procede further in the same. And here is the gret cause of theyr suspition; whereas in dede, His Majeste beyng used as he is, thEmperour hath no cause to blame hym, if he sought frendship otherwais for thestablyshment of his affayres. For, whatsoever the Ambassadour sayth in the denyall of the Emperours treaty with the Bishop of Rome, His Majeste hath credible advertisement out of Swiserland, Almayn, Fraunce, and Rome self, of the sayd treaty, and an autentique copie of the same; wherin thEmperour hath convented to chastise all that refuse the Bishops authorite, and the obedience to the Counsail at Trent, called by autorite of the same. And albeit His Majeste be not named therin, expressely, as the Protestantes be, yet all such beyng taken for Luthernes and scismatikes, as disown the Bishop of Romes authorite, and thEmperour beyng bownd to chastise the same, His Majeste reaportith him to thEmbassadour, when he come in to the case, or now. Wheruppon His Majeste, considering this new league with the sayd Bishop, and seying playnly at his eye, that all thEmperours procedinges, at this tyme, tende directly to the setting furthe and avauncement of those thinges, which be contrary to His Majeste, and the strait way to subverte all that His Majeste hath done, and his hole estate, can not be gretly blamed, all though he did thinges that myght maynteyn and defend his doynges, grownded uppon Goddes law, reason, and good policy. And yet in dede His Majeste hath not made any league with any Prynce or Estate, to thEmperours prejudice, contrary to his league made with the sayd Emperour; praying hym, for his part, to use the semblable dealing and trew doyng towardes hym, and to gyve a more trust, and to shew a more frendship to His Majeste, then he hath done now of late. For if he woold have accredited the Kinges Majeste, he had not entered this dawngerous warre, nor fallen in to such inconveniences, as His Majeste hereth that he is in, and is sory for it. For although he wil not so frendly communicat his thinges to hym, as theyr amite and frendship requyrith, yet you may say that His Majeste knowyth how the world goyth with hym, and others; beyng enforced to kepe men specially abrode (as wysdome requyrith in this state of thinges), bycause his frendes otherwyse will gyve non advertisement, but kepe all theyr doynges and procedinges

from hym, without communicating any thing; in so moche as, when the King and he made two treatyes, he woold never be a knowen to His Majeste, but of one treaty; wheras, in dede, he made two, one more secret then the other. His Majeste woold wish he did use hym more frendly, and not to let it be blowen to the world, that he mistrustith His Majeste, until he have more cause then is yet gyven; and prayth hym that his Ambassadours abrode may forbeare to reaport any such mistrustes, like as Signor Diego, at Venice, did of late to the Signeory, and also to som of His Majestes servantes there. And this conference His Majeste prayeth you to have with thEmperours Ambassadour, in as good sort as you can set the same furthe; and to advertise the answer to the same.

As toching the Parliament [1], His Majeste is pleased it be proroged until the morow after 12th Day; and, in the meane, if occasion contynew not to the contrary, His Majeste may, if he please, proroge the same to a lenger day.

For the Frenchmen dealing som what strangely, hath ministred matter to His Majeste to write to my Lord Gray [2], as may appere by the copy of the letter, and to send over Legh, with about 1000 men, out of such shyres as shall appere by a scedule herein closed.

Herwith we send you, by His Majestes commandement, a letter out of the North, for the relief wherof His Majeste praythe you to do as moch as may be done conveniently; and also to helpe for the cotes [3], conduct, and transportacion over of the sayd men now sent over. The Kinges Majeste hath determinatly resolved to gyve the Ordre to Don Aloyscius, Marches of Gonzaga [4], and so the answer is made to his agentes. Other newys we have not, but byd you most hertely well to fare.

CCXLIX. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King. [5]

After oure most hartie commendacions to Your good Lordshipps. Wee have, uppon your signification of the Kinges Majestes pleasure to speak with thEmperours Ambassadour, in suche matter as is conteyned in your letters,

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[1] It stood prorogued to the 4th of November 1546, when it met, and was further prorogued till the 14th of January 1547. [2] William Lord Grey of Wilton, Governor of Boulogne.

[3] The clothing. [4] He does not appear to have received the Garter.

[5] The whole of this letter is in the handwriting of Wriothesley, except the last paragraph, which is written by Gardyner.

offered

offered to him the choise, for us to repayre to him, or he to repayre unto us. Whereuppon he was content to comme unto us. And soo wee declared unto him the mattier of your letters. And aftre wee had shewed him howe Sturmius had hither no accesse, being of the Frenche facion, and the service offered by Bruno, wee noted unto him what temptacions the Kinges Majeste hath had to provide for himself, uppon certain advertisement of the treatie betwene thEmperour and the Bisshopp of Rome, clerely against the Kinges Majeste and his Realme, if it shuld take place; and for that, also, that the Emperour of late useth the Kinges Majeste straungely, without participation of his affaires, wherein if he had followed the Kinges Majestes counsail, he had not entred this encombre, wherein he is nowe. And in this pointe of strainge handeling, wee spake playnely of the doinges of Don Diego, at Venice, and of the prevye treatie betwene thEmperour and Fraunce, and howe, having made twoo treaties, he made us prevye but of oon. And thus wee declared unto him, uppon his oune occasion, the cause of the reparing hether of Bruno, wherin wee said was no matter of importance. And as for Sturmius, cam not here. After thAmbassadour had harde us declare these matters at lenght, first he protested, that, for himself, he never mistrusted any procedinges of the Kinges Majeste, against the Emperour; and added, howe he thought, and durst assure, that thEmperour had the same opinion of His Hieghnes; and yet suche, as reasort hether, he said, to sett furth their own purposes, doo make an other brute; and nowe men myngle their owne prevy affeccions with Princes affayres: adding, that whereas, by intercepcion of letters of the Duke of Saxe to Venice, yt appeareth, howe the Secretary of His Hieghnes Ambassadour at Venice desired to be Ambassadour to that Seignorry, for the said Duke of Saxe. And yet he said, he knewe, that the sollicitacion of that matter proceded not from His Hieghnes; and said further, that what soever he said of Bruno and Sturmius comming hether, he thought thEmperour, nor the Lady Regent, wold not beleve any brute they wold make, but onely repose themself in the assurednesse of the Kinges Majestes freendshipp. And yet, because there is suche reasort from them, which be thEmperours ennemyes, he hath thought it his dewtye to speke of them, and knoweth well the Emperour wilbe glad to here this aunswer in the matter. Asfor the prevye treatie betwene thEmperour and Fraunce, he knoweth not of any suche. The Kinges Hieghnes, he sayeth, spake ones unto him of it; but he was thenne ignoraunt, as he is nowe: and putting an exemple of Plinius, said, thEmperours treaties with Fraunce were, as he thinketh, not thoroughly knowen to the

Emperour himself. And asfor straungenes in advertisementes of thEmperours affayres, and communicating with His Hieghnes, freendely, his purpose and determynacions, he said, he thought the Emperour, at his going into Almayn, mynded not this entreprise, and was moved thereunto, by indignacion on thone parte, and sollicitacion of the Princes of Almayn on thother parte, who beganne to disdayne the greatnes of the Lansgrave; and in the procedinges of the matter, and successes therof, he thinketh the Kinges Majeste hathe more diligent and spedy advertisement, thenne the Quene the Regent hath, by reason the passage be stopped. As touching the league bruted betwene thEmperour and the Bisshopp of Rome, wherof wee said the Kinges Hieghnes had an autentique copie, he said he could not beleve it, and thought yt not lightly; and said, he durst adventure his lief, thEmperour wold nothing doo, prejudiciall to the Kinges Hieghnes: adding, howe, as long as the Germaynes onely talked of mattiers of religion, the Emperour medled not with them; but nowe they have uttered further of their entreprise, even to exclude thEmperour, and to sett upp a Lansgrave to contende with him, in bandes and leages, to putt doune and sett upp whom they liste, this hath sodenly moved thEmperour, rather to aventure to be Emperour with honour, or to abandon them, thenne suffre himself to be overcomme by their secrete practises. And God, he said, shall geve the victorye, where it shall please Him, in whose handes be Princes governementes. But if the Emperour be overcome, it shalbe a terrible exemple for all other Princes, that the subjectes, uppon theyr miscontentement, shall take occasion to overthrowe their hed and ruler; concluding that the world, in that case, shuld neyther have Ecclesiam, nor Principem. And herein he was very long, and had many woordes, and wold neades perswade us, that thEmperour had made no suche leage with the Bisshopp of Rome, whatsoever is reaported. He said, he thought thEmperour wold have all thinges acquieted, and reduce them of Allmayn to reason, and knoweth the Bisshopp of Rome had asmuche neade of reformacion; and therfor to bargayn with him the defence of his auctoritie, he cannot beleve it. Wherewith he said, wee had neade take hede of reportes, which were settfurth in the worlde, tadvaunce mennes purposes. And soo, using very gentle woordes unto us, with protestacion of the goodnes he hathe founde in the Kinges Majeste, and the determynacion, he is perswaded to be in thEmperours harte, to the wealth of this Realme, and devocion to the Kinges Hieghnes, at whose handes he hathe receyved soo many benefittes, he wisshed wee shuld not be seduced by thiese meane men of Germany; which, he said, were not men of estate,

meate

meate to entreat with soo noble a Prince as the Kinges Majeste is: whoo, having been mediatour, and mete to be arbitrour, betwene the greate Princes of Christendom, thEmperour and Frenche King, shuld be nowe yvell matched, to be treated with by the Princes of Germany; whoo, by their owne mysordre, have brought themselfs in bondage with the people, and displeasour against their Sovereign Lorde. In declaracion of which matter, he used many obtestacions unto us of his inward zeale to the Kinges Highnes, and travailed moche tassure us of the Emperours affeccion to the Kinges Hieghnes, howsoever some particularities might seame to the contrary. And wheare wee had spoken unto him of the Emperours Ambassadour at Venice, of the communication he had used with som of the Kinges Hieghnes agentes, as though the Kinges Majeste shuld practise contrary to his treatise, thAmbassadour disallowed him moche therein, and said he wold advertise the Emperour thereof effectuelly, with all that wee have declared unto him. And this was theffect of our communication with him, and his aunswere to the same, which wee requyre you to declare to the Kinges Majeste. As for the Emperours present astate with his armye, he took it to be good and prosperous; and shewed us a coppie of Monsieur de Bures letters to the Lady Regent, of the 23th of August, to that effect; but because the date therof is olde, wee made none accompt of it.

I, the Lorde Chauncellour, shall see the writtes sent furth for the prorogacion of the Parliament, according to the Kinges Majesties commaundement.

As concernyng money for the North, wee have travailled with Mr Coferer for fowre thouzande poundes, to be hadd owte of the Mynt at Yorke, and the rest must be made upp with the contribucion, that is receyved in those partes, remayning in thArchebisshopp of Yorkes handes.

We cannot yet recover the money of the Mayour and Citie of London due for corne, wherewith to pay the labourers at Bulloyn. It wilbe the ende of the next weake, or wee can gett it.

We caused yestredaye fyve thouzande poundes to be delyvered to thAdmyrallty, for alleviacion of the Kinges Majesties charges that waye.

Ye shall receyve, herewith, the declaracions of the Threasourers, brought unto us uppon Sonday last, whereby ye shall perceyve what money ded thenne remayn in their handes. Maister Carewe made no declaracion, because he said he had nothing in his handes.

We wold gladly knowe the special ordre you have taken for provyding of conduyte and cootes; for we have provided the furniture of money to be redy, as the cace by your appointement shal require. And thus we take

take our leave of Your Lordshippes, and byd youe hartely fare wel. At Westmester, the 7th of Septembre.

Your Lordshippes assured
loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL. W. SEINT JOHN. STE: WINTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very goodes Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes most Honorable Counsaile, attendant upon His Graces Roiall Person.

CCL. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING. [1]

AFTRE oure right hartie commendacions to Your good Lordshipps. It maye like you to declare to the Kinges Majestie, that this, Our Lady Daye, in the mornyng, the Frenche Ambassadour, whoo shuld have soupped with me, the Lorde Chauncellour, on Sonday night last passed, and could not keape his promys, by reason of the dispeache of Morrett [2], &c. sent unto me his secretarye, declaring that, for the recompence and redubbing of his fault that night, he wold visit me this daye at dynner: whereunto I made aunswere, that he shuld make a duble amendes, if it shuld please him to come so famyliarly unto me; and that he shuld the rather, in respect of his gentlenes therein, be most hartely welcome. Whereof wee, the Lorde Greate Maister [3] and the Bisshop of Winchester, being advertised, aswell for the bettre entreteignement and accompaynyng of him, as to here what he wold saye to the three pointes, whereof we were instructed to talke famyliarly with him, ded likewise repayre to the same dynner. At his arryvall, aftre a fewe woordes of course, and a lytle tyme spent in the vieu of the gardens, wee entred those matters, as of ourselfes, seamyng to be most sory for theym; and knowing hym to be most ernestly bent to the contynuance and confirmacion of this amytie, wisshed that he wold wryte to the President, or some of his assured freendes aboute the King, that staye might be taken in the first, and that thother twoo might soo be redubbed, as might aunswer to

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[1] Written by Gardyner.

[2] This breach of promise on the part of the French Ambassador was reported to Paget, by the Lord Chancellor, on the following morning. Wriothesley says, "He was so busied in the "dispeche of Monsieur Morret, that he made us tary for him tyl 7 of the clok, and then "served us with that answer. He may chaunce to fare worse at his next feast with me, "then he shuld have doon at this tyme. I wene he was afraid he shuld have been apposed, "and then kept him from us."

[3] Lord St. John.

thassured

thassured amyte, which wee knewe the Kinges Majeste had conceyved and determyned towardes the King, his good Brother. The man seamed a lytle, at the first, abasshed, and, after a very lyttell pawse, made this aunswere. He said, that there was no man lyving more desirous of the contynuance of this amytie, thenne he, and there shuld never lack good office in him, to thuttre-most of his powre, for the preservacion of it, "And", quod he, "if the "King, my Master, have not this amytie to harte, asmuche as ever man had "thing to harte, I shall never trust thinges of the worlde aftre. But for "aunswer", quod he, "to the first, touching the fortifications at Portest, "I can saye litle in it; your selfes harde what Mounsieur lAdmiral said to "it, whenne he was here, howe it was long sithens begonne, and howe he "had the plattes of it in his cofre. But", quod he, "I confesse to you, for "myn opinion, that though it soo were, seing there riseth questyon of it, "reason wold, that it were stayed, till it were freendely debated and deter-"myned betwene us; and partely", quod he, "I have soo written, and woll "more plainly wryte my fantezey therein, not only to Monsieur le President, "but also to the King, my Master, himself; whoo I am sure woll considre it. "I am not", quod he, "soo well acqueynted with those matters, that I "canne meself fully speak in them, but they speake moche, on oure side", quod he, "of a fortresse that you make, called Bullingberghe, which they "saye was commensed sythens the treatye, and percace that maye provoke "it." It was aunswered to this pointe, that wee remembred that Monsieur lAdmiral spake a woorde or twoo touching such a mattier, but the trouth was, the trenche at Portest could no more be called the begyning of a fortificacion, thenne all the Kinges Majestes trenches, made in the warre tyme, maye nowe be called the begynnynges of suche fortificacions. And asfor Bullingberghe, wee assured him it was begonne, and well forwarde, before the conclusion of the treatie, and that wee could prove by Monsieur le Marishall de Beez owne letters; whoo, before the treatye was concluded, wroote to my Lorde Greate Chambrelein[1], that in cace we wold desist from our fortificacion there, he wold leave to fortifye at St. Estiens, where he had also thenne doon sumwhat. We engreved the matter so moche for the daunger of it, for the brute and suspicion of the worlde, that shuld ensue of it, that he appeared right sory it was attempted.

To the seconde he sayde, there was not soo moche faulte in them, but it might be redubbed. "For I was meself", quod he, "a suter to Mounsieur "le Secretarye, to knowe whoo shuld goo, and whenne they shuld goo.

[1] The Earl of Hertford.

"Of

" Of whom I lerned the names of the persones that shuld goo; but the " tyme, he tolde me, shuld be appointed at the comming of Monsieur " lAdmiral. Nowe", quod he, " the same daye that Mounsieur lAdmiral " came to Gravesend, I receyved advertisement that they shuld goo the " next daye, for that they could tarry no lenger, the tyme prescribed " runnyng fast away. Whereuppon Monsieur lAdmiral dispeched a post " expresse from Grenewich. I tolde", quod he, " Monsieur le Secretarye, " aftre, of this sodein departure, fearing our men shuld not comme so sone, " as I woold have wisshed them; whoo, aunswered me, that, whenne their " dispeche was differed, till Monsieur lAdmiralles cumming, it was thought " he woold have been here moche sonner, thenne in dede he cam. But", quod he, " being advertisement geven whenne it was, I trust the Kinges " Majeste woll beninglye consyder, that the King, my Maister, ys farre of; " and that after the post cam to the Court, those that shuld comme, being " percace at Parrys, must have warning and tyme to putt themselfes in " order; and therefore, though it tooke not effect nowe, within the tyme " appointed, he trusted, uppon a further determynacion, that matter shuld " be well ynough resolved".

To the thirde, touching the prohibicion of victualles, he said he could not ynough wondre at it, and thought, in his conscience, his Master was not prevye to it. But he said he woold wryte effectuelly in them all, and he trusted and doubted not, but all shuld doo well in thende.

Thus, perceyving the man to be sumwhat troubled, wee passed into other thinges, and soo dyned merely, and badd hym to suppe with us tomorowe, at the house of me, the Lorde Greate Master. Surely it appeareth to us that either this man knoweth nothing of their doinges, orrelles the thing shall in dede doo well ynough, oneles other occasion doo further provoke it. For he speaketh most constantly, and specially, of his Masters disposicion; which wee praye God maye appeare in deades accordingly.

And thus wee praye God to sende Your Lordshipps health. From Ely Place, the 8th of September.

Your Lordshipps assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL. W. SEINT JOHN. STE : WINTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes most Honorable Privey Counsaill, attendant on His Hieghnes Person.

In hast, hast, post hast,
with all possable diligence.

CCLI. The Council in London *to* The Council with the King. [1]

After our right hartie commendacions to Your good Lordshipps. For aunswere to your severall letters, it shall like you tundrestande, first as touching the victualing of Calays, we mervell, my Lordes, theie shuld be soo disfurnished; for your Lordships knowe that, by thordre allredy taken, they maye make asmany proviours as they woll, and for what kindes and quantities of victuall they woll, and, according to the same, they have sithens sent for sundry commissions, which they have had; as by a note of the same, sent herewith, yow shall perceyve. In dede their commissions bynde them to entre it with the custumers, and to putt in suretie to deliver it onely there, and to bring in certificates within fower monethes, undre thandes of the Deputie and twoo of the Counsaill, soo that they maye nowe make every man in Calays and every man in London to, if they woll, a proviour. This onely difference there is betwene this order and their desire, that nowe the Kinges Majeste shall knowe howe manye proviours they have, and, upon serche of the custumers bookes, what they carry. And by their desire, they wold have their oune letters serve at every porte, without geving knowlege or advertisement hither. And thenne, with the good favour and handeling of ministers, they shuld, as they have doon, carry twoo shipp ladinges into Flaunders, for oon to Calays. Oure poore opinion is, that this wold be somwhat roundely written to them from thens, and that they can have no more, but to mak asmany proviours as themselfes woll, and for what kindes and quantities they woll, which they may doo at their pleasours, without the divising of any further ordre.

As touching the calling on the Mayour, &c. of London, for the money due for the corne, we shall not fayle to call and crye, till wee maye gett it, as partely wee have doon allredy; and the rather, for that it were more thenne necessary the poore men, whoo shuld have it, were satisfied. And for M[r] Leighe, all the shift shalbe made that is possible, nowe summe and nowe summe, as it may be levied. And where your Lordshipps note the lack of a declaracion, it is of thEschequier, which is closed upp, and woll helpe with nothing, till the terme tyme. And for cotes and conducte, wee shall make like shift to see them satisfyed, as they shall repaire unto us. We send unto you, M[r] Secretary, all suche letters as wee have receyved

[1] Written by Gardyner.

from you, and wee be right gladd that the matter of Bulloyn is passed, as yt is; trusting that whenne they shall here of the cummyng over of our men with it, they shall conceyve us to be soo ernest, as percace maye move theym to consider it bettre, before they procede again in their purpose. Bullingbergh, wee thinke, wold be wel loked to, least, leaving their olde woorke, they attempt for recompence, with their garrisons, sodeinly to surprise it, which might breade greate inconvenience.

Yesternight, being the Frenche Ambassadour at souper with us, at the house of me, the Lorde Great Maister, he made unto us a greate complaynt that the Baron with Blauncherde was that daye conveyed owte of the Citie by Maister Paston[1], without declaring whether, and without any his servauntes or necessaryes with him, having as he sayeth suche a sore leg, that oneles he maye have remedy, it woll putt him in daunger. And albeit the Baron offred to remayn in any prison, or to tarry in his lodging, with suche garde as he wold appointe, to thentent he might have helpe for his disease, yet could he not obtein it, neyther could thAmbassadour himself gett knowleage whether he went, that he might sende to him; which he said was sorer, and more extremely handeled, he knewe wel, thenne the Kinges Majestie wold be pleased withal; for the like was never used to any gentleman, in the most extreame and cruel warre: praying us very ernestly, to write for the helpe and relief of the poore man, at the least that he might be kepte in London, till he were hole. Wee told him wee had not harde of it, and if Mr Paston dyd use him otherwise thenne were convenient, he might be assured the Kinges Majestie wold see yt remedyed, promising to write according to his desire.

Fynally, it maye lyke your Lordshipps to declare to the Kinges Majestie, that Doctour Taylour[2], uppon further conference with Mr Shaxton, hath subscribed all Maister Shaxtons articles, and doothe nowe shewe himself very penitent. He was never indicted, nor did never directly, but by conclusions, affirme any thing against the most Blessed Sacrament of thAultre. Wherupon he is putt to libertye, with bonde not to departe from London, till he shall knowe further of the Kinges Majesties pleasour, which wee requyre your Lordshipps to knowe, and to signifye unto us.

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[1] It appears by a letter from Armigill Wade to Secretary Paget, that St. Blancard had, with his galley, been captured by Captain Paston, and that there was a dispute between them respecting the prisoner's ransom, and the expences which Paston had incurred in maintaining him and his servants. St. Blancard, in November following, obtained a passport, under the Sign Manual, for himself and his crew.

[2] John Taylor, Dean, afterwards Bishop, of Lincoln.

And

And thus, praying you, Maister Secretary, to remembre the matter of the postes, wee pray God to sende you helth. From Westminster, the 10th of Septembre, 1546.

Your Lordshipps most assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL. W. SEINT JOHN. STE: WINTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To oure very good Lordes of the Kinges
Majestes most Honorable Prevy Counsaill,
attendant on His Graces Person.
In hast, hast, post, hast
with all diligens.

CCLII. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING. [1]

AFTER our right hartie commendacions to Your good Lordshipps. Wee have, by Nycasius [2], perceyved the Kinges Majestes pleasour, touching thexemplifying of thobligacion of the fyve hundreth thousand crownes, with the shewing of the same to the Ambassadour, for his affirmacion of it, which shalbe doon accordingly.

We have also, by the same Nicasius, receyved certain letters writen from a gentleman of Skotlande, touching the mattier of St. Andrewes [3], which wee think to be of such importance, as summe relief wold spedely be geven unto them; at the least some small force to be sett to the sees, which shuld not onely appeare a comfort to theym, but be a defence for ourselfes against the Skottes, on the sees, which, as the voyce goeth here, in London, have taken a good nombre of Englishe vesselles.

We receyved, also, the coppye of a letter written from Mr Wootton [4], which wee lyk nothing at all; for though there be in it summe gentle woordes, yet it is powdered with a wrong persuasion, bothe for meyntenaunce of that, which they doo against the treatie, and thimproving of that, which wee have doon justely, touching Bullingbergh. And therefore, considering

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1 In Gardyner's handwriting. 2 Nicasius Yetsweirt. See his letter to Paget of this date.
3 On the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, on the 29th of May 1546, Norman Leslie and the Laird of Grange seized the Castle of St. Andrews, and, by English assistance, kept possession of it for many months. The Correspondence on the subject remains in the State Paper Office.
4 Ambassador in France.

 therewith

therewith, also, thadvertisementes of Mr Moyle, as wee lyk well the Kinges Majestes determynacion for the putting of fowre or fyve thouzande men in order to serve in all eventes, wee thinke, if it maye please the Kinges Majeste to forbeare his Gentlemen Pencyoners, yt shuld do well, that bothe they, and thextraordynary men of armes, were likewise commaunded to be in order to departe thether, uppon oon howres warning, if present occasion shall soo requyre.

Being here toguither this Frydaye, at Westminster, thEmperours Ambassadour sent unto us, the Lorde Chauncellour, the Lorde Greate Master, and the Bisshopp of Winchestre, to invite us to dynner with him on Sonday next, where shalbe, as he signifyed unto us, the French Ambassadours wief, whoo is lately arryved to see their facion. We have promised to be with them, which we requyre your Lordshipps to signifie to the Kinges Majeste. Thus fare Your Lordships right hartely well. From Westminster, the 16th of Septembre.

Your Lordships most assured
loving Freindes,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃. W. SEINT JOHN. E. HERTFORD.
(*Signed*) STE : WINTON̄.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes most Honorable Counsaill, attendant uppon his most Roial Person.

CCLIII. YETSWEIRT *to* PAGET.

RIGHT Honorable, my moost bounden duety remembred. It my like Your Mastership tunderstande, that this morning I delivred thobligacion unto my Lord Chauncelour, at his house in Holborn (where I founde with his Lordship my Lord of Hertforde) and declarid unto him the Kinges Majestes pleasoure, touching thexemplificacion of the sayd obligacion, which his Lordship sayd shuld be accomplished; and calling ymedyately for Mr Godsalve to write the same, hath appoynted to morow to make collacion therof with thoriginal, with the rest of the Lordes, and the French Ambassadour, whom he will requyre the subscribe the sayd exemplificacion with them, and to advertise, by his letters, the King, his Masters, Commissioners therof accordingly.

I declared

I declared unto both my said Lordes, the Kinges Majestes state[1], even as it like it your Mastership to gyve me instructions; who wer very sory to here it again of me (for it seamed they had had sum incling of it, before my cummyng), and yet moost glad again to perceyve by me, that His Majeste was so sone, and so well, recovered.

I declared further unto my sayd Lord of Hertforde your Mastershipps advis for his tarying at Dover, until he hard from your Mastership again, with His Majestes pleasour his Lordship shuld open all such letters as passed by him, and to communicat the same unto Mr Petre. His Lordship will tak ordre at Boulloyn, Newhaven, and Callays, for the receit of your letters, from tym to tym; and to morow, at nyne of the clok before non, goyth down to Gravesende by water.

I feare me, that it wilbe hard to get any money, as yet, for the warrauntes I brought with me, for my Lord Chancelour told me, laughing, that they wer very drye. Nevertheles, he willed me to cause one tattende upon him, and woold do what might be don, for your satisfaction; which charge I have layd upon Mr Armill[2] shoulders, and signifyed unto him your Masterships pleasour, touching his procedinges with the man you wote of; wherof, I doubt not, but he will advertise your Mastership with diligence, and not departe until you sende for him. And thus, having non other thing worthy writing, I leave to trouble your Mastership, whom with my speciall good lady and mistres, your wiefe, I pray God have in His tuition, and sende the same, with encreace of honnour and helth, long to lyve to gidres. From London, the 17th of Septembre, 1546.

Your Masterships humble
and moost bounden Servaunt,
(*Signed*) NICASIUS YETSWEIRT.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my moost speciall good Master, Sir Willam Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principall Secretaryes.

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[1] This is the first notice of the King's failing health; a subject, on which the King was so jealous, that those around him probably dared not to communicate it in writing to their colleagues.

[2] Armigill Wade, from whom there is a letter on this, and other matters, addressed to Paget in October.

CCLIV. THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING *to* THE COUNCIL IN LONDON.[1]

IT maye like Your good Lordshipps, with our most harty commendacions, tundrestande, that the Kinges Majeste hath seen your sundry letters, addressed unto us; thone, concernyng thaunswere to Mr Moyles articles, and thother pointes mencyoned in the same; thother, declaring your opinions of the French Kinges aunswere, and likewise for an ayde to be sent to the see, for the relief of them at Saint Andrewes; and taketh all thinges in very good parte.

Mary, His Majeste thinketh, that, whenne you shall have wayed well Mr Wottons letter, you shall fynde there can no more be said, thenne he said, if his dedes corresponde to his woordes. For first, he sayeth, he will not fortifye at thentery of the Haven: seconde, that although he be enfourmed he doo not fortifye, but where he maye by the treatie, and that he is enfourmed that wee do fortifye, contrary to the treatie, yet he is contented that the matter be indifferently harde, and that that shalbe beaten downe, which shall appeare, duely, to be fortifyed otherwyse thenne maye be by the treatye; which His Majeste thinketh reasonable: and thirdely, he useth as good woordes as maye be, for the shewe of his desire for the contynuance of the amyte. And forasmoch as the Frenche Ambassadour shall, by all lykelyhode, dyne to morowe with you at the Emperours Ambassadour, His Majeste thinketh good you open to him the said aunswere, and to shewe unto him that the same is moch agreable to His Majeste. Mary, forasmoch as the French King, thinking that His Majeste buildyth where, by the treatie, he maye not, and that the Kinges Majeste thinketh, and is in the rightes, that the French King buyldeth where, by the treatie, he may not; both their woorkes nevertheles goo forward, in suche sorte, as the same, being dayly more and more advaunced, wyll be to greate a displeasour to hym of Their Majestes, whose woork shalbe condempned, to have the same plucked down again: His Majeste thinketh it expedient for both partes, that both their causes be hard, at this present, owte of hande, by some good personages upon the frontiers, and determyned which of their woorkes is in the right, and which in the wrong, and that it shalbe indefferent (whereunto His Majeste, for his parte, wolbe contented to agree) that the French cease

[1] Printed from a contemporary copy, in the handwriting of Gardyner, indorsed, "The copie of the long letter from the Counsel at the Court to the Counsail at London, 18 Septembris." The existence of such a copy is accounted for, by the last paragraph in the subsequent letter of the 25th.

their

their fortificacions at Portest, and we at Bullingbergh, untill suche tyme the matter be determyned; which may sone ensue, if the French King will appoint any man, for his parte, to commyn upon the same: wherin His Majeste prayeth you to move the Frenche Ambassadour to write with diligence, and to woorke, what he can, for the stay of the workes in the meane season; signifying furder unto him, that the Skotes daily trouble and take our merchantes upon the see, in suche sorte, as for the suretie of his subjectes, His Hieghnes, by their provocacion, must be fayne to sende fowre or fyve vesselles to the see, wherof His Majeste willed your Lordships tadvertyse hym. Youe maye, because he wold not have the King, his Master, have any maner suspicion mynistred, of any thing to be doon by His Majeste, otherwyse thenne that may stande with their amyte; and according to this purpose, because wee think my Lord Admyrall be departed in to his cuntrey, with the Kinges Majestes licence, for a tyme, to look to his thinges, wee desier your Lordshipps to cause them of thAdmyraltie, in the Kinges Majestes behalf, to sett furth immedyatly six such vesselles to goo towardes Saint Andrewes, as they shall think mete to encountre thennemyes, if neade require; with charge to skore the sees betwene this and St. Andrewes, and in theyr waye abowte the Fryth, to mak soom shewe uppon lande, to the feare of thennemyes, whereby some occasion may be geven to withdrawe, peradventure, som of their force before St. Andrewes, and to take upp suche Skottishe shipps, as shall com in theyr waye, having regarde to Frenche men, and theyr gooddes, if any shall fortune to be founde in the said Skottishe shipps. And if our men may com to the Castell of St. Andrewes, lett thAdmyrall, with good woordes and salutacions on the Kinges Majestes behalf, relief them within with parte of suche thinges as they shall neade of, in cace they have store abourde of the same; for the which purpose yt shall not be amysse that some greater quantyte of victualles and munición, and specially powder, be had with them abounde thetherwarde, for the relief of the same: and it must be told them that His Majeste hath a greate force comming to their succours, which shalbe there very shortely. And for the perfourmance of Kyrkawdyeis promise, to requyre of the Master of Rothous, and the Lorde of Graunge, the governours sonne to be sent by see, furthwith, to the Kinges Majeste; which shuld not onely be moche to His Majestes contentacion, but also a provocacion to His Majeste to styck the suerer to them; whom if they shall receyve, His Majestes pleasour is, they shall sende hym immedyatly to his presence. His Majeste prayeth you, also, to wryte to the Warden of the Westmarches that he signifye to Olyver St. Cleare (who offereth to com in and redeme his

his pledg), that, whennesoever he will com to Carlisle, his pledge shalbe truely and saulfly delivered to retourn at liberty into Skotland. And forasmoch as the Lord Tulibarn ys moche desirous to retorn home, His Majeste prayeth your Lordshipps to sende for hym, and with good woordes, geving hym 100 crownes for his costes homewardes, to make hym a pasport for his departing accordingly.

We sende unto you, also, thaunswers to Mr Moyles articles, subscribed with our handes here, whereto also it may like you to sett your handes, and to sende the same (with a letter for his credence to his colleages) to Mr Moyle, by his servant, who will to morowe night be with your Lordshipps for the same; desiring Your Lordships to cause a coppie to be taken of the said aunswers, which we could not doo for expedicion of these letters to night, because youe dyne tomorowe with the Ambassadours. And thus wee byd you most hartely well to fare. From Guildeforde, the 18th of Septembre, 1546.

Your Lordships assured
loving Freindes,

JOHN RUSSEL. H. ARUNDELL. W. ESSEX.
ANTHONY BROUNE. WILLM̃ PAGET.

CCLV. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[1]

AFTER our right hartie commendacions to Your good Lordshipps. Wee have receyved your several letters, thone by Mr Auchar, thother by the post, touching the Kinges Majestes pleasour for our procedinges with th Ambassadour of Fraunce, and other thinges in the same conteyned. For aunswere whereunto, yt maye like you tundrestand, that lyke as wee have, and shall most gladly geve our best advise, counsaill, and ayde to the said Mr Aucher, for the bettre execucion of the charge commytted unto him; soo I, the Lorde Chauncellour, have alredy taken order for his commissions, in as large sorte as himself desireth. And I, the Bisshopp of Winchestre, together with Mr Rither, have resolved with Mr Rochestre, for the delyvery unto him of suche victualles, by price, as be alredy at Bulloyn, and also here, and at Callays, provided for the victualling of those peces, which he must neades receyve, and helpe to utter, orrelles the Kinges

[1] Written by Gardyner.

Majeste

Majeste shuld be to greate a loser in them. Wherein though wee have summwhat differred, wee have, in fyne, soo agreed, as all shalbe, wee trust, ordered for His Hieghnes most advauntage. And with difficulty wee have also made him warrant for 2000£ owte of the Mynt, for the Treasourers have almost nothing; and Mr Carowe sayeth, he is commaunded to sende all that he hath to the Court; thEschequier hath nothing; the Chamber mynistreth uttrely nothing; soo that all resteth uppon the Mynte and thAugmentacion, with Mr Coferers receipt of the contribucion; which commeth in soo slackly, as wee must neades wryte newe letters to all commissioners, in to all partes, for yt, orrelles wee shall have a sodeyn lak, or wee be ware; which if it wold please you to dispeche from thence, under the Stampe, it shuld moche helpe the spedy getting in of yt. The tenour shuld be onely, "That where the Kinges Majestes most loving subjectes, considering his "greate and importable charges, susteyned for our surety and defence, "were content to graunte a contribucion, for the assessement and collection "therof, His Majeste made A. B. Commissioners; forasmoch as His Hieghnes "ys enfourmed, that all his loving subjectes of the County of N. have con-"formed themselfes most lovingly unto yt, and that the money dothe not "yet come yn, at the tymes appointed; His Majeste, fearing least some of "the collectours do not theyr dewtes as apperteyneth, but keapeth yt in "theyr own handes, to theyr own commodyte, willeth theym to call the "said collectours before theym, and to knowe in whom the fault ys; and "thereuppon to certifye to the Counsaill, that condign punnishement maye "ensue, where it is deserved," &c. You may leave Yorkshir owte of this, for the President receyveth the money there, and, as wee think, woll soo call uppon it, as we shall not nede to prick him forwarde. Wee be long in these money matters, for they importe moch, and must therefor be forseen, or the presente neade com, as your Lordshipps knoweth.

ThAmbassadour of Fraunce being required, according to thinstruccion sent by Nichasius, to make collation of thobligacion, and to wryte his testymonye of it, allthough at the first motyon he sayde, he thought yt might be summe displeasour to him, having thereunto no commission, and the thing making, as it is taken, against his Master, yet very gently; he was, in thende, content to doo it, and hathe written theym according to the Kinges Majestes desier; and soo is Nichasius dispeched with that matter.

Nowe to your seconde letters, wee have dispeched Maister Moyle with his letters and instruccions, a coppy wherof wee have taken, according to your desier, which wee sende herewith unto youe. Wee have likewise declared theffect of Mr Woottons letter, yesterday, before wee satt downe to

dynner, where wee had greate chere, to the Frenche Ambassadour, with the Kinges Majestes overture and desyre for his advertisement to be yeven therof to his Master, with all diligence, and the doing besides what he canne, to staye the ministers in the meane season. He shewed himself most joyfull of the Kinges Majestes good disposicion, and sayd thoverture was most freendely, and that he wold not onely wryt, with all diligens, to the King, his Master, in yt, but also to Monsieur le Marishal de Beez, advising hym to staye tyll he shall here further. Mary, he trusteth the Kinges Majeste woll waye, that he can in dede doo no more herein, thenne shewe his good will, which shall never faile, but shalbe extended to thuttremost, for the contynuance and advauncement of this amytie. In dede the man seameth gentle, wise, and very well disposed. His wief is a right propre woman, and for her apparrel was well trymmed. ThEmperours Ambassadours wief was also present, whoo is not soo fayre, nor so propre a woman as thother, but of the meanest sorte; mary, she seameth also very honest, and that she lacketh in beautye, she helpeth with gaye geare.

Wee have also commoned with theym of the Admyraltye, whoo have onely twoo shipps in aredynes, and shall not be able to furnishe thother fowre, before the fourth day of the next moneth. And because wee wold, in the doing of this matter, have had my Lorde Admyralles advise, wee sent the letter unto him, being here at his house, whoo being soo sick, that he could unneth, with his greate payne, peruse yt, prayed us to procede as wee thought good, and not to trouble hym. Whereuppon wee have geven theym charge to procede, and delyvered theym money for the presting of men for the purpose; and I, the Lorde Great Maister, doo putt all thinges in order for their victualling. There shall rest for that matter, that yt may please the Kinges Majeste tappoint their Admyrall, and to geve him suche instruccions, as to His Majeste shalbe thought mete; and that wee may be advertised, what quantytie of powder we shall sende with them, besides theyr oune furnyture. There went a pynnesse thetherwardes, on Monday was sevenight, whoo shall comfort them at St. Andrewes, in the meane season, if that woll serve, and geve the rest of our shippes, in their passaige, advertysement howe all thinges standeth. Wee sende unto you a note of the shippes appoynted, praying your Lordshipps to shewe the same to the Kinges Majeste.

Wee shall wryte to the Wardeyn of the Westmerches, touching Oliver St. Clere, and wee shall lykewyse dispeche the Larde Tulibarn, according to the Kinges Majesties pleasure.

Wee send unto you, herewith, the declaracions of the Threasourers, with a note of the good servyce doon by our merchantes, in this exchaunge. The straungers,

straungers, as all men must neades confesse, have doon right honestly, as the money goeth; but our men, wee dare saye, shall paye twoo thousande poundes Flemish, of their oune purses; they be soo troubled with this brabling, fearing the Kinges Majeste shuld conceyve summe yvell opinion of them, as wee hade moche a doo to satisfye theym.

Wee sende unto your Lordshippes, also, a note of suche allom as is receyved, and of such lead as is delyvered, and appoynted to be delyvered, for it. And forasmuche as this allom woll not be ridd owte of the Kinges Majestes handes these seven yeres, but to his losse; and being peace, the Kinges Majestie shalbe no greate gayner by yt, in thende, calling to remembrance that there is oon clause in the pacte, that byndeth theym to delyver yt before Easter, yf wynde and wether serve theym; wee have sett the merchantes in hande, to see if they maye conveniently rid us of the rest, saving oon other shipp alredy arryved; for the leade ys more redy money for His Majeste, if neade requyred.

Wee shall take order with Doctour Taylour and Mr Shaxton, according to the Kinges Majestes pleasure. Wee cannott gett Saxe for to commen with hym, for the free chappell that Mr Shaxton desyred, in Bury. They saye he is sick in the cuntrey; and nowe Mr Shaxton desireth to have, in the lieu thereof, the Maistershipp of a poore hospitall in Norwich[1], which if it might please the Kinges Majeste to yeve unto hym, yt shuld, in our opinions, be well employed.

And wee shall lykewyse speake both with Chidley and Henley, for the Chauncellourshipp of Irelande, but wee feare neyther of them woll take yt uppon him with good will; and wee think, in our poore opinions, yf yt might please the Kinges Majestye to make Maister Rede[2] Chauncellour, and geve him a commission also for the dispensacions, yt shuld be moche better for the poore man, thenne to make hym onely a Vicegerent, the state of which rome he shall not be able to sett furth, without the Kinges Majesties greate charge; and he is wel hable toccupye the rowme of the Chauncellour, for he is right well lerned, and in Chauncery matters hath very good experience.

Wee have even nowe spoken with the Larde Tulibarne, whoo desired moch to take his leve of the Kinges Majeste, and to have placarde for twoo or three geldinges. He promiseth moche servyce. Wee stayed his going thether, till wee maye knowe the Kinges Majestes pleasour. And yf yt may please His Hieghnes to rid him, with the placarde for twoo geldinges, he

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[1] Shaxton died Master of St. Giles's Hospital in Norwich.

[2] Sir Richard Rede was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 6th December 1546.

shuld be the more thankfully dispeched. Thus wee besech Your Lordshipps to pardon our long letter. From Westminster, the 20th of Septembre.

Your Lordshipps most assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) THOMS WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL. W. SEINT JOHN. STE: WINTON.

The Bisquain, who faylith not every daye to moleste us, and crye out for relief, toke his opportunite yestredaye, at our being with thEmperours Ambassadour, and toke hym to make an alarum with hym, wherin ye, Master Secretarye, wer remembred; and nowe there is joyned in like exclamation oon that sueth against a servaunt of Sir Thomas Semars for a pyracie. Herin we cal for ayde from thens, and praye youe to releave us of them.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes most Honorable Counsaill, attendant on his Roiall Personne.

CCLVI. THE COUNCIL IN LONDON *to* THE COUNCIL WITH THE KING.[1]

AFTRE our most harty commendacions to Your good Lordshippes. Wee have perused the Kinges Majesties resolucion, concernyng thaffaires of Irelande, which cam to our handes uppon Thursday, at night. And albeit we cannot, in this shorte tyme, execute that shuld be depeched here, yet wee have thought requisite, for more spedy expedition, to considre, which article in our opinion may be sped here, and which requyre expedition at the Courte. Wee have made severall notes of them, which wee sende herewith, with tottes on the margyn, of "Here", and "At the Courte", for distincion of the same; which wee requyre your Lordshipps to consider, and cause expedicion to be made there, as wee doo travail in the rest here. In oon poynte wee finde summe difficultye, howe the auctoritie of Vicegerent, with that name, shuld be commytted to three there named, that is to saye, the Deputie, Chauncellour, and Bisshopp of Nethe[2]; for by that office, the Chauncellour, named first, shuld be above, or equall with, the Deputie, if he have that name of Vicegerent. But if it maye stand with the Kinges Majestes pleasour, to have the name of Vicegerent omytted, and to commytt thauctoritie of ordre and dispensing in spirituall thinges to the Deputie, Chauncellour, and Bishop of Nethe[2], the thing there wanting shalbe soo supplied, without suche

[1] Written by Gardyner.

[2] Sic.

difficultie,

difficultie, as shuld be in geving the name, Vicegerent, to the Chauncellour, or communicating it to them all three. Wherein it maye like you to knowe the Kinges Majestes pleasour, which wee shall followe accordingly.

Wee have written to my Lorde Greate Chamberleyn, what communication wee had, by the Kinges Hieghnes commaundement, with the Frenche Ambassadour, and his gentle and comfortable aunswere to the same.

Wee have travailled in the bargayn of the alom, and fynde the merchantes straungers desirous it shuld contynue, for soo it is their profet. And that, wee have hetherto doon, proceded of the greate quantitie the Kinges Majestie hath in his handes, not like, if peace contynue, to be uttered in seven yeres, besides the losse shall followe in uttering of it, as Sir John Gresham, Sir Rowland Hill, and Mr Judde[1] affirmed unto us. And thereuppon wee have made an entre with them, to seke occasion to breake, if the Kinges Majeste wold have it followed; but elles the merchantes desire the contrary, for their proffitt and advantage. Wherin as the Kinges Hieghnes shall have further understanding, what were most expedient for His Majestes proffet, soo the merchantes may be pressed by the plain woordes of the covenauntes; and unto suche tyme, it maye staye as it is, if it shall soo stande with the Kinges Majestes pleasour. Wherin, bicause it is alredy entred, wee requyre certain aunswere.

Wee have spoken with Chidley, touching the Chauncellourshipp of Irelande, whom wee fynde in facion and woordes, of a very gentle, humble, sorte, and acknowlegeth himself most bounde to the Kinges Majeste, to hable him thereunto; and, for excuse, alleageth his oune inhabillitie, for want of knowleage, texercise the rome, and moche more, wante of substance to furnishe the same; and for declaracion of his povretie, as yt were by lamentacion, opened many specialties, and specially this, that he hath twyse fyned with the Kinges Majeste for thoffice of Serjeant, which hath cost him three hundreth markes; and not loking therfore, entred in to a purchace, wherefore he oweth more thenne he is woorth, and to meynteyn his wief and childern cannot spende 120*£* by yere. Wee charged him with his dieutie to serve the Kinges Majeste, whenne he is called, as every good subject is bounde to doo; which he acknowleged, but reasorted to his excuse, which he said were not fayned, besides allegacion, also, of summe disease, which he sayeth troubleth him. Wee have not dismissed him, but appointed him tappeare before us again, upon Mondaye, to thintent wee might signifye the man to be of an othre state, thenne is supposed; and, at his return, doo

[1] Three Aldermen of London.

further,

further, as wee shall knowe to be the Kinges Majesties pleasour. Wee pressed him to make summe honest offre for his staye, which he aunswered plainly, with inhabillitie. Asfor Henley, is sick, and hath lost oon of his eyes, and thother eye in daunger, for anguishe of it. Thus wee be enfourmed of him, which maketh him unfytt to be spoken with, and yet, for the purpose wee shuld speke with him, moche more fytt thenne Chidley, which wanteth allredy bothe the eyes, that wee wold have.

Wee have spoken with them of thAdmyraltie, for the Swepestake, &c. according to the Kinges Majestes pleasour, signifyed by your letters, and have appointed that oon of them shall repayre thether, with the names of the capitaynes, to receyve the full resolucion of that matter.

Wee have receyved a letter[1] from Maister Vaughan, which wee send unto you closed, as yt cam unto us.

Mr Coferer hath declared unto us, this daye, his greate lack of money for the Kinges Majestes Houshold; alledging, howe there ys owing to the Kinges Majestes subjectes, at this daye, above twelf thousande poundes, besides twoo thousand six hundreth poundes, to be paide this Michaelmas, for wages, which men looke certainly to receyve herein. Wee have aunswered, as we can, which satisfyeth not the wante; wherein wee desire your Lordshipps, conferring the declarations of the Treasorers, which wee sende wekely to you, with the contynuall issues, to beare with us, as wee doubt you doo, the care of the supplying herof; and to helpe, as ye maye, that, for a tyme, every Treasourer maye knowe himself chargeable to the present relief, without such allegacion as Mr Carewes maketh unto us, of othre commaundement, whereunto wee be not prevy. And as yt becommeth us not to entre furthre inquisicion therof, thenne maye stand with the Kinges Majestes pleasour, soo, in dede, if the conduites be stopped, wee shalbe dryven of necessyte to tarry for the water.

Wee have had before us Doctour Taylour and Maister Shaxton, and taken order with them, according to the Kinges Majesties pleasour. Doctour Taylour hath faithfully promised tacknowlege playnly, openly, and ernestly, his errour, and, with condempnacion of himself, travaile to releve the people, that have, by occasion of him, fallen into errour.

Wee sende also, herewith, a note of tHospitall at Norwich, which Mr Shaxton sued for, which it may like you to shewe to the Kinges Majeste, with humble request of the knowlege of His Hieghnes concerning Maister Shaxtons sute for the same.

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[1] Such a Letter, dated 19th September 1546, from Antwerp, remains in the State Paper Office.

Wee

Wee have dispeched the post with Mr Woottons letters, and those to Callays, to my Lorde Greate Chamberlen, and doo retorn presently unto you the fowre letters sent with that paquet, with the coppie of the letters, which your Lordshipps sent unto us, the 18th of this presente. And likewyse wee have sent furth the letters to the Shryves, and shall dispeche Brooke assone as wee may, though not with all, with sumwhat onwarde. And soo pray God to send Your Lordships helth. From Westminster, the 25th of September.

Your Lordshipps most assured
loving Freendes,

(*Signed*) Thoms Wriothesley Cancel. W. Seint John. Ste: Winton.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes most Honorable Counsail, attendant on his Roial Personne.

CCLVII. Wriothesley *to* Paget.[1]

Maister Secretary, aftre my most harty commendacions. With our answer to your straunge letters, I have thought mete to require you to consider, that travailing here, as we do, in thinges displeasant to all men, whom we call befor us, and divising howe thinges may be answered, whiche must of necessitie be dispeched, this kinde of writing was no smal discomfort unto us all; wherby all our good will seamethe to be otherwise taken, then we trust we have, or shal deserve. What this matier of money importethe, you knowe, and howe slowly it cummethe in, do we, what we can; and even nowe, we be advertised by Sir John Gresham, that he shal not be hable, from the allom and fustians, to pay Bartilmewe Compain, but he must have two thousande poundes by warrant. And in February we have 80000*£* to pay, whiche must be provided for befor, yea, to be gon in hande withal even nowe, or your credite shalbe in daunger. And it must be made of your half yeares rent, and the tayle of the contribucion, with summe helpe of the Mynt, which is in dede our helpe, thoughe others tary for it. For the Subsidy[2] is not paiable tyl Eister, and the Fiften after. My Lord Greate Maister lackethe for victualing, and a greate many poore men in England wold be holpen, that have delyvered their victualles long sithens, and remayn

[1] Holograph.
[2] Statute 37 H. VIII. c. 25. granted one Subsidy, and two Fifteenths and Tenths.

yet

yet unpaid. I write this to you, as to meself, that you may the rather waye thinges thoroughly, and remembre that all thinges must in tyme be forseen, or elles it may chaunce you shal lack sodainly, even when you wold faynest have, as wold to God the Kinges Majeste had, a sore present, as I trust to see him have shortly, to rid us, in this meane tyme, of summe of our care. The world is sō doubtful and daungerous, wherof we have good experience, as I pray God we may put our trust in Him, and loke wel to our oune state, with good entreteignement of the rest, that our playnnes be not deceived by the doublenes of the world, as it hathe been of late dayes. It is late, and we have sitten long, as we do comenly every day, from mornyng tyl night; and therfor to relief me further writing, and to discharge you from further reading, I shal make an ende, prayeng God to sende us all, that be chosen, His grace to serve our Maister as becommethe us, or to go as nere it as we may, and then shall we be sure to serve ourselfs, and ours, to our comforts. From Ely Place, this Michelmas Even, at 11 of the clok at night.

Your oune assuredly,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my very loving Freende Sir William Paget,
Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes twoo
Principall Secretaries.

CCLVIII. GARDYNER *to* PAGET.[1]

MASTER Secretary, after my most harty commendacions. As towching the conference with Duke Philip[2], and the other, wherof ye desire to be advertised, ye shal understand, that being my Lord Chaunceler, my Lord Gret Master, my Lord Chamberlain, and myself, appointed to here what shuld be said on that parte, they alleging that ther letters, with ther commission, perished at Gravelyng, said theffecte of ther commyng, was upon an overture made by Master Mason. Wherupon they wer sent to knowe, what the Kinges Majeste wold saye unto them, and further to knowe a favorable resolution, in the matier of maryage; wherupon they said, the rest shuld

[1] Holograph.

[2] Philip Duke of Bavaria, Nephew of the Elector Palatine, came to England in March 1546, and again in September of the same year, to negotiate a marriage with the Princess Mary, and a treaty between Henry VIII. and the Elector Palatine.

depende

depende and ensue. And for the first tyme, bicause we coulde not induce them to begynne to speke any specialtie, and we had noothing to saye to them, we said, by waye of communication, that we toke the maryage to be rather thende, wherunto the lightlywode of the other matiers shuld be an inducement; and as those appered faysable, soo to speke of the maryage, and not otherwise. And for the tyme, we said, we toke not Master Massons commission to have allured them hither, which was playnly, precisely, and peremptoryly denyed and refused. Nevertheles, we said, we wold speke with Master Mason against the next mornyng, and so retourne to speke with them, which was doon. And on the morowe, Master Mason went with us, and clerely veryfied the maner of the answer to such overture as was made by hym, and ther called to witnesse Duke Philip, who coulde not denye it, wherby appered that they cam, now, as men repentyng the refusal made, and desirous of communication therin; and therupon beganne to declare the conformite and inclination of the Countie Palatyne to a leage with the Kinges Majeste, wherunto the rest of the Princes Protestantes shuld be also induced; and therwith exhibyted a capita of articles of a league, agreying, in effecte, with those conteyned in Master Masons instructions; which capita we toke of them, and therwith reapared to the Kinges Majeste, whose resolution was, that, to wynne tyme, wherby to know better the state of the thynges, we shuld retourne to them, and allege the gretnes and waight of the matier to require commission, bifore any further communication, which they might nowe have good opportunite to sende for, at good laysour, with allegacion of the Kinges Majestes removing that daye, and our repare to London. They thought we spake reason, and agreed soo to doo. Nevertheles they made a motion, that we shuld have procured the Kinges Majestes letters to the Countie Palantyne, which we soo avoyded, as they agreed the request to be unreasonable. And herwith we bad them fare wel, as I doo nowe to youe, and departed, as I doo nowe to youe in thies letters. From London, the 11th of Octobre, at night.

Your assured loving Frend,

(*Signed*) Ste: Winton̄.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Worshipful Sir Wyllyam Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

CCLIX. WRIOTHESLEY *to* PAGET.[1]

MAISTER Secretary, aftre my right harty commendacions. Undrestanding by Maister Myldemay, that the Kinges Majeste myndethe to have all the fermes, offices, and grauntes to be made of any of the landes, or other thinges, whiche shalbe within the compasse of the newe Courte[2], to passe only undre that seale; forasmoche as, the same taking place, the estimacion of the Courte of the Chauncery, and of the Greate Seale of England, shall therby somoche decay, as my firme trust is, His Majeste, who of his oune goodnes made me his Chauncelour, woll not suffer it to do in mye tyme; and that besides the confusion of thinges, whiche woll undoubtedly folowe uppon it, a nombre of honest men shalbe utterly undon by the same; I have thought good to addresse thise berers, Mr Hale and Mr Croke, unto you, to thintent that, lernyng the state of the thing more at large, and wayenge what woll folowe, it may like you, joyning myn humble suite unto itt, too move His Majeste to be good and gratious Lord unto us in it, and so to preserve the cours of his most auncient Courte and Seale, with the poore estimacion and livinges of his ministres, as it fall not nowe to the grounde, whiche, sithens the Conquest, hath been ever specially preserved. And suerly, Mr Secretary, to write frankly to you, I shal have cause to be sory in my hart, during my lief, if the favour of my gratious Maister shal soo faile, that, partily in respecte of his poore servaunt, he do not sumwhat of his clemency tempre it. Thus I make an ende, prayeng God long to preserve His Majeste. From Ely Place, the 16th of Octobre.

Your assured loving Freend,

(*Signed*) THOM̃S WRIOTHESLEY CANCEL̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To our very loving Frende, Sir William Pagett, Knyght, one of the Kinges Majesties two Pryncipall Secretaries.

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[1] Holograph.

[2] The old Court of Augmentations was dissolved in November, and a new Court established in December, 1546.

CCLX. Gardyner *to* King Henry VIII. [1]

Pleasith it Your most Excellent Majeste to pardonne me, that having noo such opportunite to make humble sute to Your Highnes presence, as the trouble of my mynde enforcyth me, I am soo bolde to moleste Your Majeste with thiese my letters, which be oonly to desyre Your Highnes, of your accustumed goodnesse and clemencie, to be my good and gratious Lorde, and to continue such opinion of me, as I have ever trusted, and, by manyfold benefites, certaynly knowen Your Majeste to have had of me, and not to empayre it, as I veryly trust Your Majeste wyl not, tyl Your Highnes knowith, by myself, my dedes and bihavour to deserve the same, which I trust never to see Your Majeste hath bounde noon other of your subgettes in, thenne me; and I have ever, and doo make thaccounpte of Your Majestes benefites, soo as I esteme them worthely, asmoch as any other hath receyved, wherwith I have and doo rejoyse and counforte myself, with a mynde, desire, and entent in service, which is al of duetie, in sum parte, to declare myn inward rejoyse of Your Highnes favour, and that I wold not wyllingly offende Your Majestie, for noo wordly thing. This is my harte, afore God, and noo man hath harde me saye to the contrary; and if, for want of circumspection, my doinges or saynges be otherwise taken, in this matier of land [2], wherein I was spoken with, I must and wyl lamente myn infelicite, and most humbly, on my knees, desire Your Majestie to pardon it. I never said naye to any request made, wherwith to resiste Your Highnes pleasour, but oonly, in most humble wise, toke upon me to be a suter to Your Highnes goodnes, wherunto I have ben bolded by thaboundaunce of Your Majestes favour, hertofore shewed unto me. Your Highnes hath made me, without my desertes; and though I deserve not the continuaunce of that favour, yet I wold gladly, by humble prayour and intercession, supplie my want, if I coulde, to have such help at Your Highnes handes, as I knowe others to have had, to be entertaigned for reputacion, whenne ther service hath fayled; wherin I have had as gratious answer from Your Majestie, as I coulde wishe, for the which I most

[1] This letter is holograph, and a contemporary indorsement fixes its date to 1546.

[2] The tenth Instrument signed by Stamp, in December 1546, is a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, in answer to his letters to the King concerning an exchange of land desired by the King.

humbly thanke Your Highnes. And yet, bicause I have noo accesse to Your Majestie, ne hearing of late any more of this matier, I cannot forbere to open truly my harte to Your Highnes, with most humble request to take the same in most gratious parte, for whose most prosperous felicite I shal, according to my duetie, praye duryng my life. At London, the seconde of Decembre.

Your Majestes most humble
and obedient Subget, Servaunt,
and dayly Bedeman,
(*Signed*) Ste: Wintoñ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most Excellent Majestie.

CCLXI. Gardyner *to* Paget.

Master Secretary, after my right harty commendacions. I trusted to have seen youe here, or this tyme, and to have knowen by youe the Kinges Majestes pleasour; but your letters may be diverse, and therfor, as I thought to have wryten by youe to the Kinges Majeste at your beinge here, soo not hearing from youe, I have thought requisite to wryte to His Majeste, to supplie my present sute to his Person, which I wold gladly make, if it might stand with his pleasour. In the meane tyme, I praye youe deliver my letters, and also knowe, whither I maye cumme myself; which I have forborn, bycause I have been here appointed for execution of a commission, wherunto I attende, as the tyme requireth; and of the rest, such as came nowe to the Courte, wer specially sent for.

I here no specialte of the Kinges Majestes myscontentement in this matier of landes, but confusely, that my doinges shuld not be wel taken; whirof I am sory, if it soo be, and, al other cares set aparte, care oonly for this, that it shuld be thought I wanted discretion, to neglecte the Kinges Majestes goodnes towardes me, which, as ye knowe, I have evor estemed oonly, and therupon made my wordly foundation. Nihil ambio, nisi Principis gratissimi benevolentiam, ne videar ingratus, a quo crimine semper longissime abfuit animus. Wherin, to the rest of the worlde, I knowe myself purged, quo nomine me duco infelicissimum, ut ingratitudinis nomine veniam in suspitionem Principi de me optime merito. I praye youe send me

me sum worde. And so fare ye hartely wel. At Southwark, the 2d of Decembre.

Your assured loving Frend,
(*Signed*) STE : WINTOÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Worshipful Sir William Paget, Knight, oon of the Kinges two Principal Secretaryes.

CCLXII. PAGET *to* PETRE.[1]

MR PETER, with most harty commendacions. These may be to signifie unto you, to be declared to the Kinges Majeste, that I have spoken this after none with Duke Philippe, according to the Kinges Majestes commaundement, to here of hym the cause of his desyre to speke with the Kinges Majeste; which, in few woordes, he hath declared to me by mowth, and after dyd delyver to me his instructions from his Uncle, signed with his hande, and a letter of credence, both which I send herwith, to be shewed to His Majeste; praying you to take a copye of thinstructions, and to send thoriginal to hym agayn, with such answer, as shall lyke His Majeste to make.

I send unto you, also, certain letters out of Fraunce, from Mr Wootton, sumwhat toching those matters of Denmark, wherof Duke Fredrik wrytith; and also the copy of the proclamation[2] made in Fraunce, wherof Mr Wootton wrote lately, which semyth strange to me, and therfor necessary that the French Ambassadour be spoken with therin, and for the letters of reprisal, wherof Mr Wootton wrote lately; which letters of Mr Wootton (if His Majeste will have thAmbassadour spoken with) you must send hither. Even now the French Ambassadours secretary cam to declare to me, that le Sieur Doysy, who, at the begynnyng of the peax, passed into Scotland from the Frenche King, was aryved here, to returne thither, with message from the French King, his Maister, that if such Scottes, as had lately committed certain pyracyes both uppon Your Majestes subjectes, and those of Flaunders, wer not compelled to make satisfaction, and had sum punicion for theyr ill doyng, he woold forbyd them his portes; and if they cam within his jurisdiction, he wold restrayn them, lyke as he had alredy restrayned sum, and woold do more, if they cam in his walk. Which the secretary sayth is the

[1] Holograph.
[2] Transmitted in Dr. Wotton's letter from Chauny, 1 December 1546.

summe

summe of Doysyes message. Beleve hym, if ye will, but I do not. It is rather for sum other practise, in my gessyng, even as I think veryly Polyns cumminge to be non other. Doysy desyrith passeport, wherin you must signifie His Majestes pleasour, and then my Lordes may depech it, without trouble of His Majeste.

ThEmperours Ambassadour sent, also, to know of me, when he shuld speke with the Counsail concernyng the matters of arrestes; wherin I pray you to let us know his pleasour, and wheder that His Majeste contynew in the resolucion, which he gave unto us, to be declared to thAmbassadour at Portesmowth, and after at Wyndsor; which was, that our shippes in Spayn beyng put to liberty uppon caucion (which thAmbassadour now promisith), His Majeste wilbe pleased that such thinges, as Reneger took, be restored, for that the same cannot well be defended; and then Reneger to have justice against them, which injustly stayd his prise in Spayn. This pryvate cace of Reneger hath made all this bruslery; wherin if som other men had bene as redy to have rendred, for ther partes, such porcions as they have receyved of Renegers proye, as His Majeste hath bene to delyver his (which His Majeste commaunded long ago to be done), all these matters at bene long ago past and depeched. I pray you to let me know to morow, before nyght, the Kinges Majestes pleasour in the premisses, to thentent answer may be gyven to echeon accordingly.

Tooching the newes of the Lantgraves desperat passage, I beleve them not, nor yet the brekyng up of the Protestant cam, wherof Mr Wootton wrote, uppon the French Kinges reaport: for Duke Philip told me that he had letters of the 18th of the last, that tharmy was togedres, and the French King sayth, his letters wer written about that tyme. And agayn, if any such extremyte had chaunced, the Kinges Majeste shuld have had the certainty therof ere this tyme, or my Lord of Westminster[1] wer moche to blame; who hath promised, in such a case, to send an expresse messenger; and Bruno is not all togeder to be excused. Fare you wel. From Ely Place, wher we ar in expectacion of the returne of my Lord of Hertford and my Lord Admyral, the 7th of December, 1546.

(*Signed*) Your own, PAGET.

(*Superscribed*)
To myn assured loving Frende, Sir William Petre, Knight, oon of the Kinges Majestes two Principal Secretaryes.

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[1] Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster.

CCLXIII. The Council with the King *to* The Council in London.

After our most hartie commendacions. The Kinges Majeste, havinge hard suche letters as wer sent hither by you, Mr Secretary, hath commaunded aunswer to be sent unto you, as followeth:

First, touching the letters and instructions delyvered by Duke Phillip from the Countie Palatin, His Highnes, having seen the same, and thinking it a dede both godly and honorable to helpe to set some quietnes and concord betwene the said parties, is pleased to gratifie the said Countie Palatin with sending an Ambassadour to suche place, as is named in the said instructions; and therfore prayeth Your Lordships to devise upon some mete personage for that purpose; which His Majestes pleasure was, you shuld do, assone as might be, for that the tyme appoincted for that meting draweth nere at hand. His Highnes thought good, also, that he, that shuld be sent in this Ambassade, wer both a grave man, and lerned.

And where as His Highnes is also advertised, that ther is one arrived there from the French King, to passe into Scotland, His Majestes pleasure is, your Lordships shal take order for a pasporte for him there, according to his desire.

His Highnes, also understanding that sundry of His Majestes subjectes goodes have byn lately arrested in Fraunce upon letters of reprisal, and thinking suche kinde of dealing very straunge, being the same expressely against the treatie, prayeth your Lordships to talke with the French Ambassadour in the same, and therwithal to lerne and feele of him, as moche as ye may, what the meaning is of the proclamation, late made in the French Courte, for the banisshing of sutours, &c. Howbeit His Majeste thinketh, that nothing is therby ment towardes His Highnes subjectes, forasmoche as the same is generall, and thAmbassadours reserved in the same.

His Highnes pleasure is, also, that your Lordships shall take sum tyme to talke with thEmperours Ambassadour touching the mater of arrest, according to his desire; wherin His Majeste continueth in the same resolucion he gave unto your Lordships at Portesmouth, and at Windsour, viz. that His Highnes merchauntes goodes and shippes in Spayn, being put to libertie upon caution, His Majestie is contented that suche thinges, as Reneger tooke, shall be lykewise restored, and then Reneger to have justice against

against them in Spayn, which injustly stayed his prise there, accordingly. And thus we byd Your good Lordshipps most hartely well to fare. From Otelandes, the 8th of Decembre, 1546.

Your Lordships assured loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) H. ARUNDELL. T. CHEYNE.

(*Signed*) ANTONE BROWNE. WILLM PETRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and our very good Lordes, the Lordes of the Kinges Majestes Counsell at London.

CCLXIV. GATE AND OTHERS *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEAS it Your most Roiall Majestie to be advertised, that receiveng our depeche from your Honorable Counsaill, upon Sondaie at night last, betwixt three and foure of the clock in thafternone, wee arived at Your Highnes towne of Thetforde, seven miles from Kennynghall, the Mondaie at night following, and were at the Duke of Norfolk his howse this Tuesdaie, the fourteneth of this instant, by the breke of the daie, soo that the furst newes of the Duke of Norfolk and his soon[1] cam thether by us. And for a begynneng, findeng the stuarde absent in service, takeng musters, wee called the Duke his almoner, a man in whom he reposed a great trust, for thordre of his housholde, and expences of the same; to whom, aftre ordre furst taken with the gates and back doores, wee dyd declare our desire to speake with the Duchesse of Richmond, and Elizabeth Holland, bothe whiche wee founde at that tyme newlie risen, and not redie. Neverthelesse, haveng knowleadge that wee wolde speak with them, they cam unto us, without delaie, into the dyneng chamber, and soo wee imparted unto them the case and condicion, wherin the said Duke and his soon, without your great mercy, dyd stonde. Wherwith, as wee founde the Duchesse a woman sore perplexed, trimbleng, and like to fall downe, soo, commyng unto herself agayne, she was not, wee assure Your Majestie, forgetfull of her dewtie, and dyd most humblie and reverentlie, upon her knees, humble herself in all unto Your Highnes; saieng that althoughe nature constrained her soore to loove her father, whom she hathe ever thought to be a trewe and faithfull subject, and alsoo to desire

[1] The Duke of Norfolk was arrested on the 12th of December, 1546.

the

the well doeng of his soon, her naturall brother, whom she noteth to be a rasshe man, yeat, for her part, she wolde, nor will, hide or conceill any thing from Your Majesties knowledge, speciallie if it be of weight, or otherwise as it shall fall in her remembraunce; which she hathe promised, for the better declaration of her integrity, to exhibite in writeng unto Your Highnes, and your Honorable Counsaill. And perceiveng her humble conformity, we dyd comfort her in your great mercy; wherof, useng a trothe and franknesse in all thinges, wee advised her not to despaire. Herupon wee desired the sight of her chambers and coofers, of which presentlie she delivered us the keys, and assigned her woman to shewe us not onlie her chamber, but soo her coofers and closett, where hetherto wee have founde noo writinges worthie sending. Her coofers and chambers soo bare, as Your Majestie wolde hardlie think. Her juelles, suche as she hadde, solde, or lende to gage, to paie her debtes, as she, her maydens, and the almoner doo saie. Wee will nevertheless, for our dutie, make a further and more earnest serche. Thus, Sir, aftre a noote taken of her chamber, and all her thinges, wee serched the said Elizabeth Holland, where wee have founde gerdelles, beades, buttons of golde, pearle, and ringes sett with stones of diverse sortes, wherof, with all other thinges, wee make a booke to be sent unto Your Highnes. And as we have begonne here, at this hedde howse, where, at our present arrivall, wee dyd take certeyn ordre for the suertie and staie of all thinges, soo have wee presentlie, and at one instant, sent of our most discreat and trustie servauntes unto all other his howses, in Norfolk and Suffolk, to staie that nothing shalbe embeaseled, untill wee shall have tyme to see them; emonge which wee doo not omytte Elizabeth Holland her howse, newlie made in Suffolk, which is thought to be well furnished with stuff, wherof Your Highnes shall alsoo be advertised, as wee shall finde it. The almoner chardgeth himself with all, or the more part, of the Duke his plate, redye to be delivered into our handes. Money of the said Duke he hath none, but supposeth that the stuarde, upon this last accompt, hathe suche as doth remayne; wherof, by our next letters, Your said Majestie shalbe asserteyned, and semblablie of the said Duke his juelles, founde here or elswhere, and of the clere yerelie valewe of his possessions, and all other his yerelie revenue, as nere as wee can lerne by his bookes of accompt, and other his recordes. And forasmoche as the said Duke, and his soon, the Duchesse of Richmond, and Elizabeth Holland, be absent, soo as neither ladies or gentlewomen remayne here, other then thErle of Surrey his wief and children, with certen women in the norsery attending upon them, wee most humblie beseche Your Majestie to signifie unto us, whether you will have thole

thole housholde continewe, or in parte to be desolved; reserving suche as unto Your Highnes shall seme meat, tattend upon the said Earle his wief, lookeng her tyme to lye inne at this next Candelmasse: beseching Your Highnes to signify unto us, where, and in what place, your pleasour is to bestowe her for the tyme; and alsoo whom it pleaseth Your Grace to appoint for the defraieng of the chardge of thousholde, if the same shall have contynuance; and whether, aftre receipt of the Duke his plate and juelles, wee shall sende them, or staie them there, and in whose chardge they shall remayne in. All the said Duke his writenges and bookes wee have taken into our chardge, and shall withall diligence peruse them, and further doo as the waight of them shall requere. Wee have herwith, in a brief, sent unto Your Majestie the nomber of the lordes, ladies, gentlewomen, and other servauntes, which late were, and yet been taken ordinary, in the cheker roll of his housholde, and made a note of the nomber absent at this daie, as in the said brief shall appeare. Most humblie beseching Your Roiall Majestie graciouslie to receive theis premisses as a commensment of our doenges. And for the further executing of thinges yeat to be doon, wee shall procede with all possible diligence; signifieng the same, from tyme to tyme, as occasion shall serve. This wee praye Godde most humblie and hartelie to preserve Your Roiall Majestie in longe and hartie helthe, to His will and pleasour. From Kennynghall, betwixt the howres of 6 and 7 in the evening, this Tuesdaie the 14th of December, in the 38th of your most victorious and happie reigne.

Post scripta. The Duchesse of Richmonde and Mres Holland take their journey towardes London in the morneng, or the next daie, at the furthest.

Your Majesties most humble obedient
Servauntes and Subjectes,

(*Signed*) JOHN GATE.
(*Signed*) RICH: SOUTHWELL.
(*Signed*) WYMOUNDE CAREW.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most Excellent Majestie,
in hast, hast, post, hast, for thy lif.

CCLXV. Charges against the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey.[1]

If a man cummyng of the colaterall lyne to the Heyre off the Crown, who ought not to beare thArmes of England but on the seconde quarter, with the difference of theyre auncestre, doo presume to chaunge his right place, and beare them in the first quarter[2], leaving out the true difference of thauncestre, and, in the lieu therof, use the very plase only of the Heire Masle Apparant; how thys mans intent is to be juggyd; and whether thys importe any daunger, peril, or slaundre to the title of the Prince, or very Heire Apparant; and howe it wayeth in our lawes.

If a man presume to take into his armes an olde cote of the Crown, whyche hys awnceter never bare, nor he of ryght owght to bear, and use it without difference; whither it maye be to the peril or slaundre of the very Heire of the Crown, or be taken to tende to his disturbaunce in the same; and in what peril they be, that consent that he shuld soo doo.

If a man cumpassing with hymselfe to governe the realme, do actually goo abowght to rule the Kinge, and shuld, for that purpose, advise his daughter, or suster, to becom his harlot, thynkyng therby to bryng it to passe, and soo wolde rule bothe fader and soom, as by thys nexte artycle dothe more appere; whatt thys importyth.

If a man saye thies wordes, "If the King dye, who shuld have the rule "of the Prince, but my father, or I"; what it importeth.

The depraving of the Kinges Counsail.

If a man shal saye thies wordes of a [*man*] or woman of the Realme, "If the King were dede, I shuld shortely shit him upp"; what it importeth.

If a man, provoked and compelled by his dieutie of allegeaunce, shal declare such matier as he herethe touching the King, and shall aftre be contynually threatened by the per[*son*] accused, to be killed or hurte for it; what it importeth.

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[1] This Paper, which is in the handwriting of Wriothesley, is without title or date, but is evidently the groundwork of the charges against the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey, and possesses considerable interest, from the words printed in small capitals being interlined by Henry VIII. himself, in a tremulous hand. The lacunæ arise from the paper being torn.

[2] Several of the Duke of Norfolk's letters, now remaining in the State Paper Office, are sealed with a seal bearing the three Lions passant of England. And most of the other statements appear, from depositions and examinations preserved in the State Paper Office, to be well founded.

If a man take uppon him to use in his Lordshipp, or to kepe plees himself free waren in his groun[*ds, without*] lycence; what it importeth.

If a subject presume without ly[*cence to*] gyve armes to straungers; what it imp[*orteth*].

CCLXVI. HEREAFTER ensueth a bridgment[1] of all such billes, warrauntes, letters, and other writinges, to the nomber of foure-scoore and six, whiche the Kinges Majestie caused me, William Clerc, to stampe with His Hieghnes Secrete Stampp, at dyverse tymes and places in this moneth of Januarie, Anno 38vo Regni dicti Regis nostri Henrici Octavi, &c.

In the presence of Sir Anthonie Dennye, Knight, and Mr John Gate, Esquier.

A REVERSION of the keping of Copthall Parc, in Essex, with thused fee, whiche Giles Churchill hath, for Richarde Cook, Grome of the Privei Chamber, during his lief. Subscribed by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

2. A Warraunt for a diete of 26^{s} 8^{d} a daie for Mr Richarde Morison, sent Ambassadour into Denmarke, and for 5^{s} a daie for Jaques Granada pensioner, appointed to beare him companie; wherof there was an other bill signed at Westminster the 28th of December, which was cancelled. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

3. An Acquitaunce to Sir Edmunde Pekham, Treasurer of the Myntes, for 16589*£* 2^{s} 2^{d}, and 16 Frenche souzes, delyvered to Your Majesties own [*hande on the*] daie of December last past, in full contentation and paiement aswell of 52068 crownes of the sonne, and 16 Frenche souzes, whiche he receyved of M^{r} Va[*ughan*] by Your Majesties commaundement, to be turned and coyned into currant money, as also of 1879*£* 12^{s} 8^{d} for thincrease of the proufite of the same crownes, growing in the saide Mynte. Preferred by Mr Gate.

4. A Warraunt to the saide Sir Edmunde Pekham, to delyver to John Andewarpe and Peter Richardeson, goldesmythes, to be by theim employed

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[1] This is the last of the monthly lists of instruments passed under the King's Stamp, as explained in the note to p. 629, and is here given as a specimen of the whole.

to

to Your Majesties use, 80^{oz} of crowne golde, of the value of 47^{s} oz. amounting to 188£. Preferred by Mr Gate.

5. Your Majesties Graunt to the Bisshopp of Coventry and Lichfield, to have and empropre, to him and his successors for ever, certain parsonages and benefices, to the yerely value of 194£ 7^{s} 4½^{d}, in recompence of the manours of Bowdeserte, Longdon, &c., whiche Your Majestie hadd lately of him. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

6. ThIndenture bitwen Your Majestie and the saide Bisshopp, concerning the same. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

7. Your Majesties Graunt to the Bisshopp of Chester, to have and impropre, to him and his successours for ever, certain parsonages and benefices, to the yerely value of 192£ 7^{s} 6¾^{d}, for a recompence of the manour of Weston, in the countie of Derbie, &c., whiche Your Majestie hadd lately of him. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

8. ThIndenture bitwen Your Majestie and the saide Bisshopp, for the same. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

9. A Gieft in fee symple, and a purchace of the hoole late Colleage of Tong, in the countie of Salopp, being of the yerely value of 53£ 13^{s} 5¼^{d}; of a chauntrie, called Vernons Chauntrie, in Tong, being 6£ 9^{s} 2^{d} by yere; and of an other chauntrie, called Bawkewell, in the countie of Derbie, being 7£ 5^{s} 1^{d} by yere, for Sir Richarde Maners, Knight, paieng therfor 486£ 4^{s} 2^{d}. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

10. Twoo Billes for thinhabitauntes of the manour of Colyton, in Devonshire, who paieth to Your Majestie 1000£ besides thused rent; wherof there was other billes signed in Auguste last, whiche the Chauncelour of thAugmentations cancelled, and subscribed theis saide twoo billes.

11. A pardon for Rauf Calfelde, late of London, Gentleman, and Roger Staunforde, his servaunte, condempned for robbing of Doctour Nicolas. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

12. A Letter to the Commissarie and Universitie of Oxforde, to permitt the Deane and Subdeane of Your Majesties Cathedrall Churche there, presentely to chose and remove, in eche of their houses, oon or twoo scolers for the furniture of the saide Churche, and, in lieu of theim, take others by their appointement; and further tadmytt asmany scolers, by thappointement of the Chauncelour of thAugmentations, or by the saide Deane, as ther ar places, and shalbe bitwen this and Easter next. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

13. A Licence for Edwarde Warner to transport eight hundreth tonnes of beere beyonde the seas. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

14. A Com-

14. A Commission to Thomas Hunkes, &c. to entree and take possession of the hoole chauntrie of St. Nicolas, in Tredington. in the countie of Worcestour, for Your Majesties use and behove. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of th Augmentations.

[15 to 29 — Fifteen Grants of wardships and marriages, all subscribed by my Lord Great Master.]

[30 to 49 — Twenty Warrants for liveries, clothes, wages, and appointments, all subscribed by my Lord Chamberlain and Mr Vice Chamberlain.]

50. An Exchaunge bitwen Your Majestie, and the Deane and Chapitre of Worcestour; wherein, aswell in consideracion of the lordeshippes, manours, and parsonages of Grimley and Hallowe, and the manours of Hynwick and Woodhall, in the countie of Worcestour, whiche they lately did geve and graunt to Your Majestie, as also for a recompence of a certain decaye and want of landes conteyned in their dotacion, Your Hieghnes graunteth to theim, and their successours for ever, the manour of Icombe, the parsonages of Kemsey, Lenchewick, &c. in the saide countie, and elswhere, to the yerely value of 180£ 1^s^ 8½^d^, with licence to empropre the saide parsonages. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of th Augmentations.

51. Th Indenture concerning the same exchaunge. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of th Augmentations.

52. A Letter to the Duke of Venece, in the favour and commendation of Sir Fraunces Bernarde, repairing presentely into those partes. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

53. A Dischardge for Stephyn Vaughan, Esquier, not onely to geve a rewarde of 300 Frenche crownes to oon Mr Anthonie Bonacorsie, oon of the Frenche Kinges Secretaries, for bringing of the Frenche pension of 52368 crowns, and 16 solz Turnois, for half a yere ended in November in November last past, but also paie and delyver to thandes of Sir Edmunde Pekham, Treasaurer of the Myntes, 52068 Frenche crownes, and 16 solz Turnois, being the residue of the saide pension, to Your Majesties use. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

54. A Letter to Duke Frederick, Countie Palantyne. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

55. A Pasport for Monsieur le Baron de St Blancharde, a Frenchman, with his servauntes, two horses, and 12 mastyve dogges. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

56. A Pasport for Sir John de Leuclerc, Your Majesties gardyner, whom Your Hieghnes sendeth presentely into Fraunce, for certain trees and graftes. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

57. A

57. A Letter to geve thankes unto [1] for certain apple trees and graftes, whiche he lately sent unto Your Majestie out of Fraunce, and praie him to helpp and assiste the saide Sir John, whom Your Hieghnes sendeth thither for that purpose. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

58. A Pasport for the Paltzgraves Esquier. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

59. A Letter to my Lorde Cobham, Deputie of Calais, to licence him to repaire into Englande for three monethes; and, in the meane tyme, the Treasaurer there texecute his office, and kepe the keys of the towne. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

60. An Annuitie of fourtie markes for Sir John Gildeforde, Chamberlain to my Ladie Anne of Cleves, from Michaelmas last past, during his lief. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

61. A Letter commendatorie for William Watson to the Citie of Danske. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

62. A Letter to Mrs Meredith of London, wydowe, in the favour of Mr Birche, for mariage. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

63. A Warraunt to the Great Warderobe, to paie for certain stuff and workemanshipp delyvered for Your Majesties apparell. Subscribed by Mr Cycell.

64. A like Warraunt to the Great Warderobe, to paie for certain stuff and workemanshipp delyvered for my Lorde Princes apparell. Subscribed by Mr Cycell.

65. A Warraunt to the Treasurer of the 10^thes^ and First Fruites, to paie, aswell to William Ibgrave, embrouderer, 457*£* 8^d^ for certain stuf, embrouderies, and other workemanshipp, delyvered to Your Majesties use; as also to Thomas Ibgrave, embrouderer, 227*£* 7^s^ 8^d^ for stuf, embrouderies, and other workemanshipp, likewise delyvered for my Lorde the Princes use, ammounting in all to the some of 684*£* 15^s^ 8^d^. Subscribed by Mr Cycell.

66. A Gieft of the lordeshipp and manour of Stanmer, with thappurtenaunces, in the countie of Middlesex, whiche Your Majestie purchaced of Jeffrey Chamber, and of certain other landes there, to the yerely value of 130*£*, for Sir Peter Gamboa, Spanierde, and his heires masles of his bodie laufully begotton, for ever. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

67. An Exchaunge bitwen Your Majestie and the Bisshopp of Worcestour; wherein Your Hieghnes, taking of the saide Bisshopp the lordeshipps and manours of Bishopps Stoke and Hemburie, and the hundrede of Hemburie, in the countie of Gloucester, leaveth unto him, and his successours

[1] Blank in the original.

for

for ever, the manours of Grymley and Hallowe, in the countie of Worcestour, with other landes, to the yerely value of 135*£* 6^{s} 9½^{d}. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

68. An other Graunt to the saide Bisshopp, his heires and assigneis, to impropre the parsonages of Grymley and Hallowe, being of the yerely value of 14*£* 1^{s} 11^{d}. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

69. ThIndenture bitwen Your Majestie and the saide Bishopp, for the same exchaunge. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

70. ThOffices of Understewarde and Clerc of Waltham Forreste, and the clercshipp of the Courte of Swannemote, in the same, with the yerely fee of 40^{s}, as hadd for Mr John Gate, during his lief. Examyned by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

71. A Presentation of the parsonage of Pyworthy, alias Pury, in Devonshire, vacant by the death of the late incumbent, for Philipp Bale, Your Majesties chapellain. At the Quenes Hieghnes sute, and preferred by Mr Harbert.

72. Richarde Newport and John Holte to be my Lorde Princes tailours, and have the wages of 6^{d} a daie, and their lyverie cootes yerely, from Michaelmas last past, during their lyves, and the longer lyver of either of theim. At the sute of Mr Harbert.

73. Gilbert Dethick, late Richemounde, to be Norrey Principall King at Armes for the North Partes, and have a fee of 20*£* a yere, during his lief. At the sute of Mr Harbert.

74. A Presentacion of the parsonage of Longelednam, in the dioces of Lincoln, whiche Richarde Benese hadd, for Huegh Glasier, Your Majesties chapellain. At the sute of Mr Harbert.

75. A Prebende in Carliell, whiche Edwarde Lasshe dooth surrender, for William Pury, Clerc. At the sute of Mr Harbert, and commended by the Bisshopp of Carliell.

76. A Lease in reversion for [1] yeres, of the scite and demeanes of the manour of Symoundeshall, in Wotton under Egge, in the countie of Gloucestour, whereof John Poyntes hath a lease yet enduring, for William Barneis, Esquier, paieng therfor an yerely rent of 10*£* 2^{s}. Examyned by Mr Myldemaye, and at the sute of Mr Harbert.

77. A Lease in reversion for [1] yeres, of the subsidie and ulnage of sale clothe, in the citie and countie of Yorke, and in Hull, for Michaell Wentworth, oon of the maisters of Housholde, paieng therfor and yerely rent of 95*£* 3^{s} 4^{d}. At the sute of Mr Harbert.

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[1] Blank.

78. The

78. The wages of 6^{d} a daie, whiche Thomas Grey deceassed hadd, for William Hall, keper of Bekeringes Parc, at Ampthill, from Cristemas last, during his lief. At the suyte of Mr Harbert.

79. Laurence Dawleton, late Rougecrosse, to be Richemounde Heralde at Armes, and have a fee of 20 markes a yere, during his lief. At the suyte of Mr Harbert.

80. A Bill, to passe by Acte of Parliament, for the better assuraunce of Your Majesties graunt in fee symple to Sir William Pagett, Knight, Chief of Your Majesties twoo Principall Secretaries, of certain lordeshipps, manours, and parkes, &c. whiche the Bisshopps of Coventry and Lichfield, and Chester, lately gave and rendered to Your Hieghnes. Preferred by the same Mr Secretarie.

81. The Bailiefwike of the towne and lordeshipp of Leicester, parcell of the Duchie of Lancaster, with thused fee, for Thomas Danett, Esquier, during his lief, whiche office Thomas Catelyne deceassed, hadd. Subscribed by Mr Comptroller, and at the suyte of Mr Seintberbe.

82. A Gieft in fee symple of the manours of Wilie, Berwike, Northnewton, &c. in Wiltes, bilonging to the late Monastery of Wilton, and of dyverse other parcelles, to the yerely value of 119$\pounds$ 4^{s} 9^{d}, whiche George Howarde, Esquier, dooth surrender into Your Majesties handes, for this onely intent, for Sir William Harbert Knight, who paieth to the saide George Howarde for the same, the some of 800$\pounds$. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

83. A Gieft in fee symple of the lordeshipp, manour, and parc of Brymesfelde, in the countie of Wiltes, being of the yerely value of 33$\pounds$ 4^{s} 0$\frac{1}{2}^{d}$, of the manour and parsonage of Norton, in the Countie of Wiltes, being of the yerely value of 17$\pounds$ 12^{s} 4^{d}, and of a watermylne in Anstie, in the countie of Hertforde, being of the yerely value of 20^{s}, for Sir John Bridges, Knight. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of thAugmentations.

84. A Purchace of the lordeshipp and manour of Tyttenhanger, in the countie of Hertford, being of the yerely value of 55$\pounds$ 12^{s} 9^{d}, and of the house and parc of Tyttenhanger, being of the yerely value of 25$\pounds$, for Sir Thomas Pope, and the Ladie Elizabeth his wief, paieng therfor fyve hundreth poundes sterling to Your Majesties own handes, and a thousande oon poundes and tenne shillings sterling to the Treasurer of thAugmentations and Revenues. Subscribed by the Chauncelour of that Courte.

85. Your Majesties last Will and Testament[1] bearing date at West-

[1] This is the Will, of which the authenticity has been disputed.

minster, the thirtie daie of December last past, written in a booke of paper, signed above in the beginning, and beneth in thende, and sealed with the Signet in the presence of thErle of Hertford, Mr Secretarie Pagett, Mr Denny, and Mr Harbert, and also in the presence of certain other persons, whos names ar subscribed with their own handes, as witnesses to the same; whiche testament Your Majestie delyvered then, in our sightes, with your own hande, to the saide Erle of Hertforde, as your own dede, last will, and testament, revoking and adnulling all other Your Hieghnes former willes and testamentes. (*Signed*) W. CLERK.

86. A Commission[1] to my Lorde of Hertforde, my Lorde Privei Seale, &c. to pronunce in the Parliament House, Your Majesties assent for thatteindour of the Duke of Norffolk, by Acte of Parliament. Preferred by Mr Secretarie Pagett.

(*Signed*) W. CLERC.

[1] The Act 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 21., for the attainder of Queen Catharine Howard, contains a clause, declaring that the King's Royal Assent by his Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, and signed with his hand, and declared and notified in his absence to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Commons, assembled in the High House, is, and ever was, of as good strength and force, as though the King's Person had been there personally present, and had assented openly and publicly to the same. This Commission wanted one of the ingredients necessary for its validity, viz. the Signature by the King's own hand, and this defect constituted one of the reasons for annulling this attainder by Stat. 1 Mary.

END OF PART II.

VOCABULARY OF WORDS,

EITHER OBSOLETE,

OR

USED IN AN OBSOLETE SENSE.

To ABDUCE, v. a. *to lead away*, p. 557. This, and the other compounds of *duco*, were frequently used by the scholars of the day in their Latin signification.

ACCOYNTED, part. *acquainted*, 475. From the obsolete French, *accointer*.

ALGATES, adv. *always*, 281. Still used in the North of England.

To ALLECT, v. a. *to entice*, 227, 270. From the Latin, *allecto*. Used only by Wolsey.

AND, conj. *if*. Sometimes used alone, 479, 527, 698, 724; at other times coupled with if, 815, 837.

ANELED, part. *anointed with the extreme Unction*, 452. Metaphorically, *comforted*, 357.

APOSTILE, s. *marginal observation*, 87, 225. From the French, *apostille*, and the low Latin *postilla*, for which see Ducange.

To APPLY, v. n. a nautical term, *to take a certain course*, 816, 841. From the Latin, *applico*.

APPREST, s. *preparation*, 594. From the French, *apprêt*.

ARMY, s. *a naval armament;* constantly used in this sense by the Lord Admiral, Viscount Lisle. 791 — 833.

To ARRECHE, v. n. *to reach*, 671.

To ARRECT, v. a. *to impute*, 5, 62, 114, 135, 200, 354, 355, 392. From the law Latin, *arrecto*, to indict.

To ASTRINGE, v. a. *to oblige*, 119, 235, 236, 265. From *astringo*.

BAGWALETOUR, s. *a carrier of baggage*, 536. Compounded of *bag* and *wallet*.

BAND, s. *a bond, an engagement*, 11, 27, 56, 61, 63, 860; *troops*, 516, 522.

To BE, v. s. declined, making BETH or BEETH in the third person, 176, 177, 211, 261. The second person singular is still used by the vulgar.

To BILL, v. a. *to note*; used in a bad sense. 547.

BOGGE, s. *a bugbear*, 206. The same as "bug," which is used by Spenser and Shakespeare.

BOOK, s. is used for any composition, from a volume to a single sheet, particularly where a list is spoken of, 402, 414, 450, 489, 499, 525, 548, 550, 560, 612, 617, 651, 691, 743, 744, 800, and various other places.

BOTH, adj. " your bothe Sovereign," the Sovereign of you both, 258, 509.

BRAKE, s. *the rack*, 602., where see note [1].

BRAYDE, s. *fright*, 690. Probably from the Anglo-Saxon, *bregd*.

BROGGE, s. *a trick*, 548. Probably the same with the Scottish, *brogue*, from the Icelandic, *brogd*.

BROILERY, } s. *a tumult, disturbance*, 273, 286,
BRUSLERY, } 886.

BROUT, s. Appears to signify a *moment of time*, 603. Not found elsewhere.

BUT, adv. *except*, 258.

CAFART, s. *a hypocrite*, 593. From the French, *cafard*.

CAM, s. *camp*, 886.

CARYSTYE, s. *scarcity*, 367. From the low Latin, *caristia*.

To COMPLAIN, used as a reflected verb, 668.

To COMPONE, v. a. *to compose, to calm*, 669, 676. From *compono*.

To CON, or CAN, declined, making CONITH in the third person, 12, 13, 14, 40, 44.

To Conduce, v. a. *to conduct*, passim. See Abduce.

To Confer, v. n. *to assist, to contribute*, passim; *to compare*, 656, 671, 878. From *confero*.

Contemplation, s. *request, respect, regard*, 311, 319.

Continew, or Continue, s. *contents*, passim.

To Convince, v. a. *to convict*, 705, 708. From *convinco*.

Covenable, or Convenable, adj. *suitable, favourable*, 30, 32, 55, 62, 74, 100, 114, 271.

To Cowgh out, v. a. *to discover*, 711.

Crached, adj. *infirm, broken*, 278. From *écrasé*.

To Crake, v. n. *to boast*, 603. From the Dutch, *kraecken*.

Cunning, s. *skill.* } 820.
Cunning, adj. *skilful.* }

To Decypher, v. a. *to defeat*, 546.

To Defend, v. a. *to prevent, to check*, 367, 786, 796, 797, 829. From *defendo*.

To Deme, v. a. *to discern*, 507.

Demore, s. } *stay, delay*, 481, 552, 553,
To Demore, v. n. } 579, 595. From *demoror*.

To Deprave, v. a. *to traduce*, 663, 856.

To Devast, or Divast, v. a. *to lay waste*, 536, 553.

To Differ, v. a. *to postpone*, in which sense the word (being derived from *differo*) is now less correctly spelt, "defer." Passim.

Diminute, adj. *imperfect*, 67, 79, 175, 201. In this sense "diminution" is used, in law language, as applicable to a record, in which something has been omitted.

To Disparkle, or Disperkle, v. a. & n. *to disperse*, 471, 473, 492, 497. From *dispergo*.

Distruss, s. } *to overthrow, conquer*, 207,
To Distruss, v. a. } 238, 250, 274, 280. From the French, *détrousser*.

To Do, v. a. *to cause*, 693.

Dulce, adj. *tender*, 195, 732. From *dulcis*.

To Egar, v. a. *to put aside*, 765. From the French, *égarer*.

Encombre, s. *embarrassment*, 859. From the German, *kummer*.

To Endeavour, is very frequently used as a reflected verb, and only once as a verb neuter, 794.

To Enjubarde. See Jeopard. 130.

To Entercorre, v. n. *to interfere*, 237. From *intercurro*.

Entervien, or Intervien, s. *a meeting*, 241, 243, 251. From the French, *entrevenir*.

To Entrice, or Intrike, v. a. *to render intricate*, 174, 636. From the Latin, *intrico*.

Er. See Or.

To Eskip, or Esquip, v. a. *to equip*, 257, 288, 756.

Evyne, adj. *equal, fellow*, 467. From the Anglo-Saxon, *efen*, or *even*. Evyne crystyn, *fellow christian*. "Even Christian" is used in the same sense by Shakespeare.

Exile, adj. *small,* } 58, 62, 63, 154, 180,
Exiled, part. *diminished,* } 265. From the Latin, *exilis*.

Expedition, s. is sometimes used in one of the modern senses, but more commonly to signify *despatches*, 247, 254, 255, 263, 264, 276, 278, 320, 359, 599.

Extable, adj. *acceptable*, 815.

Fardredeal, s. *a check, impediment*, 36. From the French, *fardeau*, and the low Latin, *fardellus*, a burthen.

To Fear, used as a reflected verb, 305, 869.

Fordeal, or Fordel, s. *progress, advancement*, 46, 118, 143, 167. Still used in Scotland.

To Forslow, v. a. *to lose, to omit*, 808, 816, 826.

Groundly, adv. *profoundly, throughly*, 62, 75, 77, 117, 701, 708.

To Groyne, v. n. *to lament*, 555. Perhaps to groan.

To Happen, used actively, 470.

His, pron. is commonly used after a substantive masculine, in lieu of the sign of the genitive case. It occurs once after a feminine, "Queen his affairs," 215; but "her" is more commonly used in that case, as "Elizabeth Holland her house," 889.

Hobleshof, s. *a confusion*, 481. "Hobbleshaw" is still in provincial use. Grose, in his dictionary of the vulgar tongue, says "hubble de shuff" was a military term, signifying to fire irregularly.

To Impone, v. a. *to interpose*, 364. From *impono*.

To Impress, v. a. *to print*, 413.

To Inculc, v. a. *to inculcate*, 502. From *inculco*.

To Incuss, v. a. *to strike*, 280. From *incutio*.

INDUMENT, s. *endowment*, 243. From *indumentum*.

To INTRIKE. See ENTRICE.

To INSTANT, v. n. *to importune*, 595, 597, 605.

To INSURGE, v. n. *to arise*, 86, 117, 201, 240, 252, 318. From *insurgo*.

To INTERPONE, v. a. *to interpose*, 232, 240. From *interpono*.

INTERVIEN. See ENTERVIEN.

To JEOPARD, v. a. *to endanger*, 130, 202, 494.

KENNY, s. *the distance a person can see*, 815.

To LESE, v. a. *to lose*, 609. From the Dutch, *lesen*.

LEVER, or LIEVER, adv. (comparative of lief), *rather, more willingly*, 409, 464, 506, 563, 604, 681.

MAMORING, s. *hesitation*, 527. See notes to Shakespeare's Othello, Act III. Scene III.

MANRED, s. *followers, vassals*, 315. From the Anglo-Saxon, *man-ræden*.

MAYNING, s. *handling, management*, } 200, 577,
To MAYN, v. a. *to handle, to manage*, } 688, 741, 837. From the French, *manier*.

MENTIONATE, adj. *mentioned*, 393.

To MODER, v. a. *to regulate, to temper*, 118, 355. From the Latin, *moderor*.

To MOW, or MAY, *to be able*. MOUGHT, or MOWGHT, in the preterite tense, 6, 62, 85, 86, 332, &c. SHALL MOW, or SHALL MAY, in the future, 119, 179, 305. To MOW, in the infinitive, 138.

MYNYON, adj. *pretty*, 307. From the French, *mignon*.

NAMELY, adv. *by name, particularly*, 692, 714.

OBSTRICT, adj. *bounden*, 252. From *obstrictus*.

To OCCUR, v. n. *to meet*, 233. From *occurro*.

OFTEN, adj. 588.

OR, ER, ERE, *before*, (as applied to time). OR used as a conjunction, 174, 217, 224, 233, 256, 270, 281, 295, 314, 334, 460, 461, 471, 488, 534, 616, 658, 666, 756, 768, 779, 780, 796, 802, 827, 839, 861, 873; as a preposition, 269, 273, 319, 366, 440, 651. ER, 697, 774, 884. ERE, 825.

To OWE, "He OWETH to have;" "He OWETH to "pay," 369, 682. "They OWE to come," 599. "D. OUGHT him thirty shillings," 697.

OWTHERQUEDAUNCE, s. *pride*, 507. From the French, *outrecuidance*.

PACTE, s. *a treaty, a contract*, 207, 875. From *pactum*.

To PAISE, v. a. *to weigh*, 141, 720. From the French, *peser*.

PARTICULAR, adj. *private*, 593. From the French, *particulier*.

PERCHER, s. *a large wax candle*, 583.

To PERUSE, v. a. *to survey, to examine*, 553, 582; *to consider*, 697.

PIECE, s. *a fortified town*, 160, 187, 746, 872; *a piece of ordnance*, 810, 819, 829; *a ship*, 805, 809.

PLACARD, s. *a passport*, 63, 66, 875; *a proclamation*, 55, 60, 66.

To POSSEDE, v. a. *to possess*, 227. From *possideo*.

POWDERED, part. *salted*, 792. *sprinkled, mixed*, 867.

PREST, s. *a loan*, 443, 444, 490, 741. From the Latin, *præsto*, and the French, *prêter*. *Readiness*, 550. From the French, *prêt*.

PREST, adj. *ready*, 216, 720.

To PREST, v. a. *to prepare, to enlist men*, 874.

PREST-MONEY, s. *money paid to recruits*, 792.

PREVENTION, s. Ducange says, "Præventio "apud practicos dicitur, cum ejusdem rei "personæve jurisdictio penes duos judices "est, et alter cognoscere prius cœpit;" 311, 318.

To PROCURE, v. n. *to advocate*, 291. A term of the civil law.

To PROFUND, v. a. *to lavish*, 251. From *profundo*.

PROPICE, adj. *propitious, fit*, 32, 100, 250, 271, 802; *ready*, 237, 678. From *propitius*.

To PROVULGE, v. a. *to promulge, to publish*, 413. From *provulgo*.

To RECET, or RECEIPT, v. a. *to harbour a criminal*, 455, 540. Still used in Scotland.

RECHENES, s. *recklessness*, 794. Perhaps only a clerical error.

RECULE, s. *reception*, 149, 172. From the French, *recueil*.

To RECULE, v. a. *to drive back*, 88. From the French, *reculer*.

To REDUB, v. a. *to remedy, redress*, 193, 200, 213, 228, 242, 244, 340, 359, 378, 470, 477, 483, 501, 512, 514, 540, 671, 862, 863. From the French, *redouber*.

To Reduce, v. a. *to bring back*, 227, 359, 392, 714. See Abduce.

To Refell, v. a. *to refute*, 843. From *refello.*

Relevainthes, s. the revenue derived from *reliefs*, fines payable by a tenant on the death of his ancestor, 840.

Religion, s. a point of conscience, 557.

To Remember, used as a reflected verb, 806.

To Repugn, v. a. *to object*, 339.

To Resile, v. n. *to spring back*, 343. From *resilio.*

To Respect, v. a. *to postpone*, 832. From the law Latin, *respectuo*, or *pono in respectum*, to respite, to put off.

To Rid, v. a. *to clear*, 875, 880.

To Ripe, v. a. *to examine strictly*, 295. From the Anglo-Saxon, *hrypan.*

Rowme, or Room, s. is frequently used in one of the modern significations, but oftener for *an office*, 21, 71, 73, 77, 305, 309, 310, 311, 315, 409, 460, 509, &c.

To Satell, v. n. *to settle*, 272.

Scaled, part. *dispersed*, 107, 108. Still used in the North of England.

Self, used adjectively for *same*, 490.

Seriously, adv. *seriatim*, 299.

Showte anker, s. *sheet-anchor*, 546.

Shrewd, adj. *bad, idle*, 658.

Skylle, s. *reasons*, 551.

Sowning, or Sounding, part. *tending to*, 5, 138, 198.

Sparver, s. *canopy*, 239.

Streynable, adj. *violent*, as applied to wind, 782, 820, 847.

Sunderly, adv. *in various ways*, 681.

Supplement, s. *successor*, 764; *supply*, 766.

To Supply, v. a. & n. *to be suppliant*, 392; *to supplicate*, 309, 604; *to tender*, 884.

To Surcease, v. n. *to stop*, 827.

Till, prep. *to*, applied to place, 642, as it is still used in Scotland.

Tott, s. *a note*, } 150, 345, 709.
To Tott, v. a. *to note*, }

Tract, s. *space* of time, 117, 256; *delay*, 224, 358, 361, 405, 580.

To Tract, v. a. *to delay*, 231, 272.

Transumpt, s. *a copy*, } 413, 440.
To Transume, v. a. *to copy*, }

Traverse or Traves, s. *a closet, fitted up with hangings or curtains*, 257, 281. It is still used in this sense at Coronations.

Unabsoiled, adj. *not resolved*, 67.

Unless, prep. *without*, 469.

Unneth, adv. *scarcely*, 874.

Vauntperler, s. *boaster*, 424. From the French, *se vanter* and *parler.*

Voyage, s. *a journey by land*, 204, 209, 227.

To Vynce, v. n. *to conquer*, 367. From *vinco.*

To Wade, v. n. *to go*, 203, 517, 593, 705. From the Latin, *vado.*

To Wene, v. n. *to think*, 434, 862.

To Will, v. a. preterite, willed, 62, 871; wold, 848; preterpluperfect, had wold, 821.

To Wite, or Wit, v. a. *to know*, 126, 138, 600, 613, 680; in the preterite, wote, 608, 869.

Wortte, s. 593. "I cast it in his worttes," seems to mean, *I cast it in his teeth.*

To Yeve, v. a. *to give.* It occurs perpetually in the present tense, and in the infinitive mood. The passive participle yeven is frequent, and sometimes yoven, 380, 381, 382, 411, 450, 451, 511, 534, 561, 581, 668.

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